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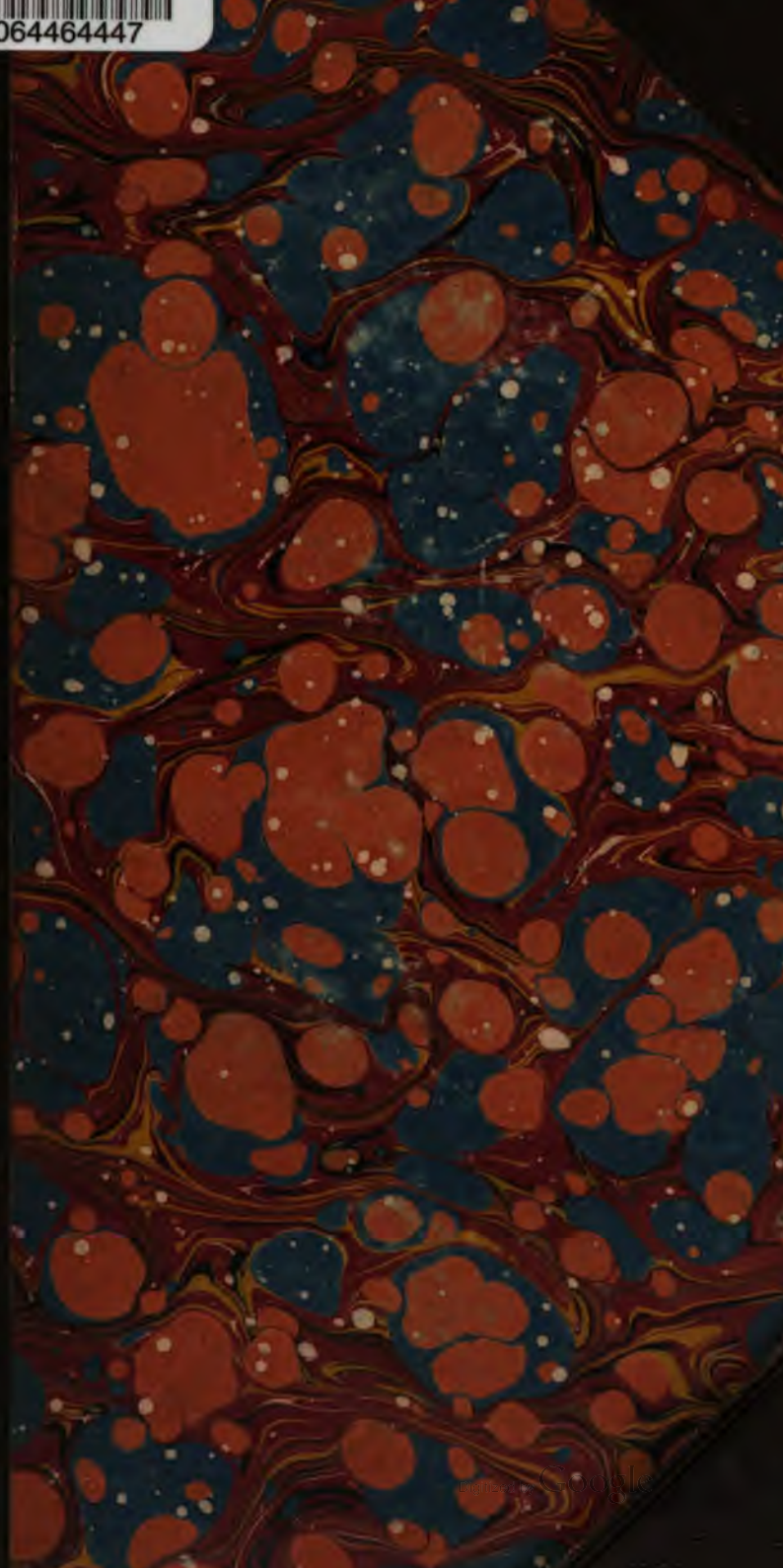
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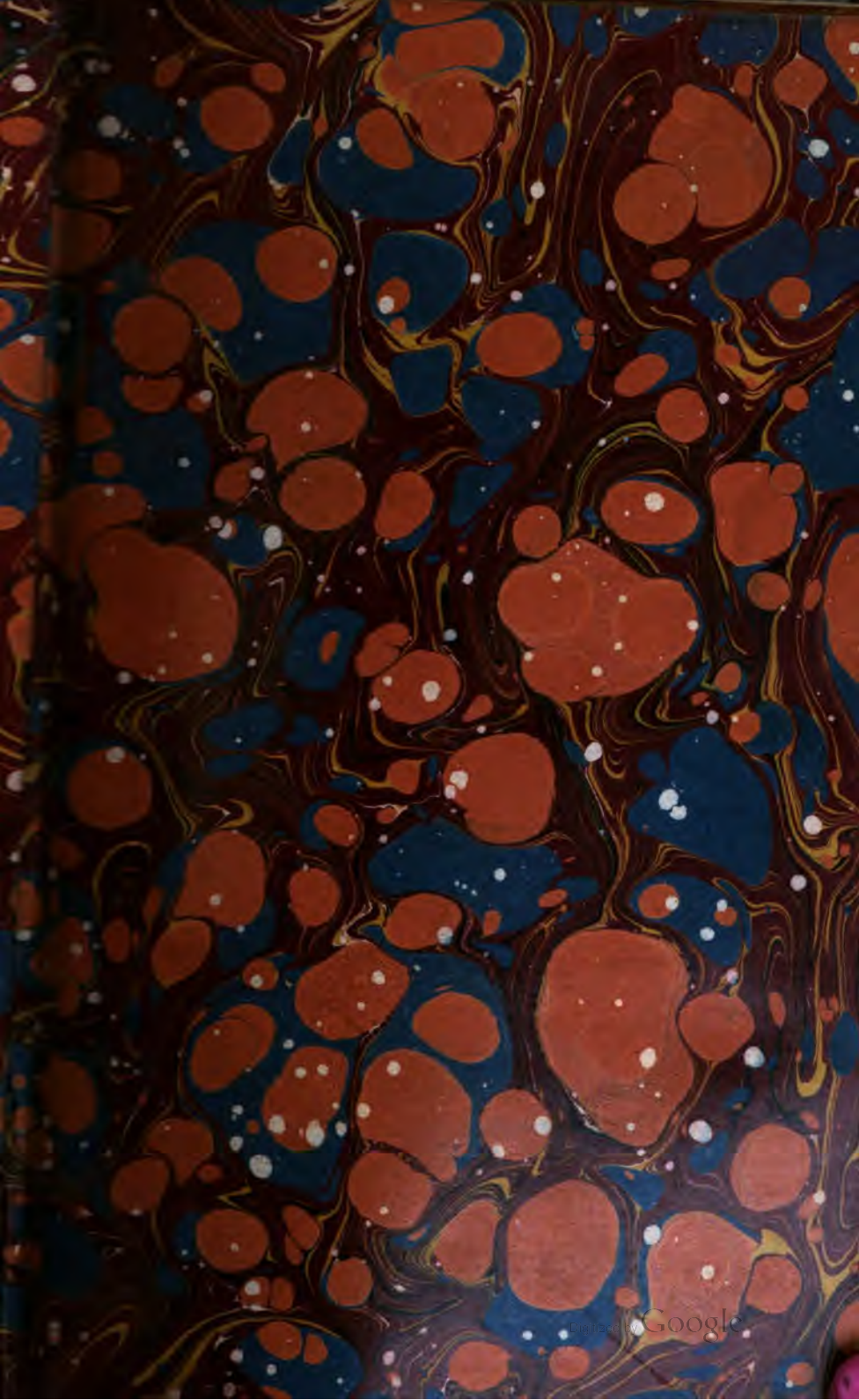
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THE
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NOVEMBER, 1844.

ART. I.—*Remedies suggested for some of the Evils which constitute "The Perils of the Nation."* London, 1844.

THIS work is the promised sequel to a former one entitled "The Perils of the Nation, an Appeal to the Legislature, the Clergy, and the Higher and Middle Classes."

The author of these volumes has certainly not exaggerated the dangers of the country, however much he may have failed in pointing out the way of escape from them; and with whatever injustice he has assailed both whole classes of men, and even individuals of whom he conceives (though in this too he is sometimes mistaken) that they do not participate in his views. The dogmatism and self-confidence of his manifold denunciations invest him with a certain mimic air of authority, which, we have no doubt, will have an imposing effect on the more ignorant of his readers—while his own ignorance of Political Economy, both in the long-recognized principles and later modifications of the science, is ingeniously made up for by his frequent professions of a wholesale contempt and intolerance for the subject at large. It is a convenient way by which to get rid of such truths and such topics as look hard on the conclusions of an author, thus to proscribe *en masse* that entire department of human knowledge to which they belong. And yet we cannot see why such matters as Capital and Wages, and Population and Agriculture, must be altogether shunned and abstained from, as if they were not fair or competent objects of investigation, whether with a view to verify all that has been discovered, or to find out all that is discoverable regarding them. They have a substantive reality in the territory of actual and existent things—nor are we able to under-

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stand why they should be banished from the territory of human thought. But indeed the thing is impossible; and our very author himself finds it to be so. These obnoxious articles come in his way whether he will or not, and the only manner in which he can dispose of them, is by giving his own views regarding them in place of the views of other people. So that, after all, while he often falls foul of Political Economy, as if to exterminate, or to lay a total extinguisher upon the science, he only brushes aside the Political Economy of others, and this to make room for a Political Economy of his own.

Yet amid all the defects and infirmities of this work, we must do homage to its one redeeming property, which is the high place assigned by its author to moral causes, both in the production of the nation's disease, and in the operation of the proposed remedies. It is refreshing to turn from the dry and the hard economics of our heartless utilitarians, and to read anywhere of a universal Christian education, as being, what we indeed hold it to be, the grand restorative from all our social and political disorders. We only wish that our author had written as intelligently as he has written piously; and that he had refrained from certain zealous ebullitions which, besides that the zeal is without knowledge and without discrimination, carry him at times beyond the limits of candour and modesty. Yet it does mitigate the indignancy that might otherwise be felt at his groundless vituperations, that, without charging them either with malice or dishonesty, they seem more like the effusions of a mind blinded by prejudice or by its own misconceptions—though it is infinitely to be regretted, that the sacred cause, whether of religion or humanity, should thus be discredited by a most palpable ignorance both of the science which he presumes to vilify, and of the authors whom he has ventured to arraign. It is assuredly not the way to speed forward the cause of Philanthropy, to place it, as is done here, in a state of violent disjunction from the cause of truth and reason.

There are certain passages in this work which forcibly remind us of those occasions, when, in virtue of both Science and Scripture having been brought into the false position of a seeming contrariety—a *seeming*, for they never are in real conflict with each other—the result has proved alike injurious to the cause of learning and the cause of sacredness. When Galileo was forced to make his recantations, and on the ground that his discoveries were opposed to the Bible, while we fully sympathize with the eloquent indignation of those who viewed it as an arrest laid on the progress of philosophy, we regard it as a far more grievous and hurtful effect, that the higher reason of the age was placed thereby into an attitude of antipathy and revolt against the au-

thority of revelation. The likeliest occurrence to this in more recent times, was when the speculations of geology came into strong apparent collision with the Mosaic account of the creation of the world; and when the more enlightened friends of Christianity were put to the blush by certain of its injudicious defenders, who, in utter ignorance of the theme, ventured on the field of controversy with a crude yet confident Natural History of their own. And we felt it to be matter of sincere rejoicing, not so much for the soundness of the world's philosophy as for the soundness of its faith, when a reconciliation, deemed satisfactory by ourselves at least, was effected between an indefinite antiquity for the globe (whereof there is a daily accumulating evidence) and even the plainest literalities of the Book of Genesis. There is something strongly analogous to these cases in the religious horror which our author feels, and which he tries to awaken in the minds of his readers, against the science of Political Economy. He, making use of an expression in Holy Writ, stigmatizes it as "science falsely so called"—forgetting that in these words we have the virtual acknowledgment of a science truly so called—so that while there is undoubtedly a false, there may be also a true Political Economy, with the doctrines of which he would do well to acquaint himself. Another phrase, taken by him also from the inspired writings, is "vain philosophy"—a tolerably clear intimation, and on the highest of all authority, that there is a philosophy which is not vain. The works of God, says the Psalmist—and these works must be recognized in the laws and phenomena of human society, as well as in the laws and phenomena of the material creation—the works of God are wonderful, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein. They who would divorce Theology from Science, or Science from Theology, are, in effect if not intention, the enemies of both.

The doctrine of the economists which most calls forth his antipathy, is that promulgated, though not for the first time, by Mr. Malthus, on the subject of Population—a fair enough subject, one might think, both for observation and arithmetic; and on which surely it is competent to state what the conclusions are, without incurring the charge of a profane and injurious reflection, either on the ways of God's providence, or on the principles of His word. It is difficult to see why the capabilities of the species, in regard to its power of increase, should not form in every way as legitimate a topic of inquiry, as do the capabilities of the soil. It is surely just as lawful to count the number of children in a family, as it is to count the number of bolls or quarters raised upon an acre? Or we should like to know why it is to be denounced as criminal to take the census of a country's population at given periods, and on comparing the results of the different

surveys, to announce the fact that the inhabitants of Britain have been doubled within the last forty years ; or that countries can be named where, in the infancy of their agriculture, the same increase has taken place in the marvellously short period of fifteen years ? Again, is it wrong to remark, that in the latter case the marriage of females takes place at averagely an earlier age than it does in the former ; or if tables of Political Arithmetic could be constructed, from which it might appear that this age is 18 in the one case, and 25 in the other, is there ought to provoke the indignation of the virtuous and good, either in the act of collecting such statistics, or in the act of publishing and proclaiming them to the world ? Nay, if it should be found that while there is still indefinite room upon our earth for the enlargement both of its population and agriculture, still that the tendency of the one to increase is faster than that of the other ; and that therefore long before the utmost possible maximum of either has been reached and realized, there might be such a thing as a pressure of the population on the food in various countries, as well as in various ages of the world—must we refrain from meddling with this as an object of thought at all ; or if obtruded upon us as an undoubted and objective certainty by others, must we shut our eyes against it ? We know not a more familiar experience, than that when a premature marriage occurs in a single household, as when a son of the family enters into such an alliance without the means of providing for it, the event is felt by all the members of the domestic circle to be a great inconvenience, and deplored accordingly. Now, where is the hardihood, or where the monstrous impiety of the reflection, that what is true of one household might be true of ten thousand, nay, of a million households ; and that what each severally holds to be undesirable, might be held as undesirable by all jointly—or, in other words, that the evil of improvident marriages might come to be a recognized category throughout a community at large ? There seems no reason why a whole host of truths particular, and all alike, should not be reassembled into a compendious proposition, and so be expanded into a truth generical or truth universal. Now this is all that has been done by Mr. Malthus, when propounding his doctrine of Population ; yet to fasten a stigma on this plain result of a very plain deduction, the lessons of experience and the laws of physiology have been equally set at nought. We repeat that all this is quite of a piece with the sensitive, and we shall further call it the senseless antipathy, which would have laid an arrest on the discoveries of astronomical science at the termination of the middle ages ; and which not further back than thirty years ago, would have expunged geology from the encyclopædia of human learning. We have no fear but that from the assidu-

ous labours of a sound Philosophy on the one hand, and a sound Scripture Criticism on the other, a magnificent and unexcepted harmony is sure to emerge between the word of God and the works of God. Such, we believe, is the infallible result that awaits the calm and comprehensive survey of both; but most assuredly it is not to the little piecemeal snatches, or to the restive and fitful effusions of the volumes before us, that we shall be at all indebted for the speeding forward of this glorious consummation.

But that we may do no injustice either to this work or to its author, with whom, and because of the excellence of his main lesson, we hope to be on better terms ere that we take our final leave of him—let us present the reader with a few specimens.

“The doctrine of the criminality of ‘improvident marriages,’ if it were possible to bring it into force, would condemn *seven-eighths* of the young men of our agricultural districts to hopeless celibacy for life.” “Such is the state, and such the prospects to which the modern system of political economy would deliberately consign the great body of our agricultural poor.” “How many valued preachers would be sorely perplexed if they were called upon to preach an honest and faithful sermon on the text, ‘Wo unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth.’” “For, in truth, selfishness has given a retaining fee to science, and to that which passes by the name; and so, while the words of infinite wisdom are lightly regarded, men lay house to house, and field to field, and oppress the hireling in his wages, and then plead the authority of a Whately or a Malthus, as something infinitely higher than the lessons of the word of God.” “And this is one reason why the pulpit does not impose a salutary check, and aim at an effective counteraction of these evils. Sad we are to confess, that, to a great extent, and in a variety of ways, the pulpit, in the present day, is either careless of, or even favourably disposed towards this growing mischief. The usual proportion of Christian writers and teachers are timid, and if they approach the subject at all, deal only in vague generalities; while some there are, who, inveigled into the net of a science falsely so called, are actually helping forward various of the crying evils of the day. The test of their evil, and the proof of their guilt, is found in their systematic banishment of the word of God from their whole system of communal economy.” “We aver that in God’s word, and throughout its pages—not in a few places, but in many—there are given doctrines, and reproofs, and instructions in righteousness, for legislators, for statesmen, and for men of wealth and influence; and that the general tenor of these is directly opposed to what a set of philosophers ‘falsely so called,’ of our own times, have conspired to dignify with the name of political economy. And accordingly, and very naturally, as the Bible and they are at variance, they agree to lay the Bible on the shelf, and to assert, that however necessary and supreme in its own department—the concerns of God and the

soul—yet in mere sublunary matters, the management of nations; &c. it is either wholly silent, or speaks without any divine authority, or any claim to our respect.” Lastly, “Our appeal must be to the whole reading public. Of them we ask merely the same reasonable and just decision which was manifested by a distinguished naval officer, when he had waded through a volume on political economy by a celebrated author, in which the chief part of all the woes of the country were traced to one cause, ‘surplus population.’ ‘This cannot be true!’ was his indignant reply to the friend who had lent him the volume, for does not the Bible declare, that ‘in the multitude of the people is the king’s honour; but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince?’”

A multitude of passages similar to those now quoted occur in both volumes; and from which it will be seen that the moral indignation which has prompted these various utterances, proceeds on the imagination that our more recent political economy is at variance with the Bible, both in the dogmata of the science, and in the duties which it proposes for the observance of mankind. And certain it is that many of our economists, perhaps the majority of them, have laid themselves abundantly open to the ridicule at least of their satirical opponents, if not to the severer censorship which is here brought to bear upon them. We can figure nothing more unnatural or more grotesque than the attempt to school down improvident marriages by the circulation of economical tracts among the working classes, and these charged with lessons on the true theory of population—all with the view, let it be observed, of terrifying our citizens and labourers from so precipitate a step, lest the world should come to be over-peopled by it. Verily it is not on such general or such distant considerations, but on something far more personal and proximate to the individual, that men are prevailed upon to regulate each his own conduct, even in the most enlightened walks of society. It were in every way as preposterous to think of moving a ploughman or coalheaver out of his purposes in regard to the state or management of his own little home, by holding out to him the evils which follow an undue multiplication of the species—as of persuading the farmer to change his present and long-established methods of husbandry, and that not on the likelihoods of the next year’s crop, or of what might be realized by himself upon his own acres, but on some magnificent computation as to the capabilities and the prospects of agriculture, along the vista of many future centuries, and throughout the world at large. But this is the very extravagance and folly into which controversialists have run on both sides of the question at issue. If, on the one hand, our people have been told that it is rash to enter too early on the married state, and thereby to aggravate the pressure of the world’s population on the world’s food,—on the other, the proclamation of

a universal license has been sounded forth in their hearing, and that it is safe in this matter to follow the first promptings of nature, or of their own inclination—for that in the yet undeveloped resources of the earth in which we live, there is sustenance for a human family of tenfold a greater magnitude than now walk upon its surface. The folly of thus *philosophizing* the common people into a right habit is alike chargeable upon both the parties in this warfare; and if we seek to reform or to ameliorate either their condition or their habits, it is altogether by another sort of moral dynamics being brought into operation.

Accordingly, in the most full and formal attempt that has yet been made, by any author, to blend the moral with the economical, or to point out the relationship and the mutual influences which subsist between a high standard of character and a high standard of enjoyment among the people—there is nothing more strenuously insisted on, than the utter vanity and insignificance of the endeavour to elevate the condition of the working-classes, by imbuing their minds with the philosophy of Mr. Malthus. It is most assuredly not by placing them under his guidance, but under the guidance of a higher volume than his, even the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. It is thus, and thus alone, that we look for any permanent enlargement in the state and sufficiency of the common people; nor do we hope that through any other medium than that of Christian education, they will ever realize the promise either of the life that now is, or of the life that is to come. True, we can see no cause why all prudence and all forethought should be so proscribed, as our adversaries would seem to have it, from this department of human affairs—or why marriage, involving, though it does, the most important step in life, should be altogether left to the force of a blind and brutal impulse, as if it were religiously unlawful to make it the subject of deliberation at all, or to mix up with it any of the higher exercises of mind, as if it were the event of all others in a man's history privileged and singled out by this distinction, that his reasoning and reflective nature should have nothing to do with it. "He who provides not for his own," says the apostle, "and specially for those of his own house, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." Now, we cannot see why this providential care, this *προνοια*, should not have some place before the commencement of the family life as well as after it. Still, it is not any calculation on the number of our species that we require at the hands of our peasantry. We have no demand for any other regimen being brought to bear upon them, than that of their moral and religious training, and simply as the possessors of immortal souls—confident as we are, that to be rightly set on the way to heaven, is far the likeliest course both for contentment

and sufficiency in this world. And it matters not to this result, though they should remain profoundly ignorant, to the end of their days, of all that economists have ever written on the law of population. This forms no part, at least, of our specific for the elevation of the working classes. Enough for us that they are educated not in the lessons of political science, but in the lessons of the Gospel; and so are made to participate in the humanizing and enlarging influences of that Christianity which, wherever it takes effect, is sure to tell generally on the intellect and taste, as well as on the principles of men—investing all their higher faculties, the reason, and the understanding, and the conscience, with a more efficient control over the inferior propensities and instincts of their merely animal nature. The tendency of religion, we mean of that religion which cometh by hearing and by the word of God—the fruit of His blessing on well-taught schools and well-served churches—its tendency is to refine, and rationalize, and exalt the whole man, insomuch that in the very gait and appearance of a Christianized peasant, we can discern a person not merely of higher character, but altogether of higher caste than his fellows around him; and in virtue of which he does more than spurn away from him their low and loathsome dissipations. We know not a more pleasing experience, or one that more decisively points out the high-road to a secure and stable condition of sufficiency and comfort for the people of our land, than the almost invariable connexion which obtains between their moral worth, (a worth which can be reared and throughout sustained on no other basis than that of their evangelic tuition) and the general elevation which takes place in their tastes and habits, and whole style of their enjoyments. We know that this can be verified in almost every instance among the regular church-goers of humble life, in the great towns of Scotland. And we could even stake the credit of our assertion, on the, to us, unknown but easily ascertained truth of its holding altogether the same among the workmen and their families, of all grades, who best frequent the chapels and conventicles of our sister country—and this, too, among those employments whether of the mine or of the manufactory, which, apart from religion, are most fitted to degrade and demoralize them. There is nothing which has more impressed ourselves with the paramount efficacy of moral causes, than to find in the Christian household of a hand-loom weaver, where the united earnings did not reach 10s. a-week, an air of decent and humanized comfort, an interior economy whether as it respects the furniture of their clean and orderly apartments or the attire upon their persons, even a well-stored book-case where food for the mind on its humble shelves was purchased out of the hard and honest winnings that might have else been squandered on worth-

less gratifications—and all this, while the operative cotton-spinner of 30s. a-week, at the next door, who lived recklessly because he lived irreligiously, gave forth, in the whole aspect of his ill-habited and ill-conditioned family, every symptom of want and extreme wretchedness. In the one case there was a self-respect as well as a self-command, which was wanting in the other; and on this single difference, the fruit of that best and highest of all education, the education of principle, we believe that the whole alternative between a prosperous and erect on the one hand, or a sunken prostrate misthruven commonalty on the other, is, in the main, suspended. Now, what we hold is, that Christianity is the great civilizer of man—nay, the only agent which can beget that higher tone of habit and character among the people, which leads surely, though insensibly, to a higher standard of enjoyment in the midst of them. And, for the diffusion of such a habit, we seek no more than a right Christian tuition, the accompaniment and the fruit of right Christian institutes; or, in other words, an efficient parochial, as being far the likeliest preparative for an efficient family discipline in the households of our population—satisfied that the pupils of such a discipline will not only begin life well, but will sustain it rightly and respectably throughout all its stages. To induce this finer quality of the soul, there is need of no other influences than such as are brought to bear upon them by the humanizing intercourse of Christian philanthropists and Christian office-bearers in their respective congregations; and need of no other lessons than the lessons of the Old and New Testament. We are sensible that these are not the prescriptions of all Political Economy, yet there is a Political Economy which does recognize all this, nay strenuously recommends it, as being the only specific for all our social disorders. And yet this is the very Political Economy which is singled out for the fiercest invectives of the work now before us—the main article of the indictment, too, being that it has thrown the Bible overboard. We are most unwilling to believe that there is aught here either of the dishonest or the malicious. Yet we cannot fail to descry, in this town-made composition, the conceit and cockneyism of an author most ludicrously at fault, both respecting the subject and literature of the subject which he has undertaken to deal with.

But a general recognition of the Bible will not avail for vindication, if violence have been done to any of its specific precepts; and such is the violence which our author charges on the advocates of the Malthusian doctrine, more especially when they found on their notions or their fears of a redundant population, a dissuasive against early marriages. The passages on which he founds his counter-precept or counter-principle to this are, first,

the benediction pronounced by God on our first parents, immediately after their creation, when he said, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth;" and, secondly, the same benediction, for in both instances the words are uttered in the form of a blessing, and not of a commandment, when He says to Noah and his sons, immediately after the earth had been unpeopled, and the world had been turned into a wilderness before them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." Such was the power graciously conferred by God upon our species, and in virtue of which the wide and desolate expanse could, in a few generations, be transmuted into the blissful abode of thousands of families, nay, of nations, that, in as many centuries, might overspread the face of our globe. It would, therefore, appear that in regard to this power of multiplying, the prolific virtue wherewith our species has been endowed—the philosophy of Malthus is very much at one with the Bible, which informs us of our race having been so constituted, that from but one pair not only might a single region within a limited and calculable period, but even the whole globe might be fully peopled in the course of ages. It is a power which, of course, would suffer diminution with every shortening of human life—though it survived to the days of Noah, notwithstanding the abridgment which then took place in the longevity of mankind. And there is no reason to believe that any abridgment which may have taken place since, has put the benediction, given to both the first and second progenitors of the human family, beyond the reach of accomplishment. The narratives of Scripture give abundant testimony to the rapid increase in the numbers of mankind, shortly after each of these great starting-points—the Creation and the Flood. And as history is our sole informant then, so to history and observation do we look as our informants still, in regard both to the facts of their past and present increase, and to the capabilities of their future increase on the part of our species. And surely on this subject we have a whole host of testimonies, would we not shut our eyes against them—in the numerous colonizations both of former times, and which are now going forward, when the mother-country becomes too narrow or yields not enough of sustenance for her increased and increasing population—in the censuses of our own and other nations—most of all, in the pregnant fact that, wherever the elements of a fertile yet unoccupied soil with a healthy climate, and a secure government are conjoined, there a rapid and multiple progression in the number of inhabitants is the uniform and unfailing consequent, as in Van Diemen's Land and Australia and Canada and most palpably of all in the vast regions of central North America, from which we might gather how soon, by the expansive force of population, and did no obstacles intervene, the patri-

archal benedictions of Genesis might come to be realized in a world teeming to the uttermost with the families which overspread its surface. Even the most bigoted of our antagonists, could they only keep their theological antipathies for a moment at abeyance, would scarcely deny the conclusion, that the same prolific energy in our race which is to carry the world to this its maximum of occupiers, were competent, over and above, to the peopling of other worlds, if but access were had to them; and that, debarred from this access, there behoved to be either a virtuous restraint or a vicious outlet on the tendency to population, seeing that the force which could people twenty worlds, might easily tend to over-people one. Now, all which the disciples of Malthus need to contend for is, that what holds true of the world at large, might also hold true of particular sections or territories in the world, as indeed is abundantly manifest by the frequent emigrations from old to newly settled lands. So that, when the adequate facility for such emigration does not exist, there must be that very pressure of the population on the food, the slightest intimation of which is sure to call forth the outcries, in certain quarters, of the most fierce and unmeasured indignation. It is true, the advocates of the Malthusian theory farther contend, that the pressure may be felt long before the agriculture of any country has reached the extreme limit of its productiveness; and this because the tendency to an increase of population outstrips the tendency to an increase in the means of subsistence. Whether it does so or not, is a pure question of observation; and, at all events, it should disarm the prejudice of religionists, when told of a physiological law, in virtue of which a world might be peopled from a single family, that it is a law announced to us in the Bible, and that to quarrel with it is in fact to impeach the wisdom and the ways of God, as set forth both in the book of experience and the book of revelation. Let their repugnance to the practical lesson of the Malthusians be what it may, it should reconcile them, one might think, to the physiological dogma of the sect, that the very passages of Scripture which themselves quote, do necessarily involve it—so that in those furious denunciations which occur so frequently in the volumes before us, the author's knowledge of nature, and his understanding of the sacred record, seem to be equally at fault.

It is not, however, against the doctrine as viewed physiologically, but against it as treated practically and morally, that the main objection of our author lies. When simply regarded as a dogma or truth in Natural History, he might allege no great discrepancy between it and the Bible. It is with the ethical injunction which has been founded on the dogma, that he holds his chief quarrel—or when it is spoken of as a duty, a matter of

righteous obligation, to refrain from early marriages. This he proscribes as the utterance of a vain philosophy, in direct conflict or collision with the sacred command of Scripture, to "be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." We shall not avail ourselves here of the distinction between a benediction and a bidding—though "to be fruitful" is certainly not a precept laid upon man, but an endowment conferred by God, such an endowment as enabled man to multiply and replenish the earth. We shall, however, defer to the author's own understanding of these words—as if they meant not only that God enabled man, but that He enjoined him thus to multiply and thus to replenish. All which we need to contend for is, that man is not laid thereby under the obligation either to fill the earth beyond what it can yield for his subsistence, or to fill it faster than subsistence is found for him. Or, in opposition to this, will the author insist upon it, that because of the utterance given forth to Adam and to Noah—the first at the infancy of the world, and the second immediately after its total desolation—there lies a perpetual obligation on men at all times and in all circumstances, and an obligation amounting to this—that as soon as it is physically competent for any man to fulfil the functions of the married state, so soon it is morally incumbent on him to enter thereupon? Are we to understand that every delay beyond this is criminal; and that from the moment of his arriving at the requisite maturity for such a relationship, he, by every week of postponement, is lengthening out the period of his guilt, because of disobedience to a divine commandment? We should like to know if the meaning be, that a state of celibacy *per se* is a state of guilt; and that no such prudence can be alleged as might convert it into a state of innocence, or no such principle as might convert it into a state of virtuous self-denial? The inhabitants of St. Kilda, amounting to about a hundred, have a few allotments of land parcelled out among the families; and the practice there is to defer each marriage, long, it may be, after it has been proposed and agreed upon, till one of these allotments shall fall vacant. Must the command of multiply and replenish be so understood as to overbear this necessity? Or are the parties in such delay to be charged, and simply because of their delay, with a profane defiance to the authority of God? The same necessity, with the same consequent practice, obtains on a larger scale in the kingdom of Norway. Must the moral category of our author be proclaimed there too; and are the young of both sexes to be told of their being grievously and unchristianly in the wrong, because they have so resolutely adhered for generations to those habits of forbearance and control, in virtue of which their territory, sterile as it is, is found to uphold the best-conditioned pea-

sanctuary in Europe? In our own country the necessity is not so palpable, because more disguised amid the complex relationships of British society. But though apt to be lost sight of when the subject is looked at generally or nationally, it is not the less felt individually; and of the vast majority may it be affirmed, that there is an interval of years between the age of puberty and the age of competent provision for the expenses of a distinct and separate household. And again we ask, whether is it better in this department of human affairs, that the blindfold impulse shall carry all before it, or that the impulse shall be regulated and restrained by the consideration of what is due to self-respect, in securing a decent and seemly maintenance; or of what is due to a parentage who might require the help of their own offspring to succour and sustain them? Is the command to multiply and replenish, given to the first patriarchs of a world then untenanted—is it of that standing universal obligation, and withal of a character so instant and imperative, as to overbear either the prudence which would suggest the first of these considerations, or the principle and natural affection which would suggest the second of them? All we can say for ourselves is, that we do not so understand it—nay, marvel that so very peculiar an ethics should have been raised on so slender a foundation. Of the presumption and temerity which have prompted the outrageous abuse of those who cannot join either in the interpretation of these sayings in Genesis, or in the application here made of them, we feel it better to say nothing.

But more than this. Not only do the Scriptures afford no warrant for the violent outcry here made against our more recent Political Economy—they enable us to make positive exhibition of the harmony which obtains between what an enlightened science pronounces to be true, and an enlightened Christianity (by which we mean no other than the Christianity of the Bible,) pronounces to be right and good. It is fortunate for our argument, that the circumstances of the Christian Church called forth the Apostle Paul to his wise and well-weighed deliverance upon this subject—and in which he strikingly evinces the same tact, and discrimination, and delicacy, which are so conspicuous in his whole treatment of another question, that, in the hands of men less gifted than himself, might have proved a topic of most difficult and unmanageable casuistry—we mean the question which so agitated the disciples of his time, respecting meats and days, and the ceremonies and rites of Judaism. We could almost speak of it as being singly and of itself an evidence of his inspiration, when we observe—both on this question and on that of marriage—with what dexterity, or rather with what profound and admirable judgment, he clears his way among the three distinct

categories of the *obligatory*, and the *lawful*, and the *expedient*. Availing ourselves of this nomenclature, we should say of Paul, that, in regard to the first of these terms, he held it not obligatory upon his converts to adopt the Jewish observances—nay, (witness his Epistle to the Galatians,) he strenuously resisted the imposition of them as such. But, in regard to the second term, he held it lawful—that is, allowable—as carrying in it no infraction of any binding or positive duty, to do either the one or the other—as, for example, to eat flesh or not to eat it. And, in regard to the third, the sentence given forth by him was, that though both things were lawful, yet, at certain times and in certain circumstances, both things might not be expedient; and thus, while lawful to eat, it was on given occasions expedient not to eat for the sake of the weaker brethren. He accordingly, in one case, submitted to have his head shorn, nay, even went so far as to circumcise Timothy “because of the Jews;” while, in another case, he refused to the false brethren the concession of circumcising Titus, and this lest they should exalt a mere rite or circumstantial of Judaism to an equal rank with the great essentials of Christianity. Such at the same time, was his respect for expediency, by which we mean not a selfish or political but Christian expediency, or what is best and most expedient for the good of human souls, that on his mind—and on every mind such as his of highest spiritual philanthropy and patriotism—it is an expediency which acts with all the force of a most urgent obligation; and hence the noble declaration regarding what in itself he held to be a thing of indifference,—“Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will not eat flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.”

Now, in all this, we recognize, to a great extent, an analogy between his treatment of the ceremonial and his treatment of the marriage question; and did we carry the same three elements along with us, it might help to a sound decision on the place, with its relative bearings, which marriage holds in the ethical system of the Bible. First, then, it is obvious, that the ordinance of marriage does not take rank with the duties of absolute and universal obligation. It is not obligatory on all in the same way that the virtues of the decalogue are obligatory on all, else the apostle would never, in any circumstances, have consented to a dispensation from it. He would not have done this evil that good might come, or, for the sake of any advantage to the Christian cause, have absolved his converts from the observance of any of the express and unqualified precepts of Christianity. But this is what he does in reference to marriage. He says to the unmarried that it is good for them to abide unmarried—that is, provided they have the requisite self-command to abstain from

licentiousness—a gift which he estimates so highly that he would it were possessed by all men, so that all, for the time being, might remain unmarried like himself. And as Paul evidently points to celibacy as being, in that special emergency of the Church, a higher moral state than the state of marriage—so our Saviour before him as evidently points to the faculty of maintaining a virtuous celibacy as being a higher moral accomplishment, than a bare virtuous fidelity to the engagements and duties of the married life. (Matt., xix. 11.) Nevertheless, and as this higher virtue is that to which all men are not competent, marriage, though not a thing of imperative obligation on all, is lawful to all. And, accordingly, we read, that “if thou marry, thou hast not sinned, and if a virgin marry, she hath not sinned;” and therefore the Apostle says, “I spare you.” But the third element, or that of expediency, also enters into the question; and to this consideration the Apostle yields, which he never would have done had marriage been a duty of unexcepted and irreversible obligation. And so he tells his disciples that he reckons it good, because of the present necessity, not to marry, and that, though there are circumstances which, when they compel a marriage, it is well, yet, when they do not compel a marriage, it is better. Yet, amid all this latitude of acquiescence, there runs a vein of steady, unfaltering, consistent principle, inso-much that no expediency whatever is permitted to force the surrender of a sacred and unchangeable morality. And so, while our great Apostle forbids marriage to none, he recommends that all who purely and righteously can, should abstain from it. He ventures on a hazardous and difficult pathway, yet gloriously acquits himself, as he does on the question of meats and days, of all its varieties, and through its hardest passages; and the lessons he has given forth are,—It is better, in some circumstances, to remain single than marry: It is better, in all circumstances, to marry than be licentious.

And this conclusion, we are persuaded, is in full accordance with the general, the practical understanding on the subject of marriage, which obtains and is acted on throughout the society at large of Protestant Christendom. The times are changed, no doubt, since celibacy was canonized as a virtue; but most certainly this has not been replaced by the opposite principle of marriage being canonized as a virtue, or still less of its being held as a thing of permanent and indispensable and withal universal obligation. An obligation, and that, too, of a most sacred character, it unquestionably is, when the only alternative is either a state of matrimony, or a habit, nay, a single act of criminal indulgence. But we appeal to the conscience and religious feeling even of the most enlightened and exalted of our spiritual

men, whether, when the alternative is presented of the married or single state, the one characterized by a strict fidelity, and the other by as strict and unviolated a chastity—whether they can bring themselves to look on a preference of the former to the latter in the same light in which they regard a preference of justice to dishonesty, or of truth to falsehood, or of generosity to grinding and hard-hearted avarice. It was altogether a factitious sentiment, conjured up by superstition, when a merit and moral character were annexed to celibacy, as placed by the side of marriage; but it is fully as much a factitious sentiment, conjured up in this instance by the argumentative effort to run down one economical theory and to exalt another, when a merit and moral character are annexed to marriage as placed by the side of celibacy. Both are allowable, nay, examples are often realized when both are beautiful in their kind—as when a philanthropy like that of Howard's demands exemption from the distracting cares of a family; or, descending to humbler and commoner life, when marriage is forborne for years, nay, often altogether, that parents might be upheld in respect and comfort onwardly to their graves—or that the orphans of some dear and departed relative might find protection under the roof of one of their own kindred who has adopted them as his own. In such cases as these we but recognize the varieties of Christian excellence, and should deem it a singular absurdity, if, giving way to our author's overstrained application of the precept to replenish and multiply, we should, under the tuition of his ethical philosophy, be led to withhold our admiration of them. At the same time, while we refuse to call good evil, let it be equally our care and concern not to call evil good. There is no one virtue which has the property or the power to sanctify the violation of another. Celibacy is lawful, and may often be expedient. But licentiousness is a crime, the guilt of which no expediency can obliterate; nor can any strength of benevolence, though carried to the summit of a romantic elevation, ever undo the condemnatory sentence of the Bible against all impurity, whether of heart or conduct, or discharge us from that holiness without which no man can see God—without which no man can find admittance into the heaven where nothing that defileth shall enter. The supererogation of one duty does not justify the sacrifice of another.

Now such are the views of all with whose writings we happen to be acquainted among the advocates for the recent doctrine of population; and such, more especially, are the views and sentiments of Mr. Malthus himself. The very terms of *moral restraint*, and *moral preventive check*, which this philosopher has devised to express his proposed remedy against the evils he has so clearly

and forcibly pointed out, should have protected him from the rash and intemperate attacks of the author of these volumes. Instead of which they but transport him to a vehemence still more outrageous than before; and with a force of antipathy against which it were vain to argue—partaking, as it does, far rather of the sensitive than the rational—does he proceed to denounce all the supporters of this obnoxious theory, as if they were the apostles of vice or of an unbridled licentiousness. So great indeed, and so passionate, is the repugnance which is felt by him, that he seems at times as if writing under the impulse of a morbid affection—an affection which so far distempers and discomposes, as not only to blind him against the demonstrations of scientific truth, but as causes him to forget the still higher claims both of justice and modesty.

But let us overlook these infirmities of our author in the all-absorbing importance of his subject. His imagination obviously is, that the inculcation of a few years' virtuous celibacy from the time of opening manhood—and this to subserve the speculation of Mr. Malthus—would fall utterly powerless on the minds and habits of our rising generation, and so bring a fearful flood of immorality, with all its disorders, upon the world. And the imagination were a well-grounded one, had we no other counteractive against the else ungovernable passions of youth, than only this doctrine of population, or any other lesson indeed of merely economical science. The proposal, as acted upon by Marcet and Martineau, and others, to bring about a general postponement of marriages, and lessening of their number, by the circulation of popular tracts charged with the philosophy of the subject; or rather pointing out in a plain familiar way, and for the benefit of the popular understanding, the effect of these premature alliances on the labour market—this we have ever held to be a most ridiculous undertaking, a truly grotesque and unpractical method for the accomplishment of the object which it professes. It is not most assuredly on the strength of any such patriotic or general calculations, or to the demonstration, however clear and resistless, of the connexion which obtains between the rate of matrimony and the rate of wages—it is not to any new lesson coming out of the new light which has been shed upon these topics—that we look for aught like an operative or efficient remedy against the evils, whether of an over-peopled earth or over-peopled country. Nature and Christianity both have provided other remedies and other counteractions, which were in vigorous and wholesome operation long before Malthus was ever heard of, and the operation of which might be continued, nay augmented with most salutary influence still, apart altogether from the reasonings or the dogmata of any economic school. We hardly think

that even our author—looking with an eye of practical observation on society as it stands—we cannot think that even he would refuse the affirmation of its not only holding true in point of fact, that the great majority of young men and young women do not marry, but of its being most desirable in point of convenience that they should not marry at the first bidding of inclination, after the attainment of a sufficient maturity for having families of their own. Sure we are, that if he did proclaim it as a moral category, that the first visitation after this of the sexual desire was of itself the intimation of a duty, an absolute, binding, imperative duty, for proceeding to its immediate but legitimate gratification in the way of marriage, he would be reclaimed against in almost every household of grown-up sons and daughters throughout the land. With all his antipathies to the idea of a check, when spoken of by the lips of a philosopher, yet is this very check almost universally acted on, and throughout all ranks and degrees of the people—and not as a dictate of philosophy, but as a plain dictate of common sense, or of prudence giving way to a felt and obvious necessity. There is not a considerate parent anywhere, not a wise and virtuous matron, who would not, on the headlong marriage of any son of her's without the means for the maintenance of a separate family—who would not lament the case of her own overburdened household, as feelingly as ever Malthusian poured forth his warnings or his sorrows over the case of an over-peopled nation. It would be felt and deprecated as a great calamity by ninety-nine parents out of a hundred; and the knowledge of its being so felt and so deprecated, acts with controlling, and, we should say, salutary influence on the immediate parties themselves in this transaction—so as to put it off by longer or shorter periods to a more convenient season. In short, there has been for ages a preventive check in powerful operation, and without Mr. Malthus having ought the blame of it, in virtue of which there is not a country in Europe, we will venture to affirm, where, on the average, there is not the interval of years at least between the age of puberty and the age of marriage. Here then, in deed and in reality, is a period of human life, forced, whether he will or not, on our author's contemplation; and which it will not do to charge on the political economists, for, in truth, it is the actual fruit of circumstances as felt and reasoned upon, not by them, but by the every-day men and women of our every-day world. What then will our author make of this? Will he arraign the order of Providence, and tell us of such a constitution of things that it is vicious and wrong, and should be put an end to? Or, to escape from our conclusion, will he take it up as a question not of earthly prudence, but of heavenly and divine principle—making his appeal from experience to the Bible, or from the wisdom of man to the

wisdom of God? We follow him there, and ask, where is the passage from which any confident or unequivocal inference can be drawn, against the single state of those who have arrived at the requisite physical maturity for marriage, as being in itself unlawful? We are aware of the vices peculiar to such a state, and of which the men whom he calumniates are in every way as intolerant, and against which they lift as honest and loud a denunciation as the author himself does. As to the vices of such a state, there is no one who questions their sinfulness. But we ask, is the state itself—the state without its vices—is that sinful? We have already seen that Christianity, so far from proscribing the state, in certain circumstances recommends it. But we shall not avail ourselves of this argument. Enough for our cause, that Christianity does not forbid the state; but instead of this, presupposes it, and provides it accordingly with the requisite duties, and the requisite directions. In other words, so far from obliterating this stage in the history of a man's life, it is one of her beautiful offices to cultivate and adorn it—telling us what its appropriate graces and what its appropriate virtues are—enjoining the young men at one place, not that they should marry, but to be sober-minded; and at another, not that they should marry, but to be strong, and to overcome the evil one. We do not say that Christianity anywhere forbids marriage; but it is sufficient for us that she nowhere commands it—treating it in fact as a thing of indifference, save in that exceptional case (1 Cor. vii., 9.) where we are told that it is better to marry, not than to live single, but better to marry than to live under the tyranny and the torment of such passions as war against the soul. But while it points out this as the only lawful method for their indulgence, it tells us of other methods in which to dispose of them; and so, while it denounces a vicious, it proclaims its approval of a virtuous celibacy, and thereby its toleration of celibacy itself—As when, instead of bidding its disciples indulge in any way, even in the way which is legitimate and allowable, it bids them flee youthful lusts, and mortify their earthly affections; nay, crucify the evil desires of an evil and accursed nature. The author plentifully arraigns others for casting off the authority of Scripture; but what are his own freedoms with the Sacred volume? By the providence of God there is a certain stage, longer or shorter, in the course of our probation here below, which must be described by every one who reaches manhood—that is the period, while it lasts, of manhood in a state of singleness. The Bible tolerates the state, nay, bestows upon it the most expressive of all sanctions, the precepts of its own high and pure morality. But this author deprecates the state, nay, would do away with it altogether, and so supersede the precepts. He would so intermeddle with the order of human

life as completely to annul this part of our virtuous discipline—changing at his own pleasure the arrangements of that school in which our Heavenly Teacher exercises and prepares His children for eternity. It is curious to observe of a writer so fond and liberal of rebuke towards those who differ from him, for what he is pleased to represent as their daring impiety—how he exalts his own wisdom, not only over the truths of a science which he obviously has never studied, but over the lessons of that Scripture which he sadly misinterprets and misunderstands.

We cannot imagine a more grievous impeachment on the wisdom, if not on the rectitude of the precepts in Scripture, addressed to human nature, and with the purpose, no doubt, to purify and exalt it—than to be told of these precepts that human nature is beyond the reach of being elevated or amended by them. Yet this is what we are in effect told by the author of these volumes, who represents everywhere a state of singleness as being incompatible with a state of virtue, and that so long as we suffer men to continue in that state, we do virtually abandon them to all sorts of dissolute and ruinous excess. And in confirmation of this, it is a deplorable view which he gives of the common people in many parts of England, and for which we apprehend that there is too much reason. We can well remember the surprise depicted on the universal countenance of a Parliamentary committee, when, in our examination before them, we made the statement of a country parish in the north, where no illegitimate birth had occurred for several years. We have no doubt that it was the contrast with the observation which each had of his own neighbourhood, that excited this astonishment, though most certainly there are many districts, nay, provinces in Scotland, where the mention of such a degree of virtuousness would not have been so wondered at. Another thing is equally certain—that whatever other account might be given for this higher comparative purity of habit in our own land, it most assuredly is not due to the prevalence of its earlier marriages. It is to the parishes of England that you must look for these, where a legal provision for the poor has exempted the people from the necessity of foresight and care for themselves; and not to Scotland, or at least to those parts and parishes of Scotland where a legal and compulsory provision is unknown. And we do hold it a most instructive exhibition, and at the same time as bearing most adversely on the views and reasonings of our author, when we find that, in the country of improvident marriages, there is the greater number, and in the country of more prudent, and so of later marriages, there is a less number of illegitimate children. But without looking beyond our own territory, the same lesson might be drawn from the retrospect of the past as compared with present times. For

the days were—though these are now rapidly disappearing—of a still higher purity, when the marriages were in general postponed for months, often for years, after the virtuous attachment had been formed, and the matrimonial engagement been entered on, and this with the express purpose of making out a sufficient preparation for the expenses of the future household. The providings, the *plenishings*, chiefly under the superintendence of the destined bride's mother, these rising by successive accumulations into a goodly pile of linens and garments, and many other stores or articles of housewifery, far beyond our skill or ability to particularize—these exhibited with triumphant complacency to assembled neighbours before the bridal day, as serving to mark the respectable outset and outfitting of the young couple,—these are not yet forgotten, nay, in some measure, are still practised, and may yet be revived in all their original strength, and with all the wholesome influence which they had then on the social and economical state of our Scottish peasantry. Now here was Malthusianism in perfection, and yet with all purity. The married life was not abandoned under this system. It was only somewhat abridged, and with the best effect on the comfort and freedom of its remaining years—freedom from that intolerable bondage of debt, under which so many of our poorer families are now borne down, to a destitution and a dependence which overhang them to the last moment of their earthly existence. Neither let it be said, that this prolongation of the single state, grounded on such a principle, and animated throughout by the aims and the prospects of such an honourable termination, had any deteriorating influence on the character of the parties, so as to land them in those grovelling and illicit indulgences which our author, judging, we fear, from the habits and the corruptions of a neighbourhood far more sunken in profligacy than any which we have had the opportunity of contemplating, apprehends to be inevitable. The influence of such a state, with its aspirations, and its hopes, and its efforts, is altogether in the opposite direction—that is, to recall the sexual feelings, and to fix and concentrate them upon one object, and this, too, in the form of a hallowed and hallowing affection, under which all the delicacies of a virtuous love serve to guarantee and to confirm all the decencies of a virtuous celibacy. There cannot be a more entire and diametrical antithesis than obtains between the sentiments and habits which it is the genuine tendency of this affection to foster upon the one hand, and upon the other those low and loathsome dissipations which are brought forward in such painful, such prominent relief by our author; and all the guilt and brutality of which, he would fain charge on what he regards as the demoralizing philosophy of Mr. Malthus. It is a charge which, long ere that philosophy

made its appearance, has been experimentally refuted, and on a large scale—that is, by the manners and observances of a whole people. And this not in one instance only, but in many, as in Scotland and Switzerland and Norway, and other examples, whether of nations or of provinces and districts which have occurred in the history of the world. The truth is, that love, in its state of abeyance or of probation, as it may be termed, as being still at a distance from its full and final gratification, so far from its general effect being to vitiate and degrade, acts with antagonist force towards a reverse conclusion, being not only fitted by its own native influences to purify and exalt, but often leading to the very highest developments of character. There is surely nothing discordant or at all dissonant with this in the spirit of those beautiful and heart-stirring songs which have so long been the favourite lyrics of our own peasantry. But descending from the romance to the practical realities of our subject, who does not see that such a course of discipline is favourable to all the virtues, and fitted to nurture, though it may be in the school of necessity, an energy and self-command, and withal a frugal and persevering industry, which of itself is the best security for the independence and sufficiency and well-conditionedness of their future lives? Even the ruling passion by which they are actuated is of itself a guide and a guardian against all pernicious and wasteful excesses. This season of anticipation is thus capable of being turned to a most precious account, and within the memory of those now living, was actually turned to such account throughout the great majority of our parishes in Scotland. The moral and prudential influences of a marriage in prospect, form the best preparatives for all the future exigencies of the married life.

But that we may give a clearer and more convincing view of the matter, let us trace the operation of the two adverse systems in a single parish. It is within our recollection to have read in the minutes of evidence taken before a Parliamentary committee of a parish in Kent, or at least in one of the maritime counties along the south of England, where the witness complained of the sad oppression under which they laboured, from the number of labourers for whom they could get no profitable work—a most frequent and familiar complaint in many thousands of parishes throughout our sister kingdom; and which, despite of all the argument, and, we may well add, all the anger and violence of his adversaries, may ever be appealed to as so many living exemplifications of the truth of Malthus' theory. On being asked whether no measures of relief had been adopted—the reply was, that upon one occasion an emigrant ship had taken off forty of the families. When again put to him, whether this did not very materially lighten their burden, the reply was—not in the least, for that on

the very next Sunday forty couples had been called in church, and who, immediately on being married, took possession of the cottages which had been abandoned. We have no doubt that all of these were, for some period at least, whether shorter or longer, under the operation of that very preventive check, the very naming of which sounds so execrably in the ears of our author. And we have better hopes of his own countrymen than not to believe that many of them—would we could say, after the sad and revolting exhibition which he has put forth of their vices, that all of them—while thus biding their time, were under the operation not of the immoral but of the moral preventive check; and so were not only living in the resolute maintenance of those virtues which are proper to their present state, but were busily employed on the strength of their frugal and sober and industrious habits, in making proper and right preparations for their future well-being. We are quite aware that in a parish suffered to go loose from all Christian regimen, where there is not an adequate number of schools scripturally taught, and where there is no church for the people rightly disciplined and rightly administered—we are quite aware that in such a parish, more especially if the promises of a poor-rate have exempted them from all dependence on their own exertions for the sufficiency of their own maintenance—we can well understand how, in such melancholy circumstances of neglect and abandonment, there might be a universal relaxation both of all prudence and all principle. We can only say, that if such be the state of England, we must not suffer the example of one nation to infect the whole world—nor because of the dissoluteness which is here ascribed to her peasantry and her working-classes, must we therefore libel and calumniate the peasantry and the working-classes of every other country in Europe. Certain we are that there lies up in many a population that we ourselves have witnessed, the capability of far better things; and, believing as we do in the identity of human nature all the world over, we shall not arrogate for our own countrymen a monopoly of those virtues and habits to which we are confident that, by right institutions rightly worked, all might be conducted. And here is the way in which the matter would proceed with a parish under such a regimen. There, in the first place, would be no such accumulation of supernumeraries, as was complained of in Kent—that being the genuine product of the foregone reckless marriages, which the system established there is so directly fitted to foster and to multiply. And, in the second place, as to the current marriages, they would proceed not so as to outrun, but so as to replace the vacancies just as they occurred, gradually, and in the course of nature, by the process of one generation succeeding another. Such is the strength of the prin-

ciple of population, as ordained by Him who is the author of our frames, that the marriages would proceed as fast as the openings, whether for the residence of new families, or for such employment and wages as might yield them an adequate maintenance. But (what we, as Malthusians, hold to be desirable,) these marriages would not proceed faster than the openings, and this on the strength of a prudence and a self-respect and a self-command on the part of men capable of other and higher influences than those of a blind and headlong appetency, because God had "given to them more understanding than the beasts of the field, and made them wiser than the fowls of heaven"—a forbearance, theirs however, not at the bidding of Malthus, not in obedience to the lessons or the demonstrations of Political Science, but the spontaneous product of their own tastes, humanized and elevated by that most potent of all civilizers—a Christian education. The effect were greatly enhanced by a good education of letters being superadded to, or rather based upon, what has been well termed the education of principle—or, in other words, by the establishment of well-taught schools for the people, along with well-served churches. And it would go still farther, and that speedily, to raise the general tone and habit of the families, should Christian philanthropists, whether in the capacity of office-bearers or not, feel such an interest as to take an active charge of their advancement and well-being—as those zealous and conscientious elders of Scotland do, who assume each a district, and make themselves the familiars and influential friends of the various households over which they expatiate. It is not to be told how soon there ensues a sensible amelioration, both economically and morally, when any given neighbourhood is thus constituted, as it were, into one great family, under the surveillance of an efficient clergyman, who speaks home to their consciences on the Sabbath, and, along with his coadjutors in this blessed enterprise both of piety and true patriotism, intermingles with them through the week in all the acts and attentions of Christian charity. The very intercourse with their superiors tells in inducing upon them a certain higher caste and finer complexion than heretofore; and just by engaging them with higher fellowships and higher topics than any to which they had been previously accustomed. Even the older inhabitants of a vicinity thus cultivated and thus cared for, under the softenings of a kindness which they had seldom experienced amid the general neglect and abandonment to which our working-classes have been doomed for several generations, or under the appeals now made to their religious sensibilities and fears—even many of these would give way before the new and unwonted power which had been thus brought to bear upon them. But it would operate far more surely and

irresistibly upon the young, through the medium of Sabbath and week-day schools—but most of all under the pulpit and household ministrations of a devoted clergyman, followed up by the efforts of a zealous parochial agency, thoroughly intent upon the objects of their high and holy undertaking, and giving themselves to their work perseveringly and in perfect good earnest. It is no marvel and no mystery to us, that, by the energies of our ecclesiastical system, such a transformation should have taken place both in the moral and the economical state of Scotland from 1698 to 1717—the state of the country at the former period being deposed to by Fletcher of Saltoun, and at the latter period by the celebrated writer, Daniel De Foe. The following are the pictures or representations given by each of them respectively, at the several dates which we have now specified.

The first extract is from Fletcher of Saltoun :

“ There are at this day in Scotland (besides a great number of families very meanly provided for by the church boxes, with others, who with living upon bad food, fall into various diseases,) 200,000 people begging from door to door. These are not only no ways advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country; and though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly by reason of the present great distress, yet in all times there have been about 100,000 of these vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or submission either to the laws of the land, or even those of God and Nature, fathers incestuously accompanying their own daughters, the son with the mother, and the brother with the sister. No magistrate could ever discover or be informed which way any of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized. Many murders have been discovered among them; and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants, (who if they give not bread or some sort of provision to perhaps forty such villains in one day, are sure to be insulted by them,) but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty, many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other the like public occasions they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together.”

Such was the state of Scotland at the end of her religious wars and persecutions in the 17th century, when the ministry of the Gospel had been suspended throughout all her parishes, and the virtuous discipline of her Church had been broken up or sadly interrupted for many years—beside that the Act for the establishment of parochial schools was repealed. The picture is truly a revolting one, though not more so than that given by our author of the moral condition of the peasantry at this moment in many of the hamlets and parishes of England. It appears, how-

ever, from very distinct historical documents, that this state of things subsided almost *per saltum*, when the people had leave to repose from the violence and anarchy of former years, and the parochial system of education became again general. They were, now after the quiet establishment of their Church, plied from Sabbath to Sabbath by an efficient and acceptable clergy, in consequence of which the transformation appears a most decisive one for proving the efficacy of moral causes. The extract we have already given from Fletcher, relates to the condition of Scotland in 1698. The following, from De Foe, gives an account of the same country for 1717 :

“ The people are restrained in the ordinary practice of common immoralities, such as swearing, drunkenness, slander, fornication, and the like. As to theft, murder, and other capital crimes, they come under the cognizance of the civil magistrate, as in other countries ; but in those things which the Church has power to punish, the people being constantly and impartially prosecuted, they are thereby the more restrained, kept sober and under government, and you may pass through twenty towns in Scotland, without seeing any broil, or hearing one oath sworn in the streets ; whereas, if a blind man was to come from there into England, he shall know the first town he sets his foot in within the English border, by hearing the name of God blasphemed and profanely used, even by the very little children on the street.”

It is from other sources that we know how the economical kept pace with the moral—how not only the disorder, but the extreme destitution rapidly disappeared—that mendicity, though it still subsisted, was carried on to a quiet and limited extent ; and above all, as can be indubitably authenticated by the parochial records kept from week to week in every parish in Scotland, that there were not six parishes in the whole country where they had recourse to a legal assessment, or compulsory provision for the maintenance of their poor. The only public charity then known throughout the great bulk of the nation, was that upheld by the free-will offerings from Sabbath to Sabbath at the church door—and these mainly contributed by the people themselves, or by the commonalty of each congregation, not far removed in their own circumstances, or rather pressing hard on the very borders of pauperism. And all this without any legal or economical expedient whatever, without a poor-rate, without any allotment system, or cottage system, or agrarian invasion upon property, or any infringement whatever on the proprietary feelings of the upper classes ; but due altogether to a change of habit and character, which, along with the coming up of a new generation, took place upon the families—a glorious result of educational and ecclesiastical influences alone—or, as we have said already, due singly and entirely to the operation of moral causes.

Nor should it be difficult to comprehend the process by which this result was arrived at, and which, with the revival or progress of Christianity, might be repeated with the same result at all times, and in all countries of the world. It is most assuredly not needed for its success that the people should have at all the consciousness of any such doctrine as that of Malthus, or that they should be required to put forth any calculation respecting it—so that the circulation of the proposed scientific tracts amongst them is wholly uncalled for, and would indeed be found a singularly and most ludicrously inoperative expedient. It is not the scholarship of Political Economy that is at all wanted; but the far more accessible yet infinitely higher scholarship of the Bible, brought home to the popular conscience through the medium of well taught schools, and well administered churches; and, let us add, well organized and well cultivated parishes. Such vast and unwieldy topics as the world and the world's population, need not for one moment be present to their thoughts. Each has but to do with the matters of his own little sphere,—whether it be the sphere of his own condition, within which it is his part to act wisely; or the sphere of his own duties, within which it is his part to act conscientiously. And the guarantee for his doing both is simply, that, under such a regimen as we have here prescribed for him, he becomes a better Christian and a better man. Doubtless he will have a farther reach of anticipation than before, such being the enlarging and elevating, as well as transforming effect of a religious education, combining as it does, both the education of letters, and the education of principle. Altogether he is a more reflective, and considerate, and sober-minded person than formerly, with a greater ascendancy of thought over passion, of the moral and the intellectual over the appetites and propensities of his merely animal nature. The mind in fact, when thus exercised and thus disciplined, experiences what may be termed a general elevation—shooting as it were a-head of the present, and capable now of looking onward with forecast and preparation, not only for the distant futurity on the other side of death, but for the nearer futurities of our earthly existence. It rises to higher tastes, and catches a refining influence from higher companionships; and, in virtue of the same self-command by which it is enabled to sacrifice present gratifications for the interest of the life that is to come, is it also enabled to make good its preference for the decencies and real comforts of the life that now is—and this by a sustained habit of frugality and good conduct, so as to provide aright for the sufficiency of the years which lie before it, meanwhile bidding away the incitements of unhallowed licentiousness, or reckless dissipation. It is because of this higher standard of enjoyment, after which a people thus trained and thus moralized are insensibly led

to aspire, that later marriages prevail, and these preceded by a larger of course, yet not by a licentious but by a pure and moral celibacy. It is unnecessary to insist on the very obvious consideration, that when marriages are thus postponed, and so are less productive than formerly, the views and objects of the Malthusians are made to receive their practical fulfilment—and this among a people who are utterly unconscious of Malthus, and of all his speculations. The physiological law of increase by which the population, whether of the whole earth or any of its sections, tends to outrun the agricultural produce, is in this way counteracted by influences altogether on the side of happiness and virtue—and yet, it may be, throughout a community in total ignorance of the law. The individuals who compose it may be looking no farther than each after his own immortal and his own temporal well-being; and on whom therefore this sure promise of Scripture obtains its glorious verification, that if we seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, all other things will be added unto us.

There are many topics which here crowd in upon us, and which we should like much to dwell upon at length, with the view of clearing away every exception, and of establishing as fully and conclusively as might be desired, every sound and important principle which belongs to this great question. But we should thus expand the present article into a volume; and we must therefore now do little more than state what we have no room to argue or to illustrate, and this as compendiously and briefly as we can.

First then, let us not be surprised, that while man seeks after one object, and by his efforts succeeds in obtaining it—such is the constitution of things, that by these very efforts another and wholly distinct object is secured, of which he may be altogether unseeing, and which therefore he does not seek after. This is altogether of a piece with the order of nature, and with the economy of God's providential administration in the world. For instance, when man eats, it is generally without respect to the use of food for the continuance of life and strength, but simply for the gratification of his hunger—an appetite which the author of his frame, as if aware that he could not be trusted with the care of his own preservation, instead of leaving this great interest to any foresight or calculation of his, has inserted in the shape of a strong and urgent physical affection, which, recurring at brief periodic intervals, and acting the part both of a monitor and master, both reminds and impels him to those repeated acts, the performance of which is indispensable to the well-being of his animal economy. Political Economy is full of such examples—insomuch, that a Natural Theology, of which Archbishop Whately has given some specimens, might be

founded on the phenomena, and the laws which this science places before us. Thus it has been found that the maximum of a nation's commercial prosperity is best realized by each individual being left to the busy and sharp-sighted, though, in reference to the general result, short-sighted prosecution of his own interests—so that, while his single view is the advancement of his own fortune, he, without any express design on his part, along with thousands of others who are similarly situated, contributes each his share towards the best economic condition of the country in which he lives. The Legislature, however, on the presumption of their own larger views, and, as if themselves not so short-sighted as individual traders, have, by their restraints and their bounties and their artificial regulations, tried to mend and to medicate what they have only marred by their interference, doing mischief, in fact, by the disturbance they have given to the operations of a previous and better mechanism, which it had been their enlightened policy to let alone. And so in the philosophy of Free-trade, the essence of which consists in leaving this mechanism to its own spontaneous evolutions, do we behold a striking testimony to the superior intelligence of Him who is the author both of human nature and human society—an impressive demonstration of how much the wisdom of man is outpeered by the wisdom of God. Now, it is precisely thus too in the matter of population, regarding which the best and most wholesome state of a country is arrived at, not by the encouragements or prohibitions of the government, and almost as little by the lessons of Political Economy, but by a sound popular education, which, if blended, as it ever ought to be, or rather, if based upon religion, will infallibly raise the taste and the habit of families, so that, by a way which they comprehend not—nor is it at all necessary that they should—these sayings of the Bible will come to have their fulfilment, and in nothing more than in the general sufficiency of the working-classes, even that righteousness exalteth a nation, and that sin is the reproach and the ruin of a people.

But, secondly—while it thus holds true, that to keep any country right in the matter of population, it is in no way required that all the people in it shall become economic philosophers, for it were enough if each were provided with an education which did sufficient justice to him as a moral and intellectual and accountable being, and he were then simply left to the management of his own affairs in the way he deemed best for his own comfort and his own credit—Yet we join not in the cry of, Leave population to itself, God will provide for all whom He brings into the world, and therefore let us feel absolved from all care and all calculation on the subject of marriages. On the con-

trary, we hold it no more safe and right for man to proceed recklessly in this than in any other department of his affairs; nor can we understand why all wisdom and deliberation and forethought, so laudable in every thing else, should have no place in this the most important step in the history of human life. Man, in fact, should be reckless in nothing, but reckless in every thing; and the only question is, what, in the concern of marriage is it, that he should reck or reckon upon? Not, as some economists would most grotesquely have him to do, not on the world's or on the country's population, but solely on his own means and his own circumstances, so that he may decide aright on what is best and wisest for himself. Let us but have a well-trained commonalty; and in their hands such a decision will, on the whole, be safe, so that all our apprehensions on the subject of an excessive population might then go to sleep. A good result particular in each case, would infallibly land us in a good result universal. Doubtless the ever-watchful Providence of God will ever be present, and ever have the rule in human affairs; and be characterized throughout by the principles of a wise and righteous administration. Imprudence will be followed up, as it always is, by suffering. Prudence and virtue will verily have their rewards. And marriage forms no exception to this rule or method of the divine government in the world. Observation, we are sure, does not tell us so. Let marriages be generally improvident; and if we are not surprised on finding, that in each individual case destitution or disease is the consequence, why should we be startled or surprised when told that an aggregate of such cases must land us in a wretched and degraded population? Or let marriages be generally provident, and if there be nothing inexplicable in the connexion between such an outset for a household and the subsequent comfort and prosperity which prevail in it—why should it be deemed a monstrous or a paradoxical doctrine, when the connexion is affirmed between the habit of provident marriages in any land, and the cheering spectacle of its thriving and well-conditioned families?

But, thirdly, let it not be imagined that to insure such a result, a wholesale interdict must be laid upon marriages. This is a subject on which our author, with all the temerity that is usual among the confident, while half-informed, breaks out into one of his most violent exaggerations:—

“The *preventive check*, as prescribed by Malthus, would absolutely exclude from marriage the bulk of our working-classes. And what then (have these theorists ever asked themselves the question?) would be the state of a country, in which the bulk of the young men and young women of the working-classes were taught as a first principle, that they were not to marry? Should we not quickly have awful

proofs that the 'forbidding to marry' was indeed a 'doctrine of devils?' These assertions and propositions, too, if we could for a moment credit them, must drive us to inevitable despair; for what can be plainer than that they postpone all hope of relief from our *present* perils and sufferings for nearly a whole generation? Even could we believe that the poor had overstocked the labour-market by their improvident marriages, and could we, by force or perseverance, stop all such marriages for the future, that prevention would not take one single hand out of the labour-market *now*, nor would it affect the new supplies for many years to come."—REMARKS, pp. 181-2.

It were endless to expose all the misconceptions which even these few sentences invoke, and what a lengthened then and wearisome undertaking it were to go point by point over the whole volume. In the first place, it is not the way to go about it, that the people should be taught not to marry. All our demand is, that well taught in the lessons of rightly served churches, and in the learning of elementary and rightly conducted schools, they should, when thus humanized by education, and by the refining intercourse of those who feel a Christian concern both in their religious and economic well-being—they should be left, which they might then be with all safety, to their own tastes, and their own sense both of duty and of decency. And what extravagance to be told of all being forbidden to marry, and of our having to wait ere the country is righted for a whole generation. Would our author only submit for once to be instructed by Political Economy, so far as to take in but one of its lessons, this at least, of the many other bugbears which haunt him, would be effectually dissipated. It would quiet his alarm, we think, if he knew what the articles were, on which the least variation in their quantity effected the greatest variation in their price, and that human labour is pre-eminently one of these articles. And just as a very slight overplus in the supply of labour causes a very great reduction in its wages, so would the reverse operation of a very slight relief in its amount obtain for it its full and fair remuneration. Or, in other words, to maintain a right proportion between the two elements of demand and supply, a very slight postponement in the average date of marriage might be all that is necessary—such a postponement, we feel confident, as would take place spontaneously and unbidden in every population which had moral and educational justice done to them. It is thus that without shutting our eyes, or getting into a passion, against the great physiological law of the potential increase of the human family, we can look without dismay, or rather with bright and cheering hopes, to their future amelioration—and this because we believe that their actual increase, when placed under the re-

gulation of wisdom and virtue, will never be such as to land us in the misery of an oppress and straitened condition. And here we must confess ourselves unable to comprehend the sensitive, or it may be perhaps the theological antipathy of our author and others, to the affirmation that the comfort and independence of the working-classes are in their own hands. It is a conviction which yields the greatest triumph and satisfaction to ourselves, and we think should do the same to every mind of genuine philanthropy—that, amid the tried inefficacy of all merely political or economical expedients for the elevation and sufficiency of their state, there is a highway still open to us which has scarcely yet been tried or entered upon, and that is through the medium of our people's intelligence and our people's worth. This result, however, is never to be arrived at by a self-originated or self-sustained movement on their part; but, as we have long and earnestly contended for, by an aggressive operation on the part of those who ought to be the dispensers of knowledge and goodness throughout the commonwealth, and chiefly among the heretofore sadly neglected commonalty of our nation.*

Again—and here we come into conflict with another of our author's glaring misconceptions—while we thus anticipate a great moral and economical reform from a general Christian education on our part, it is not because we count on all, or on a majority, or even on any great proportion of the people being thereby converted into truly spiritual men. Heaven speed onward such a consummation, mightily to be striven and mightily to be prayed for, when grace from on high shall descend in a universal shower upon our world, so that nations will be born in a day! Meanwhile, it is a deeply mysterious and most melancholy and affecting contemplation, that even in our most religious schools, and in the congregations and parishes of our most devoted ministers, after years of anxious, and earnest, and unremitting labour, there should yet appear so small an amount of fruit for eternity—inso-much that the number of genuine and vital Christians, Christians in the full sense and significance of the term, even in those places where the most vigorous and efficient Christianizing processes are going on, the number of these has still to be counted but in minorities and fractions, or merest handfuls of the whole population. Verily, the way to everlasting life seems as narrow

* Since we commenced our preparation of this article, we observe that the *Dublin University Magazine* re-echoes this strange outcry against the affirmation that the people have their own comfort in their own hands, whether on the score of its fancied inhumanity, as if it implied the abandonment of the people to themselves, or of its fancied impiety, as if it implied their independence on the blessing and the government of God, we are not able to say.

as ever, and as few who find it. But let not the truth in one department of thought or reasoning, be so extended or misapplied as to distort or in any way obscure (which it manifestly has done to the optics of our author and of many others,) the truth in another and different department. "Ye are the salt of the earth," says our Saviour; but let us not forget that the salt bears a small proportion to the mass of that which is salted. Or, to come sooner at our conclusion, let us avail ourselves of a striking and most important observation by Wilberforce, on the reflex and secondary influence of Christian example, in virtue of which, for every one man whom the Gospel spiritualizes, it might, throughout the circle of his acquaintanceship, and as a consequence of the respect and admiration which are felt for his character, have the effect of civilizing, nay, of moralizing fifty more. And hence, what all history and all observation do attest, the undoubted fact that the Christian religion has elevated the general standard of manners in every country that has embraced it—insomuch that its humanizing efficacy on the commonwealth at large, spreads far and wide beyond its converting efficacy on those whom it regenerates, into a meetness for the inheritance of the saints. Were this observation thoroughly pondered, it might serve to reduce somewhat the incredulity both of religious and secular men—grounded on the imagination that we must wait for a universal Christianity, ere we can realize the universally good effect of Christian institutions, on the economic well-being of a nation. There is scarcely a plebeian Sabbath-school which does not evince the contrary—where a most visible improvement almost uniformly takes place in the dress, and docility, and general decency of the children, for months, it may be for years, before a single conversion has taken place amongst them. And it is thus, too, on the larger scale of a country. The observances, the decencies, the conventional proprieties of every Christian land are such, that where the lessons of the Gospel are brought within the reach of all, all will to a great extent be humanized by them. Christians, no doubt, are a very peculiar people, and still few in number—yet the influence of these few upon the many, would infallibly tell in begetting a higher style and standard among the families. It is in the oversight of this that our author penned the following sentence—where he is wrong, but not so outrageously wrong as he often is, because here only chargeable with a misapprehension which one often meets with, and which perhaps is a very natural one—"Not one-fourth," he tells us, "or even one-tenth can be supposed to live under the constraining influence of Christian principle." This we fear to be a mournful truth—yet could we only secure

such a proportion of thoroughly good men throughout the mass of our population, and in every little section of it, we should not despair of such an effect on their general and present well-being, as would nobly accredit the mighty influence which belongs to Christianity over the affairs and interests of the world.

But further, we are not to imagine that under the regimen which we advocate, the progress of the world's population will ever come to be arrested, so long as the yet progressive agriculture continues to yield its increasing supplies to the world's food. Should the means of subsistence be doubled in any country, as that of Britain has been within the last 40 years, and as some of the American provinces has been in 15 years—then with the same standard of enjoyment as before, there is a moral certainty that the population will be doubled also. Nor does any genuine and enlightened Malthusian quarrel with such a process, or look, as he has often been represented to do, with an evil eye upon it. It is not so much for a small, as opposed to a large population, that he contends for. It is for a well-conditioned and prosperous, as opposed to a starving, mistriven, and wretched population. The only difference between him and his opponents is, that he does not want the population to outrun the food—while he is very certain that no speculation will, and no speculation ought, prevent its following hard and close upon the rear of it. And so far from lamenting this, provided only that there be enough for sustaining in decent and happy comfort our increasing families, he rejoices in it both as the symptom of a present, and the cause of a future and still larger prosperity. And he deprecates, and with as great sincerity as any of his antagonists, the calamities which serve to impede this progress—the wars, the diseases, and, above all, the misgovernment and oppression under which industry is suspended, because the fruits of industry are ever liable to be wrested from the hands of their proprietor. Such was the state of Israel when the people had to hide themselves in caves for fear of the Philistines, and the decay both of population and food must have been the unfailing consequence—such a want, in fact, of both, as proved for a time to be the destruction of their nationality. There is no economist in the world who would not desiderate the reversal of such a state, that the sustenance of the country, and its attendant population, might be again restored to them—none that we know of who would not, in the contemplation of it, join most cordially in the recorded sentiment of the man of wisdom, that in the multitude of people is the king's honour, but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince. We mention these things that we may allay, if possible, the heats of a controversy, which has been greatly exasperated by the misconceptions that prevail, and bring the parties who are engaged

in it to a better understanding with each other. We do hope that all these imputations, sometimes fierce and sometimes foolish, will at length be desisted from. We are even hopeful that the authors of these hard speeches may come, on reflection, to be somewhat ashamed of them; and more especially that a certain relenting sense of their own precipitation will come over the spirits, both of the yet unknown sentimentalist who has penned this volume, and of his unnamed sea-captain, who, on the perusal of another volume, which, it so happened, was very distasteful to him, gave way to his hearty and honest, though, like the element in which he moves, his somewhat boisterous indignation.

Once more would we put it to our opponents. We fully concede to them the egregious absurdity of indoctrinating our people in the philosophy of Malthus, that they might learn to bear in their minds a prospective reference to the world's increasing population, and so as to found thereupon the universal lesson that they should marry late. But, on the other hand, the absurdity is in every way as egregious, of teaching them a prospective reference to the world's increasing agriculture, and this with the view of founding thereupon a universal license to marry early. There is grotesque pedantry either way, and equally so on both sides. Yet pedantry as it is, it has been alike exemplified by each of the parties. In perfect counterpart to the proposed tracts of the economists on the capabilities of the species, are the speculations of their antagonists on the capabilities of the soil, whether in writings or speeches—as at a late cattle-show dinner, where the newly-discovered properties of guano were descanted upon; and the inmates of our St. Giles', and Cowgates, and Old Vennels, and of every lane and alley in the empire, were in effect told, that now they might, in the question of marriage, abandon themselves on the strength of the said guano, without restraint, and without fear, to an unbounded recklessness. We rejoice in the assurance that neither the world at large, nor even our own highly cultivated Britain, has yet nearly reached the extreme limit of their productiveness; and that from year to year we may have successive additions to the supply of human food for centuries to come. Let this tell as it may in keeping down prices; and so as, in virtue of a general cheapness and plenty, to translate all the greater number of our people into a condition for marrying earlier than they would otherwise have done. There is not a patriotic, and at the same time truly intelligent Malthusian, who would not look with complacency and delight on both these augmentations, we mean both of food and of people. And to obtain this result, our only desideratum is, that the people themselves should be enlightened, not on the aggregate interests of a country or a nation, but each on the subject of his own character and his own

comfort—and thus, instead of meddling with matters too high for them, they would be led to walk in the way of duteousness and true wisdom, so as each to manage aright the affairs of his own little home.*

We regret that so much space should have been required for these various rectifications, and a great deal more would have been necessary to discharge this volume of all the errors and misconceptions which abound in it. It is most unfortunate that the author should have meddled with Political Economy at all, in which, to speak plainly, he is not an adept, but a mere dabbler. By adventuring himself upon a science which he does not understand, he will only excite the wonder of those who are enlightened in the science, that one so puerile in his acquisitions, should be so dictatorial in the various sentences which are given forth by him. For ourselves, the reverence we have for his main lesson, the paramount necessity of a Christian education for the people, survives all his perversities and all his provocations. But few yet we fear are the political economists who have much value for Christianity, at least as an element to be admitted into any lessons or speculations of theirs; and thus the redeeming influence of what is good in this volume, will not countervail in their estimation the effect of its numerous and palpable absurdities. It is on this account, we apprehend, that, however popularly the author has written, and however impressive his appeals to the religious sensibilities of his hearers, he has most unnecessarily armed against even what is right in his views, much of the higher reason and intelligence of the country. It is greatly to be deplored that so much of religion should come before us associated with so much, we grieve to say it, of ignorance and imbecility; and grieve all the more, because could we have been permitted to look at the Christianity of this volume *minus* its Political Economy, we should have pronounced it to be excellent. Could but all its folly and all its feculence be blown away, it would be found that there was a pure farina behind, worthy of all acceptation. In our distaste for the manifold crudities of this performance, all the more distasteful that it is accompanied by so much of conceit and arrogance, let us not overlook the wholesome principle by which it is generally pervaded. Let us regard him therefore with all possible benignity—and receive him as we would a weak brother, but not to doubtful disputations.

We should not have deemed it worth while to have made so full an exposure of a work so hasty and superficial, had it not

* *Psalm* cxxx. l. ci. 2.

been for a great practical mischief that might follow on the dissemination of its views. We most cordially agree with its author in thinking, that nothing short of a general religious education will prove an effectual remedy for the evils of our social state. But then ere he would apply this great and only specific, he insists on certain conditions which he holds to be indispensable for the success of its operation. His own economical reforms must be adopted in the first instance. The consent of Parliament must be had to what both in principle and effect were tantamount to an agrarian law. The possessory and proprietary rights of landlords must be invaded by an act of the Senate—lest by that most fearful act of a nation, a revolution with all its horrors, these rights will be found to give way before a sweeping and irresistible tide of popular violence. In other words, he would suspend the application even of his own principal remedy, and which by itself and single-handed, were of sovereign efficacy in our estimation—even this, the Christian instruction of the people, he would hold in abeyance, till his at best doubtful, and it may be impracticable expedients of legal and economical reform shall have passed through the weary ordeal, both of a yet unprepared public, and a yet unwilling Parliament. It is thus that while he denounces the Political Economy of all other men, he conjures up a Political Economy of his own, and would therewith obstruct the entry of that work, which we are for laying a confident and immediate hand upon. But the greatest curiosity of all is, that the system which pronounces on the utter impotency of all that a mere Political Economy can devise or do in this matter, and which contends for the religion and sound morals of the people, as being all in all—this is the very system which he singles out for his fiercest invectives, and whereupon he founds his charges of irreligion and infidelity against every other Political Economy than that which he himself has chosen to patronize. Now, such is our faith in the virtue of a Christian education, and of it alone, that not only do we think might all other, but even might his Political Economy be dispensed with. Will he only take his lesson from the Methodists of England? Did they require the adoption of his preliminary economics, ere they set forth upon that work of which they have acquitted themselves so gloriously? With no other preparation than the Gospel of Jesus Christ, have they made entry upon mines and workshops, and caused their voice to be heard in the cities and throughout the villages; and wherever they have gone, do we witness the power of their ministrations—not only in their devout and crowded congregations, but in the decency and comfort of the many thousand families which have been reclaimed by them. Were the Church of England but universally actuated by the spirit of Methodism—

did she labour with the same devotedness for the good of human souls, carrying down her services to the great bulk and body of the common people—it is our belief, that, on the event of such a blessed revival as this, the nation might be saved; and we shall be glad if this expression of our homage to the power of that great ecclesiastical institute, will serve in some measure as a peace-offering to the zealous Episcopalian who has penned the volume now before us. But we confess our fears when we observe how lightly he touches on the abuses of her patronage; and how fondly he calculates on the charm, which, whatever the corruption or the indolence may be, he would ascribe to the mere reading of her excellent liturgy. We are sadly apprehensive that if we have nothing else to trust in but the feeble arrests of such a Political Economy as is expounded in this work, and such a meagre and formal ministry as too often prevails throughout the majority of our Established Churches—then nothing will avert the catastrophe to which our author tells us, and with too much probability, that our country is fast hastening.

The following extract will serve to justify our observations on this work, as exhibiting a strange medley of ignorance (we should far rather say ignorance than injustice,) with sound principle:—

“The moment the least attempt was made to do anything for either the souls or bodies of the millions, that moment it was discovered that the interference of the Legislature was ‘contrary to sound principles.’ The constant reply to all propositions of this latter kind was ‘*Laissez faire.*’ Whether protection from foreign competition were required, or protection from native cupidity—the answer always was, *Laissez faire.* If the wants of the poor were spoken of, we were assured that the safest and best plan was ‘to teach them to rely on their own resources.’ If we talked of the pressure on the market of labour, arising from the constant and rapid improvement and increase of machinery, the answer of Dr. Chalmers was, that ‘the working-classes have their comfort and independence in their own hands; for they have entire and absolute command over the supply of labour.’ Thus all propositions relative to the bodily wants of the poor were met. And when their souls were adverted to, the difficulties thrown in the way were doubled. Education was talked of indeed; but then it must be a ‘non-sectarian education,’ i. e. an education which had to do with the head only, and never meddled with the heart. As to Church-Extension, or any proposition for giving the Gospel to the many millions who, in this nominally Christian country, were practically excluded from the sound of it—every idea of the kind was scouted with vehemence by most of ‘the leading philosophers’ of the day. Thus the poet’s sentiment was utterly trampled under foot, and man himself, and the soul of man, were the only thing with which it was held that the government had nothing to do.”

There is a sad want both of temper and intelligence in this extract. Political economists can be named, though our author has ludicrously failed in his attempt to name them rightly, who have fallen into some of the errors which are here anathematized. But Political Economy is not responsible for all that political economists have written; and accordingly, as in every other progressive science, it has principles of its own, by which to rectify the false conclusions into which any of its disciples may have strayed. It is thus, for example, that on grounds which we at least deem satisfactory, the aphorism of "*Laissez faire*" has been greatly modified of late; and the line of demarcation drawn between those interests to which it is, and those to which it is not applicable. In particular it has been shewn, that while for all the articles of ordinary merchandize, the supply might be left to the spontaneous operations of Free-trade, the higher concerns of education, whether religious or scientific or elementary, cannot with safety or advantage be thus left; and that so far from Government having nothing to do with these, it has a most important duty to perform, not only in providing for these, but in acting as the guardian both of public health and public morals. And in regard to Church-Extension, we are not sure but that the demonstrations of Political Economy have had some effect, in removing certain prejudices which stood in the way of this sacred undertaking. It is true that one Government has discountenanced this object; and that another, worse than discountenanced, has positively vitiated the cause. If ever they shall come to take it up rightly, let us hope that it will be on such calm and comprehensive and enlightened views as are worthy of a great legislature, at length convinced that the Christianity of the people is the sovereign cure for all our social and all our political disorders—and not in deference either to the bigotry or the bawling outcries of men, whose raw and ill-digested notions make it palpable to all, that they have undertaken a task greatly above their strength, that they are indeed meddling with matters too high for them.

In regard to our affirmation that the people have their comfort and independence in their own hands—we have already said, that however true, it were a most preposterous attempt to make this good by any direct schooling of our artizans and labourers on the subject of population—a lesson the full effect and benefit of which (besides its being wholly inoperative in this form,) could not be fully realized till the days of their posterity. We should not expect that they will fetch their inducements from a consideration so distant; but there is another lesson which would tell visibly and immediately upon their interests, and which they might proceed to act upon in a single day—and that is the lesson of economy. We are aware of a feeling on the part of many, as if

this is impracticable, because of that general destitution which our violent exaggerators delight in representing as extreme and overwhelming. There cannot be a greater or a more misleading delusion; and to dissipate which nothing more is necessary, than a minute and statistical acquaintance with the habits and condition of the families in any plebeian district—say of 2000 people—let the aspect of want and wretchedness be what it may. We rejoice in the soundness of our author's views, both as against centralization, and in favour of separate managements upon distinct and small territories, in which, though he has been fully and largely anticipated by the very men whom he most abuses, they, we are sure, will not be less thankful for the advocacy of what is good from whichever quarter it comes, seeing that such subdivision is not only best for the training of our people in Christianity, but also for the training of them in sound economics—the one by means of local churches and schools, the other by means of local savings'-banks. Could we only teach our working-classes the way to these latter institutes, it would operate for their amelioration in precisely the same manner and with the same effect, as did the *plenishings* and *providings* of other days; and from which they would soon learn that they can help themselves far more effectually than they ever will, or indeed ever can be helped by the liberality of others, or by the allowances of a poor-rate. We cannot repeat the demonstration here which has been given elsewhere, of the effect that such a general habit of accumulation would have on the rate of wages, or with how much greater advantage workmen could treat with their employers if each, in possession of his own little capital, was placed above the urgent or immediate necessity of surrendering to their terms. In this way they might exert a control over the labour-market, which would give them a place and a standing in the commonwealth they have never yet had. To speak in a language now beginning to be fashionable, they would attain to the importance and dignity of a fourth estate in the body politic. We long for such a consummation, when, not by radicalism, but in a way more excellent, the inscription on one of the banners of a recent radical procession will in time be realized—of High wages and no poor-law. Let not Mr. Sheriff Alison tell us, that this is Utopian, or say that the commonalty of Glasgow are undone unless there be the forthcoming of a poor-rate to the extent of eighty thousand a-year; when, in the same breath, he could tell us of the same commonalty, that they spend twelve hundred thousand a-year in whisky—a most pregnant instance truly, that, with temperance and good conduct, they do have their comfort and independence in their own hands. It is to us a most cheering reflection, that the materials and means of restoration to a

sound economic state are to be found with the people themselves, and all that is required is the moral ascendancy and guidance that will give a right direction to them.

We are aware that our Scottish examples and Scottish experience have been very much thrown away upon our neighbours in the south; yet we cannot help thinking that the following statement of ten years back, by a thoroughly practical philanthropist, and himself a man of business, would tell on the European, if not on the English mind, and be sustained as a document fraught with interest and instruction all the world over. It relates to one of our most important towns:

“Paisley is perhaps the most plebeian town of its size in Europe, its population being composed chiefly of weavers, with such accompanying trades and occupations as are dependent upon, or necessary for the supply of weavers and weaving apparatus. From its proximity to Glasgow, Paisley can boast of few extensive manufacturers, many of its operatives being employed by Glasgow houses through the medium of resident agents; and, having few home or foreign merchants of any note, it presents the extraordinary feature of almost an entire working population. As some important practical results, both of a moral and political nature, may be drawn from a review of its past and present history, it is our intention, in the present article, to take a cursory view of the *weaving*—in other words, the general population of that town from about the year 1775 or 1780 to the present day, contrasting its moral and intellectual character at two or three distinct periods, and endeavouring to account for the sad declension in public manners which of late has been so obvious to the country at large.

“To state the simple fact, that the *once* quiet, sober, moral, and intelligent inhabitants of Paisley, are now generally a turbulent, immoral, and half-educated population, is to state what almost every one knows, what many mourn over, but for which few seem able to propose any remedy.

“It is indeed a melancholy subject for contemplation, that what was at first eagerly embraced by many as an addition to their family receipts, has ultimately proved, not only a chief cause of individual poverty, but of family feuds—insubordination on the part of children, and, as a natural consequence, a general moral degradation over the whole community. We allude to the practice, introduced about the year 1800, (when the manufacture of Indian imitation shawls was first commenced,) of employing children as draw-boys from the early age of five or six to ten or eleven years—a period of life, till then, uniformly spent in school, or in youthful amusements, but subsequently, from a rapid increase in this branch, all the available children are employed in the weaving-shop.

“From about 1770 to 1800 the manufacture of silk gauzes and fine lawns flourished in Paisley, as also, during a portion of this period alluded to, that of figured-loom and hand-tamboured muslin. These

branches afforded to all classes excellent wages ; and being articles of fancy, room was afforded for a display of taste, as well as enterprise and intelligence, for which the Paisley weavers were justly conspicuous. Sobriety and frugality being their general character, good wages enabled almost every weaver to possess himself of a small capital, which, joined with their general intelligence and industry, enabled and induced many to spend days and even weeks together in plodding over a new design, assisted frequently by his obliging neighbours, knowing that the first half-dozen weavers who succeeded in some new style of work were sure to be recompensed tenfold.

" Nearly one half of Paisley, at that period, was built by weavers from savings off their ordinary wages. Every house had its garden ; and every weaver, being his own master, could work it when he pleased. Many were excellent florists, many possessed a tolerable library, and *all* were politicians, so that about the period of the French Revolution, Mr. Pitt expressed more fear of the unrestricted political discussions of the Paisley weavers, than of 10,000 armed men. Had Paisley been then what Paisley is now, crowded with half-informed radicals and infidels, his fears would have been justified ; but truth and honest dealing could fear nothing from a community constituted as Paisley then was ; and never, perhaps, in the history of the world, was there a more convincing proof of the folly of being afraid of a universal and thorough education, especially when impregnated with the religion of the Bible, than in the state of Paisley at that period.

" At the period alluded to, every man, woman, and child above eight or nine years of age, could read the Bible ; many could write and cast accounts ; and not a few of the weavers' sons went through a regular course at the grammar school. To have had a distant relative unable to read, or one sent to prison, would have been felt as equally disgraceful.

" The inhabitants were so universally regular in their attendance upon church, and strict afterwards in keeping in-doors, that it is recollected, at the end of the last century, or commencement of the present, that not a living creature, save two or three *privileged blackguards*, were ever seen walking the streets after divine service ; or if any chanced to appear, an errand for the doctor was supposed to be the probable cause. Family duties were generally attended to ; and prayer and praise were not confined to the Sabbath evening ; for on week days as well as on Sabbath days, the ears of the by-standers were regaled with songs of praise issuing forth from almost every dwelling ; and, in those days it was no uncommon thing to find the highly respectable weaver a most consistent and truly useful elder of the Church.

" At that period, the honest quiet *Whig* or *Tory* weaver might be seen with his wife, at four or five o'clock, sallying forth on an evening walk, in full Sabbath attire ; the husband in advance of his wife, carrying the youngest child in his arms, and his wife following, with two, three, or four older children ; and perchance, ere their return, a brother and sister-in-law were honoured with a visit to a cup of tea, to which they experienced a hearty welcome. Nor were little luxuries on such

occasions altogether unknown; a weaver then being able to afford them.

“Although early marriages were very common, yet the frequent attendant evils were not immediately felt; a lad of eighteen or twenty being quite as able to support a family as his father at forty; and he did not anticipate those days of darkness and privation which have since come on Paisley.

“We come now to the mournful cause of the present degraded state of that once moral and happy town; not that we imagine that the fluctuations of trade, arising from the change from a war to a peace system, have not affected that town in common with others; but these fluctuations would have passed over it with comparatively little injury, but for the operative cause we are about to mention, which wrought its sure though silent influence upon the manners, habits, and morals of the general population.

“The introduction of the manufactory of imitation India shawls, about the year 1800, required that each weaver should employ one, two, or three boys, called draw-boys. Eleven to twelve was the usual age, previous to this period, for sending boys to the loom; but as boys of any age above five were equal to this work of drawing, those of ten years were first employed, then, as the demand increased, those of nine, eight, seven, six, and even five. Girls too, were by and by introduced into the same employment, and at equally tender years. Many a struggle the honest and intelligent weaver must have had, between his duty to his children, and his immediate interests. The idea of his children growing up without *schooling*, must have cost him many a pang; but the idea of losing 2s. 6d. or 3s. per week, and paying school wages beside, proved too great a bribe even for parental affection, and, as might have been expected, *mammon* in the end prevailed, and the practice gradually became too common and familiar to excite more than a passing regret. Children grew up without either the education or the training which the youth of the country derive from the school-master; and every year, since 1805, has sent forth its hundreds of unschooled and untrained boys and girls; now become the parents of a still ruder, more undisciplined, and ignorant offspring. Nor was this all. So great was the demand for draw-boys, that ever and anon the town-crier went through the streets, offering not simply 2s. 6d., 3s., or 3s. 6d. a week for the labour of boys and girls, but bed, board, and washing, and a penny to themselves on Saturday night. This was a reward on disobedience to parents—family insubordination, with all its train of evils, followed. The son, instead of standing in awe of his father, began to think himself a man, when he was only a brawling impudent boy. On the first or second quarrel with his father, he felt he might abandon the parental roof, for the less irksome employment of the stranger. The first principle of all subordination was thus broken up, and the boy who refused to hearken to the voice of his father or his mother, and to honour them, could not be expected, when he became a man, to fear God, or to honour the king. If ignorance be the mother of superstitious devotion, it is also the mother of stupid and vulgar

contempt : An intelligent and moral people will ever be most ready to give honour where it is due, and, respecting themselves, will yield a willing respect to intelligence, virtue, rank, and lawful authority, wherever it is placed.

" This increase of the family receipts, arising from the employment of one or more children as draw-boys, ceased on the first slackness in the demand ; for it is evident that the additional sum we shall suppose of 5s. a week, drawn by the labour of the weaver's children, enabled him to work just at so much lower prices to any manufacturer who might choose to speculate in making goods at the reduced price, in the hope of a future demand. A short period of idleness on the part of the weaver would have given him time for the overstock of goods to clear off, whereas this practice of working even extra hours during the period of a glut, tended to perpetuate the glut, or to render fluctuations arising from this source more frequent, and, along with other causes, to perpetuate low wages. Thus was the employment of their children from five to ten, by the weavers of Paisley, at first an apparent advantage, but in the end a curse ; demonstrating that whatever may appear to be the interest of parents this year or next year, it is permanently the interest of them and their offspring to refuse every advantage in their temporal concerns, which tends to deprive youth of the first of parental blessings, Education, and that Providence has bound, in indissoluble alliance, the intelligence, the virtue, and the temporal well-being of society. In 1818-19, during the Radical period, there were found full three thousand, Paisley-born and Paisley-bred, who could not read ; and the decline of intelligence has been followed by the decline of that temperance, prudence, and economy, which are the cardinal virtues of the working-classes, by which alone they can elevate their condition, or preserve themselves from sinking into the most abject poverty.

" The Paisley weaver of forty years ago married early, because he foresaw that he could, in decency, support a family, and even save something for sickness, or age, or the fluctuations of his trade. The Paisley weaver lad, in 1832, marries equally early, on a pittance that scarcely supports himself ; because he has neither the judgment to reflect on the misery which he is entailing on himself and others, nor moral principle to feel the solemn obligations of the state into which he is entering. Had the population of this town continued a well-educated, religious population, and, as wages diminished, intelligence and virtue had increased, the fall of wages would have been arrested by the natural operation of that prudence, which leads mankind to consult their duty as well as their inclinations ; and, without any knowledge of the principles of Malthus, the operative classes would, like the upper and middle classes, have acted on his principles. It was the practice of the old Paisley weaver, after the attachment was formed, and an engagement entered into, to interpose sometimes a delay of years in the labour of collecting their *providing* or *plenishing* ; that is, a most enormous mass of bed and table linen, an eight-day clock, &c. &c. ; and it was a point of distinction on the day previous to marriage, by one or other of the

parties, to exhibit to all the neighbours this accumulation of industry and economy. Will the clergy of Paisley inform us, how many marriages they now celebrate annually, where the parties have such *plenishing* to exhibit, with honest satisfaction to their neighbours? Or rather, how many enter into the state of wedlock, without one thought of the future, and who know not, nor care not, what they do?

“Those who have no consideration concerning the things of this life, are not likely to have any forethought regarding the life to come; and just in proportion as the modern Paisley weaver is without religion, does he despise it. All clergy are necessarily hypocrites, as all kings and magistrates, in their estimation, tyrants. Unitarianism, infidelity, or reckless profanity, too generally abound; and the popular cry is against all church establishments, however much demanded by the poverty and irreligion of our own town; and against all distinctions of ranks. Thus, measuring themselves by themselves, they would reduce society to their own level. Paisley thus furnishes an affecting illustration of the declaration of Holy Writ, ‘That righteousness exalteth a city; but sin is the ruin of any people.’”

We leave this precious extract to make its own impression upon the reader, and would only take occasion from it to rectify one misconception more of our author's—the last which we shall have to do with. But for this we must recur to his former volume on the “Perils of the Nation,” where he glaringly misinterprets what is meant by a high standard of enjoyment, and after conjuring up his own fancy for our understanding of it, denounces it with all his might, and in his own usual style of misplaced indignation. It seems that Mr. Perronet Thomson, in one of those quaint illustrations, by which, though in the guise of humour, he often brings out into bold relief the truth or principle for which he is contending, singles out but one ingredient of this standard, when, comparing the English with the Irish peasant, he tells that the one feeds upon beef, and the other on potatoes. Our author upon this imagines that the sole aim of the economists is to teach the common people how they should marry late in order that they may eat all the more luxuriously; and then draws a most revolting picture of gluttony and sensuality, and even criminal licentiousness—holding these up as the genuine products of our wild and reckless speculation. We know not if it was the circumstance of Mr. Thomson being an Englishman, which led him to fasten on their eating of beef, as being the proper type and specimen of that amelioration which still awaits the common people—or whether it is the same circumstance, which has given to our author the idea that this, and no other, is the high privilege which we are seeking to make good for the working-classes of our land. Perhaps a perusal of the above affecting narrative may tend somewhat to enlarge the conceptions of both; and lead them to perceive how much of all that either patriot or Christian phi-

lanthropist can desire for the fellows of his own species, is included in that higher standard of enjoyment which he longs to realize for them. He who succeeds in reaching this standard would probably feed more generously than before; but apart from this, there are other and better manifestations which would far more decisively mark the ascent that he had gained, even though he should continue to live on the coarsest fare, and his children should run barefooted, as in our country they have been in the habit of doing for ages. The payment of school-fees, the renting of a family pew in church, a respectable Sabbath attire, the purchase of books to the extent of a small household library, the enjoyment of one afternoon in the week for recreation in the fields, or the exchange of decent hospitalities with their acquaintances and neighbours—these form the main constituents and indications of that higher standard and style of enjoyment, which, next to the salvation of their souls, we most desire for our artisans and our labourers. If the observation of our friends in the south leads them to regard all this as Utopian and unlikely, if the habitudes of their own people be generally such as have made them to associate with the increase of their means nothing else than the increase of their sensual, or even of their brutal and vicious gratifications—we can only wish that their eyes were at length opened to the vanity of all their economics, and that they saw how their alone safety lay in a better moral and ecclesiastical regimen for the peasantry of England.

We have already exceeded our limits—nor is there room for more than a few brief and closing paragraphs on our author's references to what might be termed the Political Economy of the Bible. His reverence for the Word of God is worthy of all commendation; but nothing short of his own infallibility could justify either the tone of authority wherewith he gives forth his own understanding of it, or the style of his fulminations against other men. But instead of any further reckonings with him, let us now consider, and with all brevity, what light, if any, the Scriptures have cast on the questions now at issue among our chief speculators on the philosophy of human affairs. There are many of these we are sensible, who would never think of looking to this quarter for any guidance or information upon the subject. But we beg leave to differ from them—convinced as we are that the doctrine of the Sacred Volume will bear to be confronted with truth throughout all her departments, and wherever to be found—nay that, not only has it nothing to fear from the hostility of all the sciences put together, but that it is replete with proofs as well as illustrations, fitted to shed a new evidence and glory over some of the noblest discoveries of modern times.

The first instance that we shall offer is taken from the example of our Saviour—we mean in the style and object of His various miracles; and more especially of those which, as having for their object the relief of human suffering, might be termed His miracles of mercy. The thing more particularly to be remarked upon is, the difference of procedure between His relief of want and His relief of disease. There are only two recorded instances of His having fed the people miraculously when they happened to be overtaken with hunger—for on a third occasion He declined so to gratify their wishes, (John vi. 26, 27.) There are innumerable instances, on the other hand, of His having cured the diseased miraculously, and not one instance recorded of His having declined one application for it. In other words, He brought down health by miracle indefinitely, but not so with food; and on this difference there has been founded an argument for the distinction which ought to be observed between a charity for mere indigence, and a charity for disease. A public charity for the one tends to multiply its objects—because it enlists the human will on the side, if not of poverty, at least of the dissipation and indolence which lead to poverty. A public charity for the other will scarcely, if ever, enlist the human will on the side of disease. Thousands might wilfully become poor, and so be qualified for admission into the one charity. Very rarely, so rare that it were monstrously unnatural, will one become wilfully blind, or dumb, or maimed, or palsied, or lunatic—that he might be qualified for admission into the other charity. Our Saviour, as if proceeding on this distinction, restrained the exercise of His power to multiply loaves at pleasure—for had He done so without let or limitation, it would have disorganized Judea—setting all the people agog in idle and trooping multitudes, after Him for food. He does not seem to have laid any such restraint on the exercise of His healing power; and the only effect of this was to bring out from their lurking places the helpless and the impotent folk, to be cured of their diseases. On this remarkable feature in the history of our Saviour, there has been grounded a confirmation of the reasonings against public charities for the relief of want, and on the side of public charities for the relief of disease. Our Saviour was a public character; and His doings behaved to have all the effect of a public charity. Whatever might be the influence of this consideration on the question of institutes for poverty, it is all in favour of medical institutes; and so there are Political Economists who look adversely on the former, yet hail the latter, with the most unbounded satisfaction. Certain it is, that in this department at least, they drop the maxim of “*Laissez faire*,” and look not only with complacency on sanitary regulations for the public health, even at

the expense of Government; but would encourage to the uttermost the erection of infirmaries and all sorts of medical asylums, aye and until the whole demand and necessity for these were overtaken.

Our second instance is taken from the example of the Apostles—and, in particular, from that of the twelve in Jerusalem, as compared and contrasted with that of Paul, who had most to do with the churches at a distance. The former, after that the disciples had increased to five or six thousand, declined all part or management in the dispensation of the poor's money—and this, because it encroached upon the time which should be wholly given to the ministry of the word and to prayer, (Acts, vi. 2, 4.) The Apostle of the Gentiles, on the other hand, more burdened with the care and labour of his ecclesiastical duties, than any or all of the others, nevertheless betook himself to the occupation of a tent-maker—and this as an example to others, in that his own hands ministered to his own necessities, (Acts, xx. 34; 2d Thess. iii. 8-10.) It is well that the givers should be told their duty; but it is also well that the receivers, or they who seek to be receivers, should be told theirs. A lesson of generosity in their distributions to the one class, is not more essential than a lesson of moderation in their desires, and of honourable independence on the bounty of their superiors, is to the other class. It was for the sake of this latter lesson, that this great Apostle made such a sacrifice of that time and strength which might otherwise have been consecrated to the direct ministrations of the Gospel. It is of fully as great moral importance that the poor should be rightly taught in this matter as the rich; and it is the confident belief of certain political economists, that were both these parties faithfully and evenly dealt with in this way, the two ends might easily be made so to meet, as to result in a far happier community, with greatly less of want and wretchedness than we have at present—and this without a public charity, and without a poor-rate. When this inspired teacher of righteousness tells his people to work with their own hands that they may have lack of nothing, he points out the way in which they should help themselves, (1 Thess. iv. 12.) When he tells them to work with their hands that they may have to give to him that needeth, he points out the way in which they might help others also, (Eph. iv. 28.) We have no desire to spare or to exonerate the wealthy; but it is our firm conviction that a far mightier stride will be made towards a right economic state, by the common people being effectually trained to do what they might, and to do what they ought. And even should our conviction proceed so far, as to make us think that by the operation of moral causes throughout the mass of society, the economy of a legal pauperism might not only with safety, but

with great and positive advantage be superseded, there is surely enough of Bible principle on our side, if not to prove this doctrine, at least to protect it from those imputations of the irreligious and the unscriptural, which have been so plentifully cast upon it.

But again, not only can we make our appeal to the specific injunction now quoted by us—there is a great pervading generality which characterizes the ethics of the New Testament, and which is strikingly in unison with the economics of those who, with Malthus and others (but irrespectively of his peculiar doctrine on the subject of population), agree in opposing that system of legalized charity which obtains throughout England. What we advert to is the broad, and clear, and stable distinction which subsists between the two great classes of human virtue—those of justice on the one hand, and of benevolence on the other—or, to avail ourselves of the old scholastic nomenclature, those of perfect and those of imperfect obligation. Utilitarians and Socinians would overbear this distinction by resolving all the moralities into benevolence alone—making justice and truth but the ministers or the subordinates of this sovereign among the virtues, nay carrying this principle upward to the divine character, and merging all into parental love, as the single moral attribute of the Godhead. It is thus that they would set aside the doctrine of the atonement, as if mercy to the penitent required no satisfaction to justice for the outrage inflicted on a broken law—while we, on the contrary, look on the express revelation of this doctrine in the Bible, as a testimony to the separate and independent place which justice holds among the virtues; and so as a demonstration of the orthodox faith and the orthodox ethical philosophy being at one. But there is another method of confounding the virtues by obliterating the limits and the land-marks of separation betwixt them—for while utilitarians, on the one hand, would subordinate all to benevolence, there is another class who might be termed ultra and extreme jurists, that would subordinate all to justice, and so to the regulations and enforcements of law—the proper function of which is to protect the rights of justice, and to punish or redress the wrongs by which it is invaded. We hold that justice and humanity have each its own separate domain in the territory of human affairs; and that while it is the proper office of law to take charge of the one department, the other should be left to the sympathies of nature, or to the love and liberty of the Gospel. It is thus that in our estimation the jurisprudence of England has made a mischievous extension of itself beyond its own rightful and legitimate boundaries, by transmuting that charity, which ought to have been altogether a thing of love, into a thing of fierce and angry litigation. “The quality of mercy is not strained;” and they who, on this principle, are enemies to a poor-rate, are

grievously misconceived by those who charge them with a cold-blooded indifference to the wants and sufferings of our species. It is because they long to commit the relief of these where Nature and Christianity have committed them—to the relative and compassionate instincts implanted by the one, to the sacred duties enjoined by the other on the side of a diffusive and cheerful beneficence—(2 Cor. ix. 7 ; 1 Tim. vi. 18,) it is because of this that they would like to rid our country of that compulsory pauperism, by the freezing influences of which, all the social virtues both of kindred and of neighbourhood have been well-nigh overborne. The work before us, with much of the dissonant and the unsavoury, has its bright passages ; and none more so than the narratives of the doings of two benevolent clergymen of the Church of England in their respective parishes.* One of these has reduced his pauperism to £20 a year. It might be easy to *bring it down* to this, but not to *keep it down*, if the legal instead of the voluntary character shall still adhere to it. Our author still further thinks that the pauperism of all England might, in virtue of his expedients, be brought down to two millions a year. We are still more sanguine than he, for we think that by his one expedient of a universal Christian education, though dropping all the rest, we could not only overtake all the pauperism which he proposes to do, but the two millions to the bargain. To this we believe that England might be brought, but not till she recalls what many of her authors proclaim and glory in as her peculiar boast, yet which we cannot help regarding as the magnificent blunder of her poor-law. All her endless changes and modifications will never disarm this great master-evil, of the radical and inherent mischief which is bound up with the very principle of a compulsory provision. Ere she can be freed from this enormous disease of her body politic, she must learn so to discriminate as to give to justice the things of justice, and to humanity the things of humanity.

But, it may be asked, are not scriptural examples in favour of this law ? We reply in the negative ; for, in the first place, the charity of the churches in the New Testament, made up of the alms of the faithful, was voluntary in its origin, and its distributions were confined to the members of the respective congregations, subject to discipline, and laid under the severest rebuke, or even exclusion from the society, if, trusting to the public fund, they lived in idleness, or neglected their relatives, or in any other way made a gain of godliness, (1 Tim. v. 4, 8, 11, 16.) And then, as to the system of relief which obtained in Judea, though

* See the communications at the end of the Work subscribed by H. P. Jeston and Samuel Lyons.

it had more of a wholesale character than the other, as standing in a sort of general relationship to the population at large—there is one vital and essential difference between the Jewish and the English poor-laws. By the former, there was a third tithe, or tithe every third year, amounting therefore to a thirtieth part of the annual produce—and this assigned, not to the support of poverty at large, or of poverty, however originated, but to the specific cases of widowhood and orphanage, and subject moreover to the burden of an occasional charge for the maintenance both of Levites and of strangers, (Deut. xiv. 27—29 ; xxvi. 12, 13.) Now this differs *toto cælo* from the poor-law of England, which proclaims a universal right, or a right on the part of every man pleadable at a court of equity, to the means of subsistence, whatever his past misconduct or present character might chance to turn out—thus laying open all property to inroads which are quite indefinite, and which can only be kept in check by the methods of such a harsh and rigorous administration, as cannot fail to place the higher and lower classes in a state of mutual exasperation and hostility against each other. It were a near assimilation to the system of public charity which obtained among the Hebrews, should a fixed proportion or fixed property be assigned in each parish for the relief of its poor—thereby securing the integrity of all other property, because then exempted from all legal claim for an object thus continually provided for ; and, what were of vast importance, effecting a most wholesome change in the tone and spirit of the applicants themselves. What is now a rapacious and remorseless spirit, when drawing on a wealth conceived to be indefinite and inexhaustible, would be restrained by conscience, and honour, and sympathy, under an economy which made it palpable to all, that the more lightly they bore on the common fund set apart for extreme want, the greater would be its sufficiency for the relief of those families which were more helpless and destitute than their own. They utterly mistake the poor who regard them as incapable of being operated upon by such generous and noble-minded considerations as these. Under the moral regimen of a well and wisely administered parish, the chivalrous emulation could easily be set agoing, of who should be least burdensome on the public charity, and who of consequence the largest benefactors of the poorest and most wretched in the neighbourhood where they lived.

But our limits have been transgressed, and our liberty to expatiate any farther is for the present terminated. Else we might have adduced other instances, and more especially in some of the later rectifications, which have been made on the views of former speculators in this department of philosophy. The way, most

assuredly, to vindicate the paramount authority of Scripture—to “bring forth its righteousness as the light, and its judgment as the noon-day,”—is not to hoodwink any of the sciences, but to lay open the truths of all, when it will be found that there is a full and unexcepted harmony between the word of God and the works of God. And this holds as much of Political Economy as of any other branch of human knowledge. The accumulating policy of Dr. Adam Smith will at length give way, before the doctrine that capital has its limits as well as population; and that the Christian liberality of merchants would not only secure them from the woes denounced in the Bible against those who, hasting to be rich, pierce themselves through with many sorrows, but would induce a far more healthful state of commerce than it is possible to maintain with the distempered over-trading of the present day. The underselling policy of the mercantile system will also give way, before the demonstration of its utter insignificance to the real strength and resources of our nation. Even the maxim of *Laissez-faire*, confined, as it ever should have been, to what has been well termed the mere Catallactics of Political Economy, to the exchange of commodities with each other—this maxim will cease in time to impede the functions of a righteous government, charging itself with the health and the morals and even the Christianity of its subjects. It is thus that the disciples of an older school are gradually giving in to the lessons of that better philosophy, which not only tolerates but requires of legislators, that they should concern themselves both with the education and virtue of the people—granting endowments for the one, and removing, as far as in them lies, every nuisance which endangers the safety of the other. Had our author known this much, it might have saved him the trouble of all his petulant and splenetic effusions against a department of human learning into which he has rushed blindfold, and with a confidence that only brings the greater discredit both upon himself and upon his lucubrations. The chief thing to be lamented is, the discredit in which it is fitted to involve the sacred and all-important cause of a universal religious education—a subject, truly, on which all parties in the State need to be well-lessoned, and which would require the warning voice of a calm and enlightened and authoritative Mentor, to be done with proper energy and effect. The lesson is here given, no doubt, but given with such unseemly accompaniments as must lessen and impair its efficacy. It is an invaluable lesson notwithstanding; and we know of no other by which to arrest the imminent and tremendous perils that overhang our nation.

ART. II.—*The Collected Works of SIR HUMPHRY DAVY, Bart., LL.D., P.R.S., Foreign Associate of the Institute of France, etc. Edited by his Brother, JOHN DAVY, M.D., F.R.S., 3 Vols. London: 1839.*

It will be sixty-six years next seventeenth of December since Humphry Davy was born at the homely and secluded little town of Penzance, among the mines of Cornwall. It is a county of classical antiquity for commerce with the world in its metallic riches. It is streaked with beauty. It spurns the tides of both St. George's and the English Channels with its Plutonic cliffs. The Atlantic is beyond.

His mother, Grace Millett, was left an orphan child, in company with an elder and a younger sister. They were not in want, however; and they were kindly guided by a good man, Tonkin, a surgeon-apothecary of the place, who had lodged with their parents. She was a mild and reflective woman, and, to have done so well by her family, must have been eminently steady of purpose. She had five children, yet never made a favourite of Humphry, her first-born and her stay; and happily she lived to see his honourable labours crowned with success by God and man.

His father Robert was bred in London to the liberal old handicraft of wood-carving. He did not do much work at Penzance, but farmed the little copyhold of Varfell, some two miles out of the town. He was venturesome upon a little scale, and apt to lose his money. A man of social temper, if not of jovial dispositions, Mr. Davy seems to have walked through the world as becomingly as possible. He was short-lived like his son, and died when Humphry was only sixteen.

The name of Davy stands on the old church-tablets of the neighbourhood as that of the proprietors of Varfell, a small estate in Mountsbay. One of these is so far back in date, indeed, as 1635; but the lineage of Sir Humphry Davy, Baronet, Doctor of Laws, and President of the Royal Society, can be traced no farther up than to his grandfather, a substantial house-builder in the west of Cornwall. The Milletts, too, one of his biographers is careful to tell the enlightened world, were originally 'aristocratic and wealthy;' but alas! their fortunes had so crumbled down as to leave little Grace and her sisters the heirings of a mercery-shop in a place with no more than 2000 inhabitants. Let the Milletts and the Davys, however, have been in ancestry what they may, so small a consideration can never affect the simple fact that the one Davy, whom history cares about, was born and bred

amid the influences of what may be called the trades-professional sphere of the society composing the most primitive and isolated of English mining towns, and that in somewhat needy and afflictive circumstances. It is more interesting to know that from the Last of the Carvers, as the people of Penzance called his skilful father, he inherited a contriving head and learned hands; while to his gentle mother he owed the temperament and the habits of serious contemplation.

His boyhood was in no way remarkable. He learned his letters quickly; read Æsop's fables and the Pilgrim's Progress like other British lads; preferred the perusal of history books to learning his lessons; was an idle schoolboy in fact; used to harangue his companions, as well as tell them stories; made verses, thunder-powder and turnip-lanterns; caught grey mullet at the pier better than his playmates, by the help of a device of his own; organized and headed troops of puerile soldiers, with pasteboard shields and wooden swords; and, as he grew bigger, shot birds among the lanes, as well as got up some sort of play for his school-fellows and himself to act in character. Consequently, there is no wonder that when sent to Cardew's school at Truro, at fourteen years of age, the Doctor 'found him very deficient in the qualifications for the class of his age,' and 'could not discern the faculties by which he was afterwards so distinguished;' although 'his turn for poetry' was both noticed and encouraged. In a word, living more with old Tonkin than with his parents, the amiable yet wilful boy was, as he long after rejoiced to remember, left very much to himself, was put on no particular plan of study, and enjoyed much idleness: a noble education in those rare conjunctions where affectionate yet indulgent friends, and the simple manners of a country-town, conspire with magnificent and multi-form displays of Nature to kindle and unfold a young character, in which the elements are so sweetly tempered as they were in Davy.

Leaving the Truro school at fifteen he idled, played billiards, fished, fowled, swam and took lessons in French; till, two years after, he was apprenticed to a medical practitioner of the name of Borlase. His father having died the year before, he now displayed that determination to succeed which not only never forsook him, but conducted him from victory to victory; as it did Napoleon, and as it shall lead every man of prowess that is yet to act upon the fortunes of the world. His faithful brother and biographer has recorded a plan of study composed by the future discoverer at this time; embracing theology natural and revealed, geography, six professional studies, logic, physics, rhetoric and oratory, history, mathematics, and seven languages. This pitch of cultivation he never reached, and

never flow ; but how aspiring ! In truth he was too spontaneous to be a plodder, and had not yet acquired that nobler way of using books which is never learned but by a few. Connected with this was the amazing rapidity with which he would rush through a book from his very boyhood. A youth of sinewy faculty, rather than of craving capacity, he felt the noble necessity of discharging his bursting but imprisoned force in repeated, and still repeated, acts of original production. Accordingly, he was for ever writing ; on religion, describing the arc of declension into solid materialism and of reascension into the more mobile elements of a kind of rational orthodoxy ; on government ; on climate ; on friendship and love ; on the ultimate end of being : and such subjects. He wandered alone by the shore, oppugning the all-eloquent sea in order to practise his ambitious oratory : alone he sought and loved all the great and beautiful objects around him, and wooed them too, for his muse was still awake in spite of metaphysics and medicine : and he sat live-long hours alone upon the cliffs of 'Majestic Michael,' dreaming of glory ; the master-passion of his life already asserting her royal prerogative. Then we are told how he fell in love with a young French stranger, and wrote impassioned sonnets in her praise : and we believe it, love being an almost unfailing element of genius ; for genius is nothing but a thorough self-reliant manliness after all, resolute to do and become all that manhood may. Be these fine things about love and genius as they may, however, poor Davy's early passion must have been very transitory. Did we not know that women generally smile upon the fervid, and that Dr. Paris is a gossip, we should say that probably the youthful savant's unheeded and ungainly figure defeated him in the eyes of the fair foreigner, maugre his fine hair, his sparkling eyes and his eloquence. At all events, his young heart was already on fire for glory ; and on he pressed to feed, if not to quench, the avidity of its rage by conquests of another kind. Ambitious of graduating one day in medicine, at Edinburgh, he advanced from his crude but bold disquisitions in metaphysics to professional studies with the same ardour, and speculated there also like a young Titan. About nineteen he began the study of chemistry ; after a year of geometry and other branches of mathematics, won from the hand of Time by his own arm. Now commenced his life for the world. He had not been many months studying LAVOISIER's lucid Elements and, in his self-tuitive way, experimenting with glasses and cups, plates and saucers, tobacco-pipes and bladders, old barometer-tubes and a syringe, when, with the audacity of an eaglet, he surveyed the science from his own point of view ; thought he could 'overthrow the French chemistry in half an hour,' and propounded a new theory of heat and light for himself, doing his little best to

support it by a series of rude and inapplicable, but ingenious experiments. Then-a-days one could acquire a very complete book-knowledge of chemistry, as a theory of one part of nature, in a very short space of time. The erroneous theory, devised by Beccher and propounded by STAHL, which referred all chemical phenomena to the agency of an invisible, inseparable and imaginary substance, called Phlogiston, had enough of truth in it: (viz. the recognition of the essential resemblance that exists between the natural operations of the rusting and fixation of metals and the burning of bodies, as well as the analogy in composition of acids, alkalis, earths and metallic calces) this doctrine of phlogiston had enough of truth in it to have enabled Neumann, Pott and Margraaf; Réaumur, Duhamel and Macquer; Bergmann and Scheele; Black, Priestley and Cavendish, to collect a compacted body of well-ascertained and far from ill-arranged observations. These the labours of LAVOISIER and his countrymen Berthollet, Morveau, Monge and Fourcroy had rendered still more definite and indubitable: and then, to consummate the movement (which the doctrine of STAHL did, let it never be forgotten, in reality originate) those facts had been disenchanted of the talisman that had hitherto held them together, in charmed bondage to the idea of the whimsical but magnificent Joachim Beccher, during the space of nearly a hundred years; and been drawn, as orderly and almost as easily reckoned as the planets, around the central thought of the lucid and organic Lawgiver. Accordingly, all that Davy could find in his *Elementary Treatise** we undertake to describe in a single sentence. If we fail it shall not be our fault, but our courteous reader's pleasure; inasmuch as we shall not break it down except for the sake of returning his courtesy in not only accompanying us so far as we have come, but in now resolving to go forward, in defiance of the technical barbarities and sterner difficulties that may seem to beset the way, to see what our fearless young Cornish giant really did for this curious science.

Well, from LAVOISIER he learned that the earth, the water and the air, with all that they include, are the objects of the chemist's fond investigation: That he inquires into the composition of each of them in particular, in quest of their general law of composition: That the earth is made up of metals and other combustible solids, oxides of metals, acids, alkalis and earths; the air of three kinds of air, oxygen about 20 parts and nitrogen about 80 parts in 100, with but a small proportion of carbonic acid

* *Traité Élémentaire de Chimie, présenté dans un ordre nouveau et d'après les découvertes modernes, &c. Par M. Lavoisier, &c. 1789.*

in 1000 parts; and the water of oxygen nearly 8 parts and hydrogen, another kind of air, 1 part by weight, holding dissolved in its substance varying quantities of such of the soluble ingredients of the earth and the air as have been exposed to its action: That according to the new principle regarding the material elements, viz. that every substance, not resolved by the skill of the chemist into two or more simpler ones, is for the time being to be counted for an element, the world in gross is produced by the combinations and mixtures of seventeen metals, from antimony down to zinc; of six non-metallic oxidable bodies, three* known and three† only inferred; of five earths; of two alkalis;‡ of three gases, oxygen, nitrogen and hydrogen, the first of these being the most important in the actual operations of nature, at least in this planet; and of two imponderable but not inseparable creatures, heat and light, which cannot be procured apart from the more substantial forms of matter, either singly or together: That as the mechanical phenomena of the globe, such as the tides, the flow of rivers, the descent of avalanches, the fall of rains and the sweep of winds, result from changes in place among the mingled sensible components of creation, produced by the force of gravitation; so the chemical phenomena of the same, such as combustion, phosphorescence, lightning, the quickening of the blood of animals by respiration, the vegetation of plants and animals, (so far as that is unconnected with a higher force, above chemistry as well as superior to gravitation) the corrosion of metals, the weathering of rocks, putrefaction, fermentation, with all sorts of decay and renovation in short, result from changes in place among the combined insensible ingredients of sensible shapes, that is among the particles of matter, produced by the force of affinity, a word introduced by Barchusen, and first defined by Boerhaave: That the differences between gravitation and affinity are, first, that the former moves masses, the latter particles of matter; and, secondly, that the former draws and binds all kinds of masses to each other, but the latter only different kinds of particles; so that particles of oxygen do not combine chemically together, nor hydrogen particles together, but oxygen and hydrogen, or (circumstances being favourable) any other two kinds do unite so as to produce a third new species of matter, (in this instance it is water,) possessing none of the specific properties of either of its ingredients: That gravitation operates upon particles precisely as upon masses, that is on all

* Carbon, sulphur, and phosphorus.

† The muriatic, fluoric and boracic radicals they were called.

‡ Although (2d edition, 1793,) Lavoisier does not put them among the elements, on account of their being so obviously compound.

kinds indifferently, so that particles of brimstone gravitate and cling to each other, although they do not chemically combine; and gravitation is then conveniently distinguished by the name of cohesion: That all other bodies are combined with quantities (!) of heat and light, each body with a specific quantity peculiar to itself, so that when one substance (say charcoal) combines with another (say oxygen) and produces a third (in this instance carbonic acid,) which cannot hold so much matter of light and heat as were summed up in the charcoal and oxygen that produced it, then the superfluity of heat and light are given out; in other words, the charcoal burns in the air, or unites rapidly with the oxygen, the two betwixt them setting free and projecting into space the quantity of heat and light that is over and above what is needful to the material composition of carbonic acid: That sulphur, phosphorus and nitrogen, as well as carbon, produce acids when united with oxygen, so that oxygen is a generator of acids, whence its name; while the metals by union with oxygen produce oxides which greatly resemble the undecomposed alkalis, the earths being intermediate links of analogy, so that oxygen might be a sort of principle of alkalinity also; whence LAVOISIER hinted that the earths should one day be found to be oxides of metallic bases then unknown: That when the process of oxidation is slowly undergone, there is less manifest extrication of heat, but exactly the same quantity of heat for the same quantity of matter oxidized: That in many such instances of slower oxidation there appears no light at all, that is there is no high combustion, and it was hence inferred by the majority that light is not a substance by itself, but only a form of heat, or even only an effect produced by the rapid motion of quickly liberated particles of heat, although LAVOISIER retained it in the Elementary Treatise, resting, it is to be presumed, on the Newtonian doctrine of light: That the respiration of animals, and many familiar natural alterations, are instances of this kind of slow combustion, and that by this kindly glow of a gentle chemical action of the 'breath of life' upon the 'blood which is the life,' is the animal frame kept alive and warm: And, to conclude at last, that all the experimental and speculative minor consequences that are fairly and authoritatively deducible from these greater propositions, with all their amplifications by succeeding labourers in new paths of research, shall be the creed of the true chemist now and for ever! Reader, rest awhile and breathe: and then go round again to the wicket, where you entered the labyrinth from which you have just escaped into the open country and the freer air. It is no Rosamond's bower, indeed; yet it is a pleasant coil; and we entreat you to try it thrice, before you either give it over in despair or condemn us for confusion worse confounded.

Such was the definite and orderly science the novice had to study and contemplate, but it did not satisfy his aspiring thought so long as half-a-year. The sagacious Black's doctrine of the materiality of heat, which bears the same historical relation to the system of LAVOISIER as the speculations of Beccher sustain to that of STAHL, he saw at once, with that keen glance into the deep analogy of nature which was destined to descry the secret art of decomposing the obdurate alkalis and earths, to be not only inconsistent with well-known though neglected facts, but unnecessary for the sufficient explanation of such as certainly appeared to afford it illustration. There is no doubt that he was right in this daring dissent, although he never did much directly to establish a better solution of the theorem, having been soon withdrawn from the prosecution of such subtle inquiries by triumphs of another kind. But the strange thing about these youthful speculations is the fact that our voluntary Coryphaeus differed as stoutly from the majority concerning the nature of light, and that in a diametrically opposite direction; for he maintained experimentally and otherwise that light is a chemical substance which is productive of vision only when its particles are uncombined and in projection. Then during all that happy year, reposing with inexperienced confidence upon his clever though rude and inconclusive experiments, corresponding with the quixotic Dr. Beddoes on the subject, talking and talking over it with Gregory Watt, who had gone to lodge at Mrs. Davy's house in the vain pursuit of health, and encouraged by Davies Gilbert, he wove himself such a fantastic theory of the wonder-working functions of this Lucifer of his in the economy of the universe! Among other things he concluded that oxygen, as it exists in the atmosphere, is a compound of real oxygen and the matter of light; that when a taper burns this light is set free, while the wax unites with the actual oxygenous principle of oxygen and melts 'into thin air.' That, when a man inspires, this phos-oxygen (such was the name he put upon the ordinary oxygen of the atmosphere) is absorbed by the blood, carried to the brain, and there decomposed into true oxygen and light: And that the light thus liberated within the most intimate recesses of the 'golden bowl,' from which the stream of higher life appeared to permeate the body, is the nervous energy and the proximate cause of sensation, perception and emotion. Think of the marvellous projector, nineteen summers old, inhaling the radiance of the sun, nourishing his life upon the glory of the world, and rendering it back to the inexhaustible shekinah in the sublimated form of grateful sensations, brave thoughts and pious contemplations! In sad and sober truth, the enthusiast was then a materialist, and this dazzling vision, which sanctified the divinity of nature to

his kindled imagination, was a compromise between his impersonal piety and the eminently practical but brilliant science by which he was taken captive. Old Beddoes was a convert to the dream !

Dr. Beddoes, once an Oxford professor of chemistry, was the most benevolent but least effective of projectors. Soon after the labours of the pneumatic chemists, Black and Scheele, Priestley and Cavendish, had conducted to the conclusion, one day unexpected, that there are many kinds of air, as there are numerous species of liquid and solid matters, the primary relations to animal life of the kinds that are in the atmosphere were discovered. The earliest distinctions in pneumatic chemistry, indeed, were connected with these very relations. Scheele called Priestley's dephlogisticated air by the name of empyreal air, and Condorcet by that of vital air, both of them on account of its necessity to the sustenance of life ; and when the associated French chemists gave it the systematic appellation of oxygen, they fixed that of azote upon nitrogen, in order to intimate that it is privatively destructive of animal organization. The poisonous quality of carbonic acid, the chokedamp of the miner ; the pungency of ammonia ; the acidity of sulphurous and nitrous acids ; the insipidity and negative properties of hydrogen were all known ; and it became desirable to investigate the medicinal virtues of these new and subtle agents. The excellent Beddoes, with the help of subscriptions from the Wedgewoods, and a few other amiable knight-errants in the cause of the amelioration of the condition of mankind by the applications of physical science, established the Pneumatic Institution of Bristol for this purpose. Knowing young Davy of Penzance by correspondence, and admiring him, he offered him the situation of director of the laboratory : and the ingenious visionary was thus, ere he completed his 20th year, launched into the world from the quaint solitudes of Mount's Bay ; where, by the kindest secret influences and without noise of hammer, he had been built up into the buoyant and exulting form we have just admired, ' with sails full set to catch the gale of praise.'

A happy launch it was. At Bristol now ; animated by the unfeigned admiration of poor Beddoes ; ennobled by the friendship of his beautiful, gracious and amiable lady ; introduced to the companionship of the graceful and melodious Southey ; become a darling ' thing of hope,' of more hope than even himself or any other, to the wondrous Coleridge ; within easy reach of his first scientific friend, the accomplished Gregory Watt, and of Keir of Birmingham, the relic of another age ; in the way of meeting with famous philosophers on a kind of equality of terms ; in a well-appointed laboratory at last, and nothing else to do but

investigate : what a delicious, and even perilous, change for the gallant explorer ! yet wisely and bravely he held on his course. A few weeks before, with no propitious breeze behind and no bounding prospect before him, he had written in his solitary notebook... 'I have neither riches, nor power, nor birth to recommend me ; yet, if I live, I trust I shall not be of less service to mankind and to my friends than if I had been born with these advantages.'

Accordingly, during the two years he spent in the service of the Pneumatic Institution, he laboured at his ordained calling of discovery like a genuine apostle. First of all, he made some more experiments on heat and light, writing out his opinions on 205 pages of Beddoes' Contributions in the shape of essays. The severity of critics conspired with his growing knowledge of irreconcilable facts very soon to emancipate him from his delusions about phosoxxygen, and he hastened to publish himself a sceptic in his own doctrine. According to both Paris and Dr. Davy, he was wofully mortified by the arrogance, precipitation and errors of this maiden work ; but we heartily concur with his adoring brother in the opinion that he had little need, for it is an eloquent production, and full of that lofty kind of promise which is real performance.

This misadventure told well upon his subsequent labours as a memorable warning. Accordingly, his next or rather his first discovery was of another order of pretension. He found that the skin or epidermis of the canes, the reeds and the grasses is pervaded by a delicate web of flint, which supports their tall and shapely stems like an outer skeleton.

He did not dally, however, with dainty themes. In connexion with the purposes of the Institution, he wished to inhale Priestley's deplogisticated nitrous air, in order to put to the test a foolish conjecture of one Mitchell, an American, that it is a principle of contagion endowed with extraordinary power. In contempt for this vagary, he at once exposed wounds to the action of the gas, and breathed it among common air. It was necessary to invent a method of preparing it in purity and plenty, before the investigation could be brought to a purpose-like conclusion. After a laborious series of trials, he devised the very beautiful one that is now universally employed ; viz. the decomposition by heat of the crystals of nitrate of ammonia, which are thereby resolved into watery vapour and the desiderated gas. Under the famous name of nitrous oxide, he minutely examined and recorded its properties for the first time. He then proceeded to breathe it and, to his rapturous delight, discovered the rapid and delectable intoxication which it produces on the majority of people. He breathed it from bags, and within a box, and always were

the effects uncontrollable and sweet on his glowing temperament. In his note-books he wrote... 'I seemed a new being;' 'I seemed a sublime being newly created;' 'as if possessed of new organs;' and, best of all, this line of beauty, which fills and satisfies the ear of every genuine bacchanal in these ærial orgies, because it is true,

'Yet is my mouth replete with murmuring sound.'

He tried its effect on Mr. Tobin, Mr. Clayfield, Dr. Kinglake, Southey and Coleridge, with similar results. In no instance did the inhalation do any material harm, although it seemed to revive old rheumatisms in the joints of Kinglake. Not even did any depression follow the extravagant but transitory excitement. In connexion with a kind of homœopathic theory of the art of healing which he cherished at that time, the discoverer was sanguine of its useful application to medicine. It might be the portable gold of Geber, the vivifying quintessence of the elements of Raymond Lully, the water of life of Basil Valentine, the elixir of Paracelsus, or at least some purified and attempered supporter of vitality, for its composition was almost identical in ingredients with that of the atmosphere! yet, in spite of this sudden appeal to his imagination and of his inexperience in the practice of physic, he never for a moment overstepped the modesty of nature; but faithfully recorded its inutility, and pointed out the fallacies attendant on the trial of so strange and novel a medicinal agent. He proceeded to make certain daring experiments on carbonic acid, carburetted hydrogen, nitric oxide and other poisonous airs; which nearly cost us his invaluable life. After ten months of incessant labour, interrupted only by an elated run, in quest of squandered health, to Cornwall, he published his first considerable work; the 'Researches, chemical and philosophical, chiefly concerning nitrous oxide and its respiration;' in the summer of 1800.

He did not wear his laurels with content. His passion for discovery was too irrepressible, and his 'look towards future greatness' had been too blasting for repose. Convinced that 'the most sublime and important part of chemistry (was) yet unknown,' he cast an eager glance at the very penetralia of the science, and devised plans for the decomposition of those bodies which were known to be compound, but had never been forced to yield up their elements, viz. the muriatic, fluoric and boracic acids; in order that he might grasp those secret radicals, which the Lavoisierians had ventured to anticipate. These mistaken devices did ultimately conduct to one of the two greatest achievements in his subsequent career. Meanwhile he more successfully laid hold of the galvanic pile of Volta, which was afterwards

to work such wonders in his favoured hands, and communicated five brief accounts of experiments to the pages of Nicholson's Journal, in the six months before his removal to London. Nor is this all that is to be told of his singular activity during the two admirable years he spent at Bristol. He must have read a good deal of science and general literature; but he was forever writing, forever projecting: writing magnificats of nature in blank verse; essays on education, luxury, genius and dreaming; and fragments of metaphysical fiction and desultory notes: and projecting philosophical narratives, romances and an epic in six books, relating the deliverance of the Israelites under the guidance of Moses! Let us refresh ourselves with a single little extract from the abstract of a disquisition on Luxury, before we follow the sage of two-and-twenty years to the vortices of London life. It is this: 'Nature and domestic attachments the true sources of happiness. Cosmopolitanism, the love of notoriety, (not fame,) the love of pleasure, all fatal to the first and strongest feeling of our nature.'

The Royal Institution of Great Britain originated, at the end of last century, between the committee of a London Society for bettering the condition of the Poor, and that well-known soldier of fortune and effective man of practical science, Count Rumford. It was to be supported by the contributions of members; to bring science into closer contact with the useful arts by committees of research on baking, cooking, and the like; to shed the light of science among the higher classes by morning lectures: and it had been providentially appointed to become the scene of the next twelve years of Davy's life and labours. On the recommendation of the late accomplished Professor Hope of Edinburgh, Rumford invited Davy, already known to him by reputation, to fill the place of assistant lecturer on Chemistry and director of the Laboratory, with the prospect of being soon made professor in the room of ill-used Dr. Garnett.

It is said that Rumford was sadly disappointed when he saw him, so rustic was he in his air. His success as a lecturer, however, was instantaneous. Everything was propitious. The Continent was closed against the Aristocracy. The Institution was highly patronized, and it was a novelty. The Chemistry of LAVOISIER was easy, clear and captivating, as has been shown. Davy himself was young; simple as a child, yet daring as a man; with an actual and a strange discovery already under his feet; a decisive experimentalist; and glowing with the fervour of a rude native eloquence, which assumed a metropolitan polish with only too much rapidity. His friend Purkis says that the enthusiastic admiration, with which he was hailed, can hardly be imagined now. Not only men of the highest rank, men of science, men

of letters and men of trade ; but women of fashion and blue-stockings, old and young, pressed into the theatre of the Institution, to cover him with applause. ' Compliments, invitations and presents, were showered upon him in abundance from all quarters.' His acquaintance and society were eagerly sought. At length the Duchess of Gordon set her 'gracious, graceful, graceless grace's' eye upon the prodigy : and it drew him into the charmed circle of fashion ; there to shine, and shining burn, and burning waste the exhaustible fund of force that was in his well-knit frame. How he changed in the focus of such unmeasured and ungenial approbation ! At the sound of the plaudits of the brilliant crowds, that surrounded him in the spacious lecture-room, he erected his somewhat careless shape ; and the will quickly took that neglected possession and conscious command of every muscle of his frame, which is essential to the graceful movements of the human body. His clear outlooking eye, that had hitherto beamed only with intelligence, began to light up his heavier features with an unhidden sense of superiority. His rich light-brown hair glistened amid the incense of the drawing-room. His largish but eloquent mouth was soon accustomed to pronounce with both elegance and precision. In a word, his countenance and figure expanded in the sunshine. It was natural. Habitual emotion, especially of the aspiring kind, is more capable of modifying the form and bearing of a man than one is apt to think for. This it is that draws one natural line of demarcation between the many different orders of society, producing the most delicate distinction of varieties in demeanour. Davy is an instance. He went farther than nature led him, it is true ; and 'assumed the garb and manners of a man of fashion.' What another change for the Bristol chemist and the solitary rhapsodist of Penzance !

Distant ones trembled for his safety, and warned him of his danger. If in peril, however, he was not subdued ; and in his five-and-twentieth summer he assured his excellent and unfailing friend, Mr. Poole of Nether Stowey, that 'the age of danger had passed away.' 'There are,' says he, 'in the intellectual being of all men paramount elements, certain habits and passions that cannot change. I am a lover of nature, with an ungratified imagination. I shall continue to search for untasted charms, for hidden beauties. My real, my waking existence is amongst the objects of scientific research.' This confidence in the persistency of genius in general, and his own passion for the glory of discovery in particular, was stout, but not overweening.

He was at his place in the laboratory from ten or eleven till three or four, day after day, just as he had been at Bristol ; and the world knows what he accomplished there. In preparing his

lectures never was a man so extravagantly laborious. Rarely or never spending the evening in his rooms at the Institution, he confined himself entirely the day before each lecture; wrote it; and rehearsed with his assistants, experiments and all, in order to ensure their dexterity and his own felicity of delivery. 'He used,' says Dr. Davy, 'at this recital, to mark the words which required emphasis, and study the effect of intonation, often repeating a passage two or three different times to witness the difference of effect of variation in the voice.' Notwithstanding, however, of this theatrical finicism, he was always himself again before an audience; nothing being strong enough to stifle or repress his native sincerity and earnestness of soul. We have been told, indeed, by one of the greatest men, and certainly the ablest critic now alive in Britain, that while he was express and admirable so long as he expounded scientific details, he would plume himself without taste, and swell without discrimination, when he diverged into subjects of general reflection, or rather declamation; a kind of composition in which he was far-fetched, pompous and somewhat puerile to the very last. Yet Cavendish and Banks, Coleridge and Southey listened to him with pleasure. Such critics as had no sympathy with a many-gifted nature, that knew another language than that of science and had the good sense to speak it on occasion, condemned his luxuriance of imagery as incompatible with the matter in hand. Others sneered at the enthusiasm with which he bended and dilated over a beautiful crystal; incapable of conceiving how much of his dearest history was associated with such tiny forms. Once for all, the discoverer, who is bound to be as precise as a mathematician in defining his terms, as disciplinarian as a general before a fight in deploying his details, and as dry as a chancellor in summing up his evidence for the final deduction, has a right to be a man again, with all his faculties and sensibilities erect within him, when he leaves the definition, the muster and the decision; else how shall the apprehension of the manifold, confluent, interweaving and unspeakable sympathies of nature with the whole heart and mind of man be insinuated into the awaiting soul? Now that the press has become so good a substitute for the professorial chair as to have produced a Davy without its aid, it were well that there were far more of Davy's style of speaking about nature in the Universities; for it is only by the conflict and collision of kindled spirit with their unawakened thought and emotion, that young men shall ever be fired with the passion for a life of valorous endeavour, and excited to achievements worthy of their manhood.

Such was Davy's life for some twelve years of as substantial work as was ever done by man of science; adorned by a splendid succession of lectures on Chemistry, Chemistry applied to the

Arts, Chemistry in connexion with Geology, Agricultural Chemistry and his own Electro-chemical theory; and relieved by travels into Wales, Ireland and Scotland, in quest of mineralogical, geological and agricultural information, as well as of trout and game; for he was both an angler and a sportsman, though he always preferred the rod to the fowling-piece. In 1803 he investigated the process of tanning at the request of the Royal Institution, and produced a corrected theory of the art. He increased his observations on the combinations of nitrogen and oxygen; erected a eudiometer, for determining the quantity of oxygen in the air, on the new fact that nitric oxide, condensed by sulphate of iron, imbibes oxygen with more facility and regularity than any other substance; made an analysis of wavellite, a mineral from Devon, finding it to be a hydrate of alumina, or compound of water and the pure matter of clay; and, above all, advanced with unprecedented success in that wonderful career of electro-chemical research, which he had begun at Bristol, and which he never relinquished till he put himself at the head of all the contemporary chemical discoverers of Europe.

It was in 1789 that Galvani observed the startling fact that the leg of a dead frog is convulsed, as if the animal were yet alive, when a piece of metal is made to unite the muscles with the nerve of the limb. So extraordinary a thing fixed the attention of the world, and people thought the principle of life itself was about to be laid bare. Volta at once referred the phenomenon to the electricity developed by the contact of two metals; and, in order to increase by multiplication the amount of force to be eliminated in that way, he piled couples of pieces of copper and zinc one above another, wetted cloth being put between each couple. The original theory of this remarkable instrument was this: that by induction the copper pieces are thrown into a negative-electric condition, and the zinc ones into a positive state; so that when the uppermost zinc one is brought into contact, either directly or by the medium of a third body capable of conducting electricity, with the lowest copper one, there takes place a discharge similar to the detonation of a common electrical battery. The restoration of electrical equilibrium, however, is only momentary, on account of the continual new development of force by the continued contact of the metallic pieces; so that the current of a Voltaic circle is made up of an endless series of little electric shocks following each other in swift succession, like the sonorous vibrations of the air. One hand having been placed on the zinc piece at the top of this Voltaic arrangement, the instant the other hand touches the copper one at the bottom, the arms and chest sustain a convulsive shock, proportionably violent to the size of the pile. The ordinary method

of submitting minute objects to the influence of this shock is to attach a free wire to the top and another to the bottom of the instrument. As long as these wires do not come near each other the galvanism is latent. When their points are approximated so as not to touch, at a particular distance for each apparatus an electric spark passes from point to point: and if the points of the wires be inserted into mercury, water or any of many other substances called conductors, the conductor in question is submitted to a galvanic shock or current; precisely like the body of one who touches both ends of the pile at once. The effect of this current was eagerly tried upon all sorts of bodies.

In 1800 Nicholson and Carlisle, dipping these two wires into some water, were astonished to observe that oxygen was evolved at the positive pole and hydrogen at the negative one.

Ritter made the same observation, and found that if two glasses of water, connected by a bent tube full of vitriol, be employed one for each wire, the effect is not prevented. He inferred that water is a simple body, which becomes oxygen when combined with positive electricity and hydrogen when united to an equivalent proportion of negative electricity. These two kinds of electricity are imaginary absurdities invented by Dufay, who called them vitreous and resinous electricities, to render electrical phenomena intelligible. Franklin believed in only one electricity; a body being in a state of positive electricity when possessed by an excess of the fluid, and in a negative condition when deficient of that equipoised amount which he supposed to be necessary to the neutral and quiescent existence of all bodies. On so unsubstantial a foundation did Ritter build his inference.

In 1803 Hisinger and Berzelius of Sweden determined that many compound bodies are resolved into their proximate elements, when a current of galvanism is sent through them in a state of solution; and made the important generalization that acids invariably gather round the positive, and alkalis appear at the negative, wire of the pile.

So early as 1800, Davy had repeated and varied the experiment of the discoveries of this decomposing force of galvanism; and had constructed, the year after, an apparatus with two liquids and one metal: in imitation of the muscle, nerve and single metal of Galvani's accidental arrangement. After he arrived in London, and found himself the possessor of everything his heart could wish to follow this captivating new train of dynamical research, he plunged, with his wonted decision and success, into a laborious and masterly investigation of the whole scope of the subject. The greater part of his victories in this well-fought field are recorded in the Bakerian Lecture, to be found in the Philosophical Transactions for 1806, and the fifth volume of his collected works. He

had first to clear the ground, which had already become obstructed by certain perplexing observations. When water had been decomposed in glasses and porcelain cups, even when organic connecting matters had been discarded and the water had been distilled, there had always appeared both acid and alkaline matter at the poles. This was distracting; inasmuch as every one believed that Cavendish had demonstrated water to be a compound of oxygen and hydrogen alone. Persuaded that Cavendish was not in error, but not utterly rejecting the possibility of some unexpected decomposition of the substances of oxygen and hydrogen themselves, he calmly proceeded to rid the common experiment of every imaginable source of fallacy, and inexorably disentangled the question of its complications. In glass he traced the alkali to the potash of the vessels; and he had recourse to agate cups, united by filaments of purified asbestos. In these, too, he found alkali extracted from the stone; but less and less every succeeding time he used the same agates. This looked like the quick approach of land; and he employed the same cups again and again, in order to exhaust all the alkaline matter that was in them. But the acid and alkali, though they reached a minimum, never ceased to come, and once more the experimentalist was at sea; although he had meanwhile observed that the alkalinity of the negative water was diminished by heat. He substituted little gold cups, and found that the alkaline water in the negative cup lost its alkalinity altogether when heated. It was the volatile alkali, ammonia: and the mystery was all but out.

Distilled water absorbs a portion of nitrogen from the air, and if that portion be diminished by any secret cause of removal, the water compensates itself by withdrawing more nitrogen from the atmosphere. Again, ammonia is composed of nitrogen and hydrogen; and nitric acid of nitrogen and oxygen. Ammonia, then, appeared in the negative gold cup, where hydrogen was being eliminated; nitric acid in the positive, where oxygen was in the course of evolution: these resulting from the union of nitrogen, absorbed from without, with hydrogen and oxygen respectively. Finally, he galvanized purest water in cleanest gold in a vacuum, as well as in certain gaseous atmospheres that were free of nitrogen, and the tantalizing forms of acidity and alkalinity vanished altogether.

The essential point thus placed at rest, he confirmed the experiments of Hisinger and Berzelius; made a multitude more of his own, on the decomposition of compounds into their known ingredients; found that the insoluble, earthy and metallic salts yield to the same force; described the important part this agency must play among the masses, strata and beds of the earth, in the formation of mineral veins and deposits; and, in conclusion,

mounted to the sublime proposition that chemical affinity is nothing else than electric energy. Among masses of matter an electro-negative body repels an electro-negative one, but attracts an electro-positive substance; and Davy conceived that a particle of acid attracts and combines with a particle of alkali, the former being electro-negative, and the latter electro-positive. In virtue of the same mutual relation oxygen, which is electro-negative, unites with the metals which are electro-positive; and so on. Happily for Davy's fame, however, as a sound reasoner, he states his electro-chemical theory in such general terms that half-a-dozen modifications of it, that is, half-a-dozen electro-chemical views, which all spring from this first generalization of the relations between electrical disturbance and the decomposition of chemical compounds, have been given to the world since its publication. For example, Berzelius, Ampère and Faraday differ from each other; but equally agree with Davy, in their respective statements of the electrical theory of chemical combination. For our own parts, we accept none of them, and are of opinion that one and all mistake the contingent for the essential, while they substitute identity for partial coincidence. Meanwhile the great researches of Faraday have amazingly multiplied the data from which a more comprehensive theory of nature shall eventually be constructed. It shall never be forgotten, however, that as LAVOISIER imparted to the world the inductive element of chemistry for all time to come; and as DALTON has laid down the first principle of statics for that coming era of the science, in which the mathematical element shall be infused into its structure; so Davy has given the first impulse towards a dynamical theory of combination, composition and decomposition, in preparation for the time we thus venture to prophecy. It is curious, in connexion with this historical fraternity of Davy with DALTON, that the former did not very speedily embrace the atomic hypothesis even as a theory of definite and equimultiple proportions. Thomson relates how Davy stood out after Wollaston and he had capitulated and (to their honour be it spoken) contributed their yeoman service to the cause. He covered it with goodhumoured ridicule in the company of Davies Gilbert. The excellent Gilbert waited on Wollaston to warn him of his folly; but came away himself convinced. Davy yielded to Gilbert.

To return: Davy, ever greater in deed than in abstractive thought, and abler at contriving relentless experiments than constructing definitions, hastened to apply this great instrument of decomposition to the solution of questions of the greatest practical importance, and of vital significance to the growing science. Remember what a greedy eye he cast at Bristol upon the three bodies which had been recognized to be compound, but had not been

analyzed, in the system of Lavoisier ; and the avidity with which he had invented stratagems for dragging to light the muriatic, fluoric and boracic radicals, as they were called. It was next to impossible, however, to apply the taxis to the fluoric and muriatic acids in circumstances calculated to secure success, and we seem now to understand why the boracic one should not yield so readily to the convulsive wrench. But there were other substances in the elemental scale of the day, evidently not simple bodies, and at the same time incapable of eluding the dexterous and determined manipulation of the indomitable electro-chemist. The alkalis, alkaline earths and earths are, in fine gradation, so analogous to the metallic oxides, both in chemical and sensible characteristics, that it was not easy to avoid the suspicion that they should one day be found to resemble them in composition. Accordingly LAVOISIER, in a kind of vain oppugnancy to whom British chemists are too fond of advancing Davy's totally different claims, had distinctly announced the probability of these bodies being bases already saturated with oxygen in that very *Traité Élémentaire* which initiated his admirable disciple into the wonders of the science.

‘Il seroit possible à la rigueur que toutes les substances auxquelles nous donnons le nom de terres, ne fussent que des oxides métalliques, irréductibles par les moyens que nous employons.’*

Again,

‘Il est à présumer que les terres cesseront bientôt d’être comptées au nombre des substances simples ; elles sont les seules de toute cette classe qui n’aient point de tendance à s’unir à l’oxygène, et je suis bien porté à croire que cette indifférence pour l’oxygène, s’il m’est permis de me servir de cette expression, tient à ce qu’elles en sont déjà saturées. Les terres, dans cette manière de voir, seroient des substances simples, peut-être des oxides métalliques oxygénés jusqu’à un certain point.’†

Once more,

‘Je n’ai point fait entrer dans ce tableau les alkalis fixes, tels que la potasse et la soudé, parce que ces substances sont évidemment composées, quoiqu’on ignore cependant encore la nature des principes qui entrent dans leur combinaison.’‡

Consequently, a eulogist in the Edinburgh Review is mistaken and unjust when, in reference to the discovery about to be explained, he says that ‘no prophetic sagacity had placed it among the probabilities of science.’ Davy knew the conjecture of his master from his earliest youth, and that eye for analogies remoter

* *Traité Élémentaire*, Tome i. 174.
Paris, 1793.

‡ The same.

† Tome i. 195. Edition second

far than any so obvious as these, so keen, so true, which distinguishes him from all the chemists that have ever yet appeared, at once approved the verisimilitude of the conception.

He commenced the investigation on potash. He dissolved the alkali in water, and employed 'the highest electrical power (he) could command,' 'produced by a combination of voltaic batteries,' 'containing 24 plates of copper and zinc of twelve inches square, 100 plates of six inches, and 150 of four inches square;' but in vain. Some solid potash, now known to be a compound of true potash and water, was then melted in a platinum spoon. The spoon itself was made the positive pole of the battery; and while, with the potash it contained, it was kept red hot in a well-urged flame the negative wire was dipped into the molten alkali. He says, 'The potash appeared a conductor in a high degree, and, as long as the communication was preserved, a most intense light was exhibited at the negative wire, and a column of flame, which seemed to be owing to the development of combustible matter, arose from the point of contact.' The spoon, with its fused and glowing alkali, was next made the negative pole; the positive wire was dipped into the potash; but no 'column of flame' arose at its touch; only 'a vivid and constant light;' while, from the inside of the spoon, there rose through the potash 'aeriform globules,' like the bubbles of champagne, which burst into flame the instant they reached the air. This was the first flush of victory; but these beautiful phenomena were still susceptible of more explanations than one; and this 'combustible matter' had to be handled and examined by an Englishman, instead of merely flashing like an atomic meteor before the eye of an impotent theorist.

Solid and dry potash is a non-conductor. It requires to be fused, so as to entail the disadvantage of executing a delicate experiment at a high heat. Having found that the alkali, very slightly moistened on the surface by exposure to the atmospheric vapour, becomes a conductor; he placed a small piece upon a disc of platinum connected with the negative side of a 'battery of 250 of six and four in a state of intense activity.' Whenever the positive wire was brought round and its point laid, like the tip of a magic wand, on the top of the potash, the solid alkali began to fuse at both its points of 'electrization.' 'There was a violent effervescence at the upper surface; at the lower or negative surface there was no liberation of elastic fluid, but small globules, having a high metallic lustre, and being precisely similar in visible characters to quicksilver, appeared, some of which burst with explosion and bright flame, as soon as they were formed, and others remained, and were merely tarnished, and finally covered by a white film, which formed on their surface.'

This was the sixth of October, 1807: how memorable a day!

His assistant relates, that 'he could not contain his joy,' but 'bounded about the room,' in an ecstasy of delight. It was not alone that some paltry potash had been decomposed by his hand into oxygen and a new metallic substance: but the theory of chemistry was justified and enlarged; the decomposition of soda, lime, barytes, strontian, magnesia and alumina, would soon be forced to follow, as indeed they were; a new reactive power, so potent, as to remind him of the universal solvent of the alchemist, was almost within his grasp, with which he might decompose silica and boracic acid, as they were eventually decomposed, if not edulcorate the muriatic and fluoric radicals; in fine, for the present, the analogy of harmonious nature was magnified, and for the future, might not the very metals, royal ones and all, be compelled, by this pile of Volta, to unroll themselves before the world into thin hydrogenous air and some one unknown constituent? AND ALL BY HIM! It was a glorious day of prophecy and power.

There was still much to do. It was necessary to procure the new body in larger quantities; to examine its curious properties and proportions; to render it evident that its origin had no connexion with the platinum apparatus; to prove that nothing but oxygen resulted along with it from the galvanic action on potash; to show that potash, and only potash, is reproduced by the combination of the new substance with oxygen: and there were difficulties of no ordinary magnitude in the way. The necessity of moistening the potash gave occasion to some, whom it is better not to perpetuate, to maintain that the new body was a compound of hydrogen and potash; while the entry of water into the chemical constitution of potash rendered the first specimens of potassium (for such was the name affixed to the metal) more or less charged with hydrogen. But the labours of the discoverer; and of Gay-Lussac, who invented a reactive process for the purer preparation of the substance; soon disentangled the matter, and made the natural history of both potassium and the metal of soda, which was discovered by Davy a few days after that of potash, as clear as day.

Potassium is a soft silver-white metal, that melts at 136° , can be distilled at a low red heat, and kindles in the air at the temperature where it begins to vaporize. Klaproth, Dalton and others objected to its being called a metal, on the score of its levity. The judgment of chemists has, however, been decisive that its other metallic qualities entitle it to the rank it claims. There should be an end to all such disputes. The number of the elements is not a formally graduated scale running up and down, but an interwoven piece of work in which there is no transition but by a kind of flow; although many of the parts are

still invisible, and there accordingly appear to be interruptions and divisions to the unexpectant eye. Metal or not metal, in the dry air it quickly combines with oxygen, and is soon covered with a white rust. This oxide is potassa. Potassa attracts the aqueous vapour of the atmosphere and becomes potash; which draws down more and more moisture, till the original bright bead have become a little pool of alkali dissolved in water. This solution combines rapidly with the carbonic acid of the air and, if it be subsequently boiled to dryness, there is left the carbonate of potash; the pearl-ash of the housewife.

Potassium is lighter than water. It breaks into flame the moment it touches water or ice. If plunged under water there is no combustion, but hydrogen is discharged with turbulence and resistlessness. These remarkable, but far from anomalous, properties suggested to the teeming mind of the electro-chemist the conjecture that the solid body of the world is composed of potassium and the metals that resemble it; and that volcanic eruptions are produced by the occasional incursion of the waters of the deep, or of the great mountain tanks, on the still domain of these atlantic metals. The far greater part of the investigated crust of the earth is certainly composed of such oxidated metals, and the specific gravity of the whole globe is supposed to be less than that of even the rocks; so that it is at least possible that there may be more of sound prediction in this sublime conception than the majority are inclined to think.

In the most serio-comical connexion with the memoir of 1806, out of which all these great discoveries arose, the prostrate Dr. Paris exclaims with the naïveté of a boy: 'a great poetic genius has said, "If Davy had not been the first chemist, he would have been the first poet of his age."' Upon this question I do not feel myself a competent judge: but where is the modern Esau who would exchange his Bakerian lecture for a poem, though it should equal in design and execution the *Paradise Lost*? We should certainly not have alluded to this amusing escapade, but that Davy himself all along cherished the opinion, which is more common than enthusiasm in their own pursuits among men of science, that the principal, if not the only aim, of poetry is to amuse; the function of science or, as it is more ordinarily misnamed, philosophy being to instruct mankind. They do not discriminate between knowledge and wisdom; nor know, alas for them! that it is goodness and harmony the poet is sent into the world to teach. Far from enviable, indeed, is he who can rise from the thoughtful study of an original investigation into nature, like this of Davy's, without the thankful, though diffident and tremulous hope, that he is a wiser and a better man for the perusal; but surely the student who finds only amusement and

delicious titillation of his sensibilities, in a book of *Iliads*, a *Divina Commedia*, an *Othello*, a *Paradise Lost*, or even a *Dream of Mary in Heaven*, has yet to imbibe the primitive and the nobler elements of humanity. Differently from Paris does Coleridge, the true admirer of Davy and himself a poet, adjudge the relationship of kind between the august fraternity of Milton and that humbler guild of which his gifted friend was at once the ornament and the master: 'If in Shakspeare we find nature idealized into poetry, through the creative power of a profound yet observant meditation, so through the meditative observation of a Davy, a Wollaston or a Hatchett;

—————By some connatural force,
Powerful at greatest distance to unite
With secret amity, things of like kind,

we find poetry, as it were, substantiated and realized in nature—yea, nature itself disclosed to us, *geminam istam naturam, quæ fit et facit, et creat et creatur*, as at once the poet and the poem!*

A word about Davy's own poetry, for there will not be another opportunity, so much is there to say about his natural work. Too much has been made of it by his brother, Paris, Cuvier and certain anonymous writers; for the reported conversational observations of Southey and Coleridge are negative, and refer only to what in their opinion he might have been in literature, if he had not assumed the warfare for which alone, in our opinion, he was intended and accoutred. Now, in such of his versified effusions as have been published, we are able to descry little humanity; beyond the love of glory, and the most ordinary, if not inferior attachment to home. Then the writer appears to love even nature solely as nature ministering to discovery; and he imitates her mechanical emotions alone. Not only does he never sob as his mother must have sobbed; but he never sighs, nor heaves, nor pants, nor in fury rages, like the sea. For a spontaneous bard, never yet was wight so curbed, so straining to be great, so turgid and, in one fatal word or two, so artificial and scientific. You listen for the murmur of his natal stream, the Boye, or the wave and hush-again of the ever-haunted woods, or the carol of singing birds, in vain. Follow his devious and eager footstep to the rugged beach, and his verse will never mew and heavily stagger, as if in pain, like the plovers on the way; nor shriek in the wind like the sea-fowl, that deafen the eaves-dropping air around his dreamy head. Nay, aspiring though he ever was, and confident as a full-fledged falcon in his undazzled strength

* The Friend, vol. 3, Essay vi.

of sweep and eye, neither in his poetry, nor in any of his prose-poetical fictions on the physical theory of a future state, given in the *Consolations in Travel*, does he ever soar towards 'the highest heaven of invention,' bearing the awe-struck reader in sudden triumph to the sky. He lifts himself aloft like a crag, that warms and glitters only in the sun.

' By the orient gleam
Whitening the foam of the blue wave, that breaks
Around his granite feet, but dimly seen,
Majestic Michael rises ; he whose brow
Is crown'd with castles, and whose rocky sides
Are clad with dusky ivy ; he whose base,
Beat by the storm of ages, stands unmoved
Amidst the wreck of things, the change of time.'

In reality, with the temperament and the talents of a considerable poet, he was, from the very beginning of his intellectual career, too forward in the conscious pursuit of acquaintance with the particular parts of nature to be the poet of her secret heart. His was a constant sense of antagonism to creation ; and, though it was the antagonism of a brother's love devout, yet it was a brother's, and ever too solicitous of displaying her capabilities and varied resources. Accordingly, his muse was neither an ever-revealing, ever-withdrawing shape of pale celestial beauty, like the Beatrice of Dante ; nor a pulsing form of kindly flesh and blood like the Eve of Milton ; but a hard automaton of brilliant metals, precious stones and clay, himself her Frankenstein, and the glow in her mimic bosom a chemical combustion.

' Hence, she scorn'd
The narrow laws of custom that control
Her feeble sex. Great in her energies,
She roam'd the fields of Nature, scann'd the laws
That move the ruling atoms, changing still,
Still rising into life. Her eagle eye,
Piercing the blue immensity of space,
Held converse with the lucid sons of Heaven,
The day-stars of creation, or pursued
The dusky planets rolling round the sun,
And drinking in his radiance, light and life.
Such was the maiden !'

No, we do not think Davy was a poet ; these descriptions of St. Michael's cliff and the lady Theora are not poetic ; and it is undeniable that he has not penned a single verse the world does not very 'willingly let die.' His sphere and the proper home of his mind was the laboratory. His work and the proper delight of his heart was discovery. There he never faltered. From his last successful toils he pressed forward to fresh investigations. After

several somewhat less satisfactory experiments upon the elemental radical of boracic acid, his next important inquiry was into the relations of chlorine to muriatic acid. This green and pungent air Scheele discovered in 1774. In consonance with the doctrine of STAHL he named it dephlogisticated marine acid, and believed it to be a simple body. Berthollet, however, under the influence of the Lavoisierian theory, reversed this correct and simple view of its nature, and did for it exactly what the Stahlian had done for the metals. Chlorine results from the action of muriatic acid upon peroxide of manganese, there being nothing else produced but what was called muriate of the protoxide of that metal; that is, a part of the oxygen of the peroxide had to be accounted for, and Berthollet inferred that it had combined with the free muriatic acid so as to produce chlorine or, according to his nomenclature, oxymuriatic acid. Muriatic acid itself, as has already been hinted, was classified by Lavoisier as an oxide of some unknown base, to be named for the time the muriatic radical. Gay-Lussac and Thenard published a notice of some experiments in 1809, which subsequently appeared at length in their *Physico-Chemical Researches*, in which they pointed out that oxymuriatic acid may quite as well be considered a simple body; but they continued to give the preference to the doctrine of Berthollet. It appeared to be necessary for the integrity of the French theory of Chemistry, that no acid substance should be by any means permitted not to contain oxygen, the acidifying principle of nature; and Cuvier hints that the physico-chemical researchers dared not run counter to the persuasion of their countrymen. It was accordingly reserved for Davy, with his battery, unshackled thought and decisive experimentation, to demonstrate that muriatic acid is composed of hydrogen and oxymuriatic acid, instead of muriatic acid and oxygen being the ingredients of oxymuriatic acid: that the green air or chlorine, as he called it, is as elementary a form of matter as oxygen itself: and that, consequently, the theory and terminology of a large department of chemical facts must be completely changed. Berzelius was at first averse to the Davian view, and Murray of Edinburgh waged a puny warfare in favour of that of Berthollet; but the exposition of the beautiful analogies to chlorine presented by iodine, an indecomposable substance accidentally discovered in 1812; and the discovery of bromine, another body of the same order, by Balard in 1826, soon combined to establish the truth. It is interesting to know that the reformer entered on this inquiry in the hope of decomposing oxymuriatic acid, and extracting oxygen from the muriatic; but he bowed to the authority of nature, though it reversed his expectation.

This achievement has been loudly vaunted, especially by his

own countrymen, as a victory over LAVOISIER. It was no such thing. It made known a multitude of facts, of which that great lawgiver of the science was ignorant; but they arrayed themselves under his theory, as naturally as the particles of a chemical solution round an enlarging nucleus of crystallization. LAVOISIER and his followers put the appellation of oxygen upon the dephlogisticated air of Priestley, because it was an ingredient of all the acids the composition of which had been ascertained; and they were bound to infer that the muriatic acid, not then methodically decomposed, contained it too. It was not named oxygen because of any peculiar, inherent and inseparable relation to the property of acidity; for it was known to be a common and invariable constituent of those metallic oxides, which were recognized to be the proper antitheses in idea to the acids; and, as has been intimated already, LAVOISIER himself described the probability of its being yet found to be the invariable and common ingredient of the alkalis and earths, the conjecture which Davy has so admirably realized. Every chemist is aware, moreover, that it is not the so-called muriatic, hydriodic and hydrobromic acids that are the real acids after all, (if there be any meaning in the word whatever) but chlorine, iodine and bromine, the salt-radicals of these compounds. So much did chemists, for one example Dr. Turner, unconsciously feel the force of this that, when it was found that solutions in water of muriates of the oxides of metals evaporated to dryness leave only compounds of chlorine with the metals, the hydrogen of the muriatic acid having produced water with the oxygen of the metallic oxide and been dissipated by the heat, there arose the question whether the chloride of a metal becomes the muriate of its oxide when re-dissolved in water. Thanks to Liebig and what is called the sulphatoxygen theory of saline constitution, such aimless considerations are, it is to be hoped, forever in abeyance. At all events we rejoice, heart and hand, to coincide with the indignant Dumas in the reiterated assertion that LAVOISIER is yet intact: for we love, more than any other thing, to see man's discovery of Nature harmoniously opening out and lifting its shady head like a tree; the names of the hama-dryads, who have forced the juices to ascend, meanwhile murmuring without a jar among the leaves. 'They have often told you that the theory of LAVOISIER is modified, is overthrown. It is an error, Gentlemen, an error! no, that is not true! LAVOISIER is intact, impenetrable, his armour of steel is nowhere beaten in.'*

By this unrivalled series of practical discoveries Davy acquired

* 7th May 1836. Leçons sur la Philosophie Chimique, professées au Collège de France.

such a reputation for success among his countrymen that his aid was invoked on every great occasion. In 1812 there took place so dreadful a detonation of fire-damp, within a coal-mine in the north of England, that it destroyed more than a hundred miners at a blow. A committee of the proprietors besought our chemist to provide a method of preparing for such tremendous visitations : **AND HE DID IT.** Still more is it to his honour that he was himself the means of introducing the safety-lamp into the mines of Hungary, personally overseeing its construction and directing its employment. In truth, none of his victories seems to have afforded him so much heartfelt satisfaction. In reporting this beautiful invention to the Royal Society, he says :— ‘I shall now conclude. Whatever may be the fate of the speculative part of this inquiry, I have no anxiety as to the practical results, or as to the unimpassioned and permanent judgment of the public on the manner in which they have been developed and communicated ; and no fear that an invention for the preservation of human life and the diminution of human misery, will be neglected or forgotten by posterity.’ ‘I value it,’ he used to say with the kindest exultation, ‘more than anything I ever did : it was the result of a great deal of investigation and labour ; but if my directions be attended to, it will save the lives of thousands of poor men.’ How gladly we should have taken down and put reverently up again the simple mechanism of this exquisite device, if our allotted space had admitted of more particular expatiation ; this device which has eluded, with the subtlety of a kindly genie, a sublime and gigantic evil that could not otherwise be braved but with despair ; this device which, working like the warning ring of Haroun Alraschid, has protected a multitude of intrepid workmen from instant destruction ; this device which gladdened the philanthropic spirit from which it sprang, ‘more than anything (he) ever did !’ Posterity will be grateful for these generous words ; for

He, who works me good with unmoved face,
Does it but half. He chills me, while he aids,—
My benefactor, not my brother man.

In 1823 the Admiralty requested him to prevent the sea from corroding the copper-sheathing of the British navy ; and he hastened to apply those principles of electro-chemical induction, which he had so main a share in bringing to light, and that with complete success, so far as the mere chemical preservation was concerned. Nor can there be any doubt that, but for the endeavour to thwart and disconcert his plans on the part of invidious men, his labours would not have terminated till every incidental objection should have been conquered or evaded.

Some years before, he had been engaged in unrolling the manuscripts of Herculaneum; but the conservators at Naples, though they thanked him for his suggestions, soon threw impediments in the way of prosecuting the undertaking. The opportunity, however, was seized of examining the colours used by the ancients, as found on the walls of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the results were duly recorded in the Philosophical Transactions. It is unnecessary, however, to analyse any or all of these his unceasing and, as it were, supernumerary labours; for every European student of chemistry is a student of the works of Davy, and the general reader cannot be supposed to accord enough of interest to the consideration of scientific details, not more deeply related to the progress of human investigation into the theory of nature.

We have not followed his private fortunes further than his union with the Royal Institution; because our interest is always concentrated on the struggle of life, while Davy so early shone in the eye of the world, and was by nature so much more than equal to the kind of researches he undertook, that he needs not be looked back upon as one of those heroic spirits whose whole careers have been, like the lives of Columbus, Galileo and Kepler, but 'a battle and a march' from end to end. Honours were showered upon him. A fellow of the Royal Society at five-and-twenty, he was elected a secretary at twenty-nine. For his Bakerian lecture he received Napoleon's prize for the advancement of Galvanic researches from the French Institute, at a time when national hostilities were at their height. In his three-and-thirtieth year Trinity College of Dublin created him a doctor of laws and, the year after this academical distinction, he received what is called the honour of knighthood from the hand of George IV., who had just entered on his regency as Prince of Wales. He was proud of it, because it had been worn by Newton. A day or two thereafter, having first resigned his professorship in the Institution, he married Mrs. Appreece, the rich widow of a diplomatist; a lady remarkable for intelligence and activity of mind. A few years later, the invention of the safety-lamp brought him the public gratitude of the united colliers of Whitehaven, of the coal proprietors of the north of England, of the grand jury of Durham, of the chamber of commerce at Mons, of the coal miners of Flanders; and, above all, of the coal owners of the Wear and the Tyne, who presented him (it was his own choice) with a dinner service of plate, worth £2500. On the same occasion Alexander, the Emperor of all the Russias, sent him a vase with a letter of commendation; and the Royal Society of his own country bestowed on him their biennial medal. In 1817 he was elected to the dignity of an associate of the Institute of France. Next year, at the age

of forty, he was created a baronet ; but he was never so happy as to produce an heir to the title. At length, in 1820, he was elevated by a large majority to the presidency of the Royal Society of London ; an honorary and laborious office, which he filled, with somewhat more pomp and pride than was either necessary or becoming, till he resigned it in 1827.

Out of a life of so many labours and so many honours few men could have contrived to distil so many pleasures. Fond of travel, geology and sport he seems to have visited, for the purposes of mineralogy and the angle, almost every county of England and Wales. In the summer of 1804, when little more than the brilliant professor at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, he was in Scotland and among the Western Islands. The following season he made a descent on the north of Ireland, for the purpose of examining the basaltic formations of the coast. In 1806 he was again in Ireland, from June to October. Six years after this he undertook a tour of pleasure in Scotland with Lady Davy after their marriage, leaving London in July, purposing to return in December, but getting back by the end of October. He was provided with a portable laboratory ; that he might experiment when he chose, as well as fish and shoot, 'which he almost as much delighted in,' according to the testimony of Dr. Davy. In November of the same year he was at Tunbridge, and there his eye was damaged by an experiment on the explosive chloride of nitrogen. The following year, 1813, he obtained permission from the French Government to visit the continent ; left London in October ; and spent two months in Paris, where he was received with signal politeness and eclat, forming the acquaintance of almost every remarkable person in that concentrated metropolis. Proceeding to Rome, Naples and Milan, where he saw Volta, the godsire of his principal discoveries, he went round to Geneva and resided there from June till September, when he returned to winter at Rome ; and next spring, returning through part of Germany, he reached London again in April 1815. Between this date and the same month in 1818, he made several journeys to the north of England and Scotland, partly in connexion with his inquiries into the chemistry and natural history of fire-damp, but chiefly, it would appear, for the sake of his favourite sports. In one of his Scottish runs he went to Orkney. In May 1818, he proceeded a second time to the continent, visiting Austrian Flanders, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Illyria, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria ; and reaching Rome in October, whence he soon hastened to Naples, in order to unroll the Herculanean manuscripts. After residing at the baths of Lucca and elsewhere, he was once more in England in the June of 1820 ; and away to the lowland Scottish moors in ever

welcome August. It was this autumn he visited Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford, and wetted his line in the Tweed. Having become the president of the Royal Society in November 1820, as soon as the duties of the session were over, he betook himself to Ireland, he says himself, for sport in the Bush and the Bahn; and then to the west of Scotland, it is presumed, for grouse. At last, in winter, he found himself once more at Mount's Bay, the scene of his boyhood, and wrote to Poole, 'an uncontrollable necessity has brought me here.' At Penzance they received our baronet and president with every public honour. He stayed a week and more among them. Next summer and autumn away again to fish and shoot among the distant Highlands of Scotland; his lady not appearing to have accompanied him very much in his travels after their return from their first residence upon the Continent. The following season he went to Ireland and Scotland with Wollaston, whom he seems to have infected with as fond a love of angling as his own. In the summer of 1824 he coasted Norway, and travelled in Sweden, Denmark, Holstein and Hanover; visiting crown princes and philosophers; fishing in strange northern lakes and rivers; shooting snipes; eating capital dinners, every item of more than one of which is registered by him, and published by his brother with becoming enthusiasm and gratitude; and storing up, for the use of his friends and the British public at large, certain culinary hints concerning cucumbers and the roasting of fowls with parsley in their bellies. The wines they gave him to drink in those ungenial but hospitable climes were good! Yes, the baronet had a taste in wines: the president was a gourmet. It was a safer and even a more aristocratic way of escape than almost any other for that superfluous steam of animality which is, indeed an inferior, but yet a very frequent excess in the constitution of the man of prowess. Almost every great man is a voluptuary by nature. Even Newton smoked himself into a state of absolute etiolation. Your true consumers of tobacco, your genuine gourmets, your consummate lovers of wine, your most absolute of gallants, and your only sufferable opium-eaters are such men of genius as really do toil like heroes when they are at work. Doubtless, men of genius are endued with the most sensitive and quivering of corporeal frames; and, if their characters be at the same time strong and vigorous, that swiftly responsive constitution to the play of every sensuous delight is invariably accompanied by the fiercest manifestations of turbulent human passion; and these are the chief ingredients of the less brutish man of vice. Then there is as little doubt that the alternation of activity among all the elements, which constitute a man complete, furnishes the best conditions for the full activity of each of them in succession. The mind, which is overstrained, instinctively seeks and finds its natural repose in the pleasures of sensation; and the wearied

sense aspires to hide itself in the kindlier bosom of emotion ; whence the intellect springs up anew in renovated strength. Happily for the world, the great leaders of its spiritual history have been for the most part men of principle and wisdom, who have known the blessed art of guiding these irrepressible outbursts of their earth-born characters into the beautiful and fertilizing channels of virtue. Happy the man of capacious intensity who, in the midst of temptations like those that surrounded Davy from first to last, succeeds in living so well as never once to call a blush upon the face of purity ; for such an one can well afford to tolerate the smile of affectionate criticism regarding the ludicrous pleasures of the table. But happier he whom, with the highest work to do and ability to do it in the highest spirit, Providence shall early withdraw from the fascinations of the world into some sweet and solemn seclusion where, away from both the promotions and the hindrances of such inconstant men as easily extol and straightway too easily fall into censure ; in the exhilarating and wholesome company of a quiet few, who love him for the heart that warms his unwearied brain ; surrounded only by the simplest pleasures, and these the lawful dalliances of his human nature ; and interrupted only by the weekly sabbath of creation, he might spend his unambitious days in the serener toils of investigation, destined not only to enrich but to ennoble the general mind of humanity for every century to come, long after his indifferent name shall be more than mythic, or even be pronounced at all : as the continental river, covering many a gorgeous plain with wealth and beauty as it rolls its waters to the ocean, whence they originally arose, owes its skyey sources to the homely solitudes of some mountain range. Not unlike this ideal would have been the even tenor of time-honoured DALTON, had he not been held to the ground in the cold gripe of poverty almost all his generous days. Amid influences somewhat like these did Bacon end his busy years, and execute his full-orbed works on methodology ; having, by the light that shone inextinguishably within him, transformed the rural prison-home, to which he was banished by the sapient king of Great Britain and Ireland, into a true and long-resounding oracle of the omniscient God of nature. Similar were the propitious fortunes that followed the remote and indefatigable footsteps of Herschel ; all honour to the considerate bounty of George the Third. But above all, not far from such was the sainted life of Newton, awful shade !

Sir Humphry had soon to undertake travels of a more sacred character, and of the most momentous consequences to himself and the world. ‘Whatever burns consumes...ashes remain.’ From the period of his excellent mother’s death, in September 1826, his vigour had declined. Pain and numbness invaded his right limbs, and his strong heart began to flutter.

His last oration before the Royal Society was delivered on St. Andrew's day in 1826, with painful exertion, as if he were about to be stricken down by apoplexy. The skill of his friend Dr. Babington did little for him; but he rallied, and early in 1827 he was able to withdraw to the Continent from the toils and annoyances of office. It was an inclement season; but he arrived at Ravenna by the 20th of February, where an accomplished young vice-legatè did all 'he could have done for a brother.' 'I have chosen this spot of the declining empire of Rome,' he wrote, 'as one of solitude and repose...I ride in the pine forest, which is the most magnificent in Europe...The pine wood partly covers the spot where the Roman fleet once rode. Such is the change of time!' Here his brother, who had attended, left him. He was as diligent as his strength would permit in taking exercise on horseback, among the avenues of Pineta and the marshes of La Classe, with his gun and his dogs; amused himself by reading; penned 'Hints and Experiments in Physical Science,' for he experimented to the very last; wrote reflections on life, full of experience, both in verse and prose; and engaged his powerful mind with contemplations of a higher order still.

We cannot follow him closely in the weary track that eventually led this conqueror of the elements out of nature; the subject and the sphere of all his victories. It was a sore struggle. Throughout his journals there are scattered exclamations of *valde miserabilis*. Poor Davy! with none but servile hands to tend him; no one to lean upon in the hour of weakness; homeless and alone; he wandered bravely on in voluntary pilgrimage to shrine of sequestered beauty after shrine, avoiding the interference of physicians, taking counsel of his own heart, and sporting like a naturalist when he could, from April to October: when he returned to London, the arena of his glory, for the last time, 'neither decidedly better nor worse.' Unfit for the excitements and the cares of society, as well as for the active labours of research, he wished to buy some warm-lying, beautiful estate, happily situated for the rural sports he followed with unabated zeal. There, gazing with a fond proprietary sense upon the landscape, watching the weather and the varying year with the eye of a genuine naturalist, deceiving the finny people with the quaint solicitude of another Walton, and looking back with triumphant sighs upon his exulting life; his life would have oozed away. It was not to be so. His wishes were not met; his health would not improve; and he longed for his South Austrian solitudes again. Bidding farewell to London at the end of March the following spring, he spent the summer as he had spent the last; and then withdrew from the sublime Styrian haunts, which he loved so truly, to reside once more in Rome.

In this premature winter of the year of his life the Discoverer turned, with the trusting love of a child, for solace in the summery bosom of nature. 'Nature never deceives us'...is his plaint...'The rocks, the mountains, the streams, always speak the same language...Her fruits are all balmy, bright and sweet; she affords none of these blighted ones so common in the life of man, and so like the fabled apples of the Dead Sea, fresh and beautiful to the sight, but, when tasted, full of bitterness and ashes.' Davy too, the brilliant and successful, had been encountered by disappointment, the entailed inheritance of human nature. His whole life was calculated to work him up to an exorbitant pitch of expectation. He was never very well fitted by nature, and totally unfitted by experience, for misfortunes. It is well for the world that his early path was easy and open, for success and applause were the necessary stimulus of so sanguine and sympathetic a being. Accordingly, when, after all that he had done and enjoyed, they endeavoured to rob him of the dearer honour of his invention of the Safety-Lamp by a base and ignorant cabal, fomented by men whom, now that the question is for ever put contemptuously at rest, it were too much honour ever to name again, there is no wonder that he was deeply wounded by the insult. Then the impediments that were thrown in the way of the thorough investigation of the copper-sheathing question by certain underlings of office, for the weightiest and most selfish of purposes, and the taunts that were invidiously bandied about concerning the apparent failure of his admirable plan for protection, vexed and filled him with just indignation. We men are cruel usurers; for if a man, making himself over to us for better for worse, half-accomplish a difficult discovery in our behoof, we immediately hoot him for his unneighbourly bravery in attacking so impregnable a stronghold, and persecute him into solitude, because his victory is not complete: and so we abandon him to complete it by himself! Not that this of Davy's, vexatious though it was, is an instance very strongly in point; yet it serves for illustration, while it must have stung a man of his unfailing resources and invincible success to the very quick. Nor was Sir Humphry happy in his elevation to the chair of the Royal Society; except in the profaned consideration that it was once the Chair of NEWTON, profaned by the unavoidable remembrance of the intermediate nonentities that had occupied the sacred seat. We are incompetent to the discussion of this question; but it is clear that his administration was far from giving satisfaction. The responsibility of every disagreeable thing that transpired in the private transactions of the Society was thrown on him. He was annoyed by a hundred impertinent trifles. Above all, he was disappointed in his life-long foolish hope, of one day moving the Government of

Britain to patronize the cause of science. Things did not go so sweetly with him as they did in the rising and ascent of his climbing sun. Other sorrows he may have suffered; others he did, although we cannot well say what. But to a spirit of such inexhaustible activity, it was sorrow enough to feel that cold, slimy and relentless clutch of palsy, creeping slowly over him; the palm upon his heart, and the chilly fingers over his limbs, to squeeze him leisurely to death.

It was at Rome on the 20th of February, when he was finishing the Last days of a Philosopher, that he received the final warning to prepare. By dictation he wrote to his brother, who was at Malta with the British troops, 'I am dying from a severe attack of palsy, which has seized the whole of the body, with the exception of the intellectual organ...I shall leave my bones in the Eternal City.' But he was to die neither then nor there. Within three weeks his brother was by his bed-side; and found him as much interested in the anatomy and electricity of the torpedo as ever, though he bade Dr. Davy 'not be grieved' by his approaching dissolution. Yet after a day of 150 pulse-beats, and only five breathings, in a minute, and of the most distressing particular symptoms, he again revived. Shortly after this Lady Davy arrived at Rome from England, with a copy of the second edition of *Salmonia*, which he received with peculiar pleasure. After some weeks of melancholy dalliance with the balmy spring air of the Campagna, the Albula Lake, the hills of Tivoli and the banks of the Tiber, they travelled quietly round by Florence, Genoa, Turin, slowly threading the flowery sweet-scented alpine valleys, to Geneva: WHERE HE SUDDENLY EXPIRED. It was three hours beyond midnight: his servant called his brother: his brother was in time to close his eyes. It was the 29th of May in 1829.

They buried him at Geneva. In truth Geneva buried him herself, with serious and respectful ceremonial. A simple monument stands at the head of the hospitable grave. There is a tablet to his memory on the walls of Westminster Abbey. There is a monument at Penzance. His public services of plate, his imperial vases, his foreign prizes, his royal medals, shall be handed down with triumph to his collateral posterity, as trophies won from the deeps of nescience. But his WORK; designed by his own genius; executed by his own hand, tracery and all; and every single stone signalized by his own private mark, indelible, characteristic and inimitable; HIS WORK is the only adequate record of his name. How deeply are its foundations rooted in space, and how lasting its materials for time! It is solid, yet its substantial utility is almost everywhere flowered into beauty. It is mingled in its style, but it is unique. It is the tomb, not of the palsy-stricken body, which has returned to the dust as it

was, but of the empyreal soul that is with God who gave it, so that the erection knows no place, and can be assimilated to our conceptions only by the figures of fancy and imagination.

The monumental fane, then, which this great investigator has raised in honour of nature, for the benefit of man and to his own glory, is not a camera-obscura, like the Work without a Parallel of old Beccher, or the Foundations of Chemistry by STAHL; in which the figures are but dim and upside-down, though lying luminous and beautiful in the midst of the surrounding darkness: nor yet a camera-lucida, like the faultless work of his cotemporary Wollaston; where the images are almost painfully distinct, minute and suffused with the light of day. It is not a crystal edifice, like the palace of ice upon the Neva, as is the system of LAVOISIER; not yet dissolved by the glowing and ascending year: nor a mosque, like the heretical but prophetic Chemical Statics of the metaphysical Berthollet; in which it will ere long be manifest that 'more is meant than meets the eye.' It is not a European museum, like the substantial fabric which the long day's work of Berzelius has slowly builded over his future bed of rest, and filled with all that is rich and rare from Icelandic cauldrons, Ural mines, Tropical woods, and the heights of Andes and the Himmaleh, for the useful instruction of mankind: nor a half-lit, unfinished but magnificent orrery, like the New Philosophy of DALTON, in which, when the undiscovered planets and the unexpected comets shall have been found, and when the central idea shall have been kindled into a blaze of light and force by the Prometheus of another day, the movements and the sheen of all the stars shall be held up to the astonished eye as one completed microcosm of creation. Yet there is something of all these together in the work of the London Discoverer. There are the neighbouring shadows of STAHL, and, as it appears from the researches of Faraday, something also like the inverted representation of the truth. There is the brightness of Wollaston, in the great facts he has won from their enchanted holds. There is the sound logic, if not the translucent conception, of LAVOISIER. There is the breadth, if not the subtlety, of Berthollet. There is the wealth, both of matter and resources, without the infallible accuracy of Berzelius. And, last of all, there is the independence, and the essential vitality of glorious promise for posterity, of our own immortal DALTON: but over the great proportions of the fabric there is shed that brilliancy which is all his own, a lustre partly derived from the accidental character of his particular discoveries, and partly from the original endowment of his mind, by that only Potentate, whose 'minister he was.' Such is the elaborate and richly laden mausoleum of HUMPHRY DAVY.

ART. III.—*Lectures delivered at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol.* By JOHN FOSTER. London, 1844. 8vo, pp. 419.

ALTHOUGH the editor of this volume does not announce a Memoir of the late John Foster, we assume it as probable that something of the sort is in preparation. His correspondence was, we believe, at one time extensive, and his letters were often, if not in the usual sense of the word, elaborate, yet of that leisurely and copious sort which unfolds the mind—the soul of the writer, and supplies a most desirable commentary upon his published works. These letters are, no doubt, accessible; for who of Foster's correspondents has not carefully preserved such letters? or who would not be prompt to grant them to an authorized editor? and, whatever subjects they may bear upon, they will furnish such a "memoir of himself," by a man's own pen, as does not appear twice in long periods of time.

In the prospect and full confidence of the appearing of such a volume, we shall, in this instance, hold ourselves back from the themes which would naturally present themselves in taking up a posthumous work of the author of the "Essays." Besides, these Lectures would not afford the requisite text and illustration for an essay on the mind and writings of this distinguished man: not indeed that they do not indicate its characteristic powers, or well consist with the reputation which these have obtained for him; nevertheless, they are not precisely of the same quality as his elaborated productions; and they rather show what the man might do when he pleased, than exhibit him in the full play of his great powers of mind.

The editor is judiciously careful to preclude any misconception as to the literary value of the "Lectures;" and it may be well to cite what he says on this subject.

"The Lectures," he tells us, "contained in this volume, were not prepared for the press by the author. In the year 1822, Mr. Foster, in compliance with the earnest request of some intimate friends, commenced the delivery of the lectures, from which the following are selected, once every fortnight, (the months of July and August excepted,) and continued them, though latterly at longer intervals, till the close of 1825. His auditory consisted of persons belonging to various religious communities in Bristol, most of whom had long known and appreciated his writings. With such a class of hearers, Mr. Foster felt himself warranted to take a wider range of subjects, and to adopt a more varied and elaborate style of illustration than in addressing a promiscuous congregation. All the leading ideas of each

discourse were committed to paper, with occasional hints for amplification, filling generally twelve or fourteen quarto pages. Various marks were adopted to guide the elocution, as may be seen in the very accurate fac-simile given of a part of the fifteenth lecture.

"Though it is certainly to be regretted that the volume was not prepared for the press by Mr. Foster, yet the above statement will moderate this feeling, and serve to show that its contents are very far from being hasty sketches, or meagre outlines. The editor would be sorry to raise unfounded expectations; but he has not used the term 'notes,' or any similar one, in the title, from the belief that it would be doing injustice to these invaluable memorials of his revered friend. What they might have been after being subjected to the author's revision, he has in some measure been able to ascertain, from comparing the original manuscript of a lecture on Heb. xi., 6, 'He that cometh to God, must believe that he is,' &c., with the same, as published by the Religious Tract Society, under the title of, 'How to find access to God.' Many paragraphs (indeed the bulk of them) are identical, and the additional matter, chiefly by way of amplification, amounts to about one-fifth.

"The present volume has been printed from copies of the Lectures which have been carefully collated with the original manuscripts. The editor's chief attention has been directed to arranging the sentences in paragraphs, with the appropriate punctuation. It has also been found necessary to supply here and there a word or two, (often merely a connective particle,) such as *must*, in many instances, have been used in the delivery, but omitted, for brevity's sake, in writing. Many pages, however, occur without any additions of this kind: in three of the Lectures, (the 6th, 7th, and 8th,) they average at about five words in a page. It need scarcely be said that nothing in the shape of alteration or correction has been attempted.

"With respect to the arrangement, the order of time has generally been observed, which is indicated by the dates, as far as they could be ascertained."—PREFACE.

The Lectures, in fact, indicate throughout what is here stated by Dr. Riland. Crude they are not; but neither are they wrought up in the manner which was characteristic of the author. With Foster, elaboration was not a process of polishing and trimming, and setting things off to the best advantage; nor was it a soldering on of decorations, nor a splicing of clever after-thoughts: it was not this; but something analogous to a severe chemical process, in the course of which every element and particle, foreign to the one element proposed at the first to be educed, is cast forth: it was a method of "exhaustions," as mathematicians would say; not of accumulations: not but what this very process might imply, often, an apparently encumbered structure of paragraphs; but it did so only when, in the author's view, his precise meaning could be conveyed in no simpler

form—the very thought was, like a centre, lost—the problem being, to find it by means of radii from the periphery.

Readers who have not already classed themselves with Foster's admirers and disciples, may not, perhaps, be led to do so by a perusal of these Lectures: as to those who are—and it is not a few—and who have learned to interpret his peculiar intellectual medium, they will mentally translate them into that dialect; and will be able to persuade themselves, as they go on delighted, from paragraph to paragraph, that their own Foster stands forth in each, entire. Persons of the former class we shall not attempt to convert, by means of the volume before us—for Foster's reputation ought not to be staked in any such endeavour; and as to those of the second class, we may very well leave them to themselves; for we know they would not thank us for our intervention between them and their master! What is it, then, that remains for us to do, as reviewers, unless it be to conclude with the wonted impertinence—and, in this instance, how impertinent! of “cordially recommending” the book to the perusal of “our readers!” Nevertheless, we shall indulge, for a little while, the casual meditations which several of the Lectures have suggested; meantime, if they so please, Foster's admirers may pursue their own.

This distinguished man, when he was at the height of his time, formed to himself, or brought out, a class of minds having organic affinity with his own; and which he led on “with power;” and to their own high delight and solid advantage. If we thus speak of this influence—and it was a wide influence, in the past tense, it is not because we regard Foster's fame, as an English writer, as ephemeral; but, because, since the time of his first notoriety, a mighty revolution has had place in the intellectual and moral world, such as seems already to antedate whatever is older than about five and twenty years. John Foster, and some others of his distinguished contemporaries, whose reputation brightened the religious literature of the early years of the present century, belong to an era—or dispensation, that has reached its close: its notions, its modes of feeling, its style and temper, having become almost obsolete: an economy it was that has been rudely pushed aside by a new order of things.

In truth, the perusal of this volume, grave as are its themes, and sedate as is its tone, has, with ourselves, (and it may be so with others,) conveyed a sort of funereal feeling, as if the things which once awoke the soul and its affections, were passing in solemn pomp to their sepulchres! The Lecturer, serious always, and deeply moved with a sense of the infinite moment of “the things that are unseen and eternal,” takes his round among subjects that are the least entangled with the changing interests of the pre-

sent life, and which bear the most immediately upon the destiny of man as the expectant of immortality, and, therefore, and by a natural consequence, nothing of the vivacity, nothing of the animation and gall, nothing of the life and spite, nothing of the wit and malice, and nothing of the inanity and froth of our now-going controversies, attaches to this posthumous volume. The contrast can scarcely fail to strike every reader ; and to some it may seem to carry with it a disparaging comparison. How dull are the best things that can be said about "the life to come," when heard in the same hour with a church-polity argument ! How much like a tale thrice told does the message of salvation sound in the ears of those who have lately listened to that kindling logic which proves that there can be "no salvation" out of "our Church" ! How poor are the remote glories of eternity, when set over against the visible splendours of a hierarchy ! The Lecturer "reasons" in solemn earnestness concerning "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come ;" but we must remember, that he closed his course before these "last times" came upon us. His thoughts are deep and high, and his words full of force—entering the soul ; yet, before the reader can come into correspondence with the preacher, he must have put far away from his recollection those mockeries of things divine and spiritual to which our recent controversies have given so false and dangerous a prominence. Much have we all to forget and to unlearn, and to throw aside, if we would return to a right feeling concerning the *disproportion* between that which is of the substance of Christianity, and that which is adjunctive only ; nor do we remember a book better fitted than the one with which we have now to do, to awaken in the perturbed and dissipated religious mind, just impressions of this vast disparity.

We could easily believe that, as he went on in his course of Lectures, Foster warmed, and wrought himself up to his pitch of intellectual action ; for the earlier homilies are the least impressive ; and may, perhaps, discourage some readers. That elementary style of thought which gives grandeur to so many of his pages, produces the effect of what is jejune, or trivial, unless it be freshened with his characteristic energies of illustration and language. His similitudes, always appropriate, and often beautiful and sublime, if they be altogether wanting, or, if very sparingly introduced, leave to the solid material of instruction just so much weight as it might possess in the preacher's own apprehension ; but, in this form, it barely makes its way into the mind of the reader. Probably the Lecturer, and indeed his notes in parentheses seem to indicate it, trusted, at first, to the impulse of the moment for the decoration and illustration of his subject ; but as he went on, he more copiously inserted these adjuncts in his manuscript ; finding

himself, perhaps, less happy in the extemporaneous elucidation of his thoughts, than he had supposed he might be.

The course of Lectures exhibits, with a sort of alternation, the two characteristics of Foster's mind, when applying itself to ethical and religious subjects—the one, as we think, being a surgeon-like intuition of the morbid affections of human nature ; with a not-to-be-diverted determination to lay bare, at least, if not to cure or to remove the disease. The other of these characteristics, really, though not *obviously* related to the first, was the tendency to converse with, and to fathom, whatever is the most profound and vast in that scheme of things within which the human system is revolving ; this tendency, conventionally, not accurately designated as “philosophic,” was not, in any proper sense, scientific, nor at all in alliance with the modern temper, which impels to the pursuit of truth by induction ; on the contrary, it has an analogy, not remote, with the speculative mood of the earlier gnostics—a mood and style which is Asiatic, rather than European ; it is a moral and intellectual tendency which the Christian revelation at once gives impulse to indirectly, and which directly it checks and forbids.

We may adduce a sample or two of both kinds, dissimilar as they are ; and yet, as we shall see, proper to one and the same mind. Some passages of the first sort, which we shall adduce, exhibit Foster's eminent ability in presenting the most trite themes in a manner so novel, and yet neither quaint nor affected, as actually to startle the hearer ; sometimes to make him literally start ; and, in bringing forward these instances, we may take occasion to point out an adjunctive peculiarity of his order of mind—we mean a stern resolution to repudiate religious systems, or theological dicta, along with a most docile and reverential regard to whatever seemed to him undoubtedly Scriptural, whether or not it might be altogether *acceptable* to him abstractedly as a dogma. Remarkable instances might be cited in which, while with his right arm he wrathfully assails what man has taught, (on assumed ground of Scripture,) he, with his left, clasps to his bosom, devoutly and meekly, *very nearly the same belief*, in its simply Scriptural form ! What mistakes, says the Lecturer, do we fall into when applying the designations, “friend” and “enemy !”

“Advert, in your thoughts, to the first temptation in the world—the first communication to man of opinion and advice, after God had finished speaking. The most gross, and impious, and pernicious falsehood was pronounced ; what there was the most absolute evidence must be such. And it was taken for the language of a friend ! For what plainer proof can there be that the speaker is regarded as a friend, than that his advice is practically taken, when the taking of it involves the most momentous interests ?

"It is but in passing, that we notice how much into the dark this fact plunges us, in respect to the question, 'What really was, in kind and degree, the original rectitude of man?' The bare fact proves, irresistibly, that too much of what many systematic divines have inconsiderately written can be no better than poetry.

"Again, in exemplification of how men have judged of friends—how did the world become covered with a deluge of error, but because those were accounted friends who spoke the reverse of truth? Ask again, where and when has it been that flatterers were not admitted and welcomed as friends? What a prodigious singularity in history were it, if there were recorded any nation, or tribe, or city, in which these were generally and practically discouraged and silenced, and honest truth was the way to favour! Whenever was it, that honest truth was the obvious expedient of self-interest? Self-interest with men is to be promoted by giving them the persuasion that we are their friends. Well then, has their faithfulness been the way in which men have gone about to make their fellow-mortals esteem them for friends? How often has the amicable state of feeling been broken up by telling the truth, even when done in a proper spirit and manner! The great Apostle himself, seems not without apprehension of such an effect, sincere as he was, and affectionate, and venerable, and even speaking to them with the authority of God. And still, and always, is not this honest expression of truth one of the most difficult and hazardous things a friend has to do? All which is but one more example to show that, in this world, whatever is the best in a thing, is the most difficult to be had, and to be kept in that thing."—P. 46.

So that he may but touch the malady, and defeat the patient's infatuated self-love, which would evade the operator's hand, this skilful practitioner lays aside all decoration, and all style; and is as homely, and as colloquial as the most familiar of a man's friends: the contrast is remarkable between some passages of this sort, and others in the same author's writings, in which a ponderous rhythmical structure of sentences conveys the loftiest conceptions of his great mind in a mode well fitting them. Of the former sort is the following:—

"We will but suppose one more answer to the question,

"*What would you wish your friend to be?*"

"Answer. 'I would wish him to be such that, as the last result of my communications with him, a great deal of whatever may be defective and wrong in me shall have been disciplined away.' But, by what manner of operation, if he is never to hint at such a thing? Is it to be by some moral magic? Or is he to presume no further than to admonish by example? What! not even if he perceives that that admonition does not take effect? How many pointed suggestions of his mind is he to withhold from putting into words, in waiting to see whether they will arise in your own thoughts? May he not justly despair of accomplishing much beneficial correction, so long as he must not say that he intends or wishes to do it? so long, in short, as he

feels himself in hazard of becoming, in your regard, an 'enemy,' by telling you the truth?

"Thus men will profess, and perhaps unthinkingly believe, that they derive the most essential benefits derivable from a true friend; but if he shall offer to impart them, he becomes an 'enemy!' But consider, what an invitation, the while, this temper of mind gives to real enemies;—to the flatterer;—to the designing hypocrite;—to every imposition the mind can put on itself:—and to the great deceiver of souls;—to *any* thing but salutary truth!

"The great cause of this perversity and repugnance is, that it cannot be but that plain truth (by whatever voice) must say many things that are displeasing. All censure is so; as it hurts that most quick, and delicate, and constant of all feelings, *self-love*. And censure! who dares to say in how many points the full unmitigated application of truth to him would *not* be censure? And who dares to say how many of these points might not be struck upon by a clear-sighted friend, that should unreservedly express 'the truth?' Hence the disposition to regard him as an 'enemy.'

"Another thing greatly contributing to this feeling toward him is, a want of the real earnest desire to be in all things set right; a kind of hollow truce which is kept up with conscience, with great difficulty, easily disturbed, and the disturbance painful; therefore, 'do not, do not come to provoke the enemy within!'"—Pp. 48-49.

"Here, however, it is to be acknowledged that truth may sometimes be spoken in the spirit of an enemy, and for an enemy's purpose; far from any intention to do good, or real love of truth. In many an instance it has been spoken and urged home, for the very purpose of mortifying and tormenting. Sometimes it has been spoken in triumphant revenge for admonitions and reproofs formerly received; for the purpose of precluding a repetition of such unwelcome admonitions, and silencing the monitory voice. It has been uttered in the pure delight of being able to fix the reproach of something wrong on even the best men. It has been deliberately considered and kept back in readiness to be uttered when too late to do any good. It has even been digested and reserved in the mind to be uttered with infernal exultation, to inflict a pang on a person sinking in distress or in death."—P. 52.

The excellent advices which follow as to the mode of giving or receiving reproof, we do not cite:—the reader will, to best advantage, peruse them in their places: we are now only pointing out that characteristic of the author's mind which impelled him to pursue his purpose, disregarding of *style*, although himself an eminent master of the artificial combination of words and sentences. This next is homely enough; but it is effective, or likely to be so.

"Men should be aware, that it is an unfavourable symptom of the state of the mind, when there is an excessive and irritable delicacy as to hearing things which are the contrary of flattery. Is it a *wise* self-

love that would thus draw a protective and inviolable line round every thing that is ours ; round all the defects and faults we may have, which are our closest and most mischievous enemies ? As if a garrison should make a point of most sacredly protecting the very traitors it knows or suspects it has within, because they belong to their town !

"The right disposition of mind is, that which desires earnestly 'THE TRUTH !'—'THE TRUTH !' in *whatever* manner it may come to us. Not that the manner of its being conveyed is quite indifferent ; far from it ; but 'THE TRUTH,' howsoever it come, has its own intrinsic eternal value. And what a fool I am, if I will not take it, and apply it to its use, just because the manner of its coming to me has not pleased me !" —P. 57.

Passages such as these are not in themselves extraordinary ; but they are very noticeable facts, and are significant as indicating the structure of a mind such as Foster's. Might we say that his was an intellect so massive, so ponderous, that wherever it moved, it always worked itself down, or gravitated to the very ground, or hard bottom : never did it—never could it, glide upon a surface ;—never did it dance upon the rippled wave ;—never toss and wallow midway between surface and solid :—the bottom, and nothing else could upbear it, and therefore, this same mind, at one time reaches the depths of the very abyss of thought, which the plumb does not measure ; and at another, drags itself with a grating noise over shingle and shallows. Passages might easily be collected from Foster's writings, exhibiting a sort of incongruity—the profound and the trite, alternately ; but we think the two kinds of writing are only diverse operations of that one law of intellectual gravitation which his mind always obeyed : all the difference, vast as it is, resulting from the variations in the *level* of the subject, whether a "thousand fathoms down," or hard upon the worn ways of the human tread.

Grace, nice adjustment, artificial collocation, are best managed—where indeed they are looked for, and where they can be appreciated—on the surface ; but the great mind we have now to do with moved never on the surface (except indeed when there was nothing beneath it,) and it is well worth the observance of those who are forming a style for themselves, that Foster accumulates images and illustrations, very much with the sort of rough-handed haste of a diver, who, in as few seconds as possible, is collecting whatever he can snatch, that is precious, from a wreck deep under water. Any master of mere words, any polisher of paragraphs, might take up the raw material of some of these pages, and work it up, and "improve it" wonderfully, at least in his own apprehension ; and yet we believe that a sound taste would, after all, turn to the "original" with an undoubting preference.

"But now let us a little while consider the precept in its general and comprehensive application. 'Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation.' There is enjoined here a feeling of apprehension and alarm. It is equivalent to saying—'Do not suffer yourself to be at ease,'—'Beware of quietly enjoying your life. You are lost if you live without fear.' But there is an emotion of the heart against entertaining this state of feeling. 'How grievous is it never to be secure; never to be indulged in the happiness of an easy, unheeding confidence!' It suggests the idea of a place where a man can hardly go to sleep, lest the plunderer or assassin be watching, or hovering near unseen; or of a place where the people can walk out no whither, without suspicion of some lurking danger or enemy not far off; and are to be constantly looking vigilantly and fearfully round; a place where they cannot ascend an eminence, nor wander through a sequestered valley, nor enter a blooming grove, nor even a garden of flowers, without having the image of the serpent, the wild beast, or a more deadly mischief in human shape, as vividly present to the imagination as the visible enemy is to the eye; a place where they would hesitate to enter in at a gate or a door though a friendly countenance (apparently such) were shown there to invite them in. It would be said, who could endure to live in such a place? Then, my friends, who can endure to live in this world? for these are but emblems of the condition of danger in which the soul sojourns on earth. Such a picture represents the danger, but fails in the other respect, the apprehensive caution of the sojourners!

"For as to moral and spiritual dangers the greater number seem to have determined to indulge in a careless and almost unlimited confidence. What an amazing account of things, if it were possible to calculate the amount of suspicion, apprehension, vigilance, precaution, and preventive expedient among mankind, and then distinguish that proportion of these which has reference to moral and spiritual dangers! Would it not be as if the race thought themselves threatened on the one side, with more than all the plagues of Egypt, and on the other (where their most important interests lie) by merely some clouds of dust? As a natural consequence, they are overrun, and spoiled, and ruined, by what they so little dread and guard against, that is to say, by temptations. * * *

"And whence is it that temptation is so generally prevailing, so mightily prosperous in its operation? Why does not the soul meet it as water meets fire? The fearful cause is that it acts on a nature congenial and accordant to what it offers. It is fuel that meets fire! What says our own experience? Experience at what a cost! That long and most costly lesson has been thrown away upon us, if we can any longer with a heedless confidence trust our natural disposition in such a world. Yes! if we can carelessly trust it, even though the Spirit of God have imparted that infinite blessing—a principle of renovation, a pure principle from heaven, that abhors and fights against the evil as dwelling within or invading from without. But, indeed, the indispensable evidence of such a divine principle will be, an urgent and effectual sense of the necessity of watching and praying against temptation.

“‘That ye enter not into temptation.’ The words seem to say very pointedly; Beware of the beginning! of the beginning! for it is in fatal connexion with the next ensuing, and yet conceals what is behind. And since temptation is sure to be early with its beginnings, so too should watching and praying; early in life; early in the day; early in every undertaking! What haste the man must make that will be beforehand with temptation!”—Pp. 62, 66.

And it is a prominent feature in Foster's intellectual constitution, that the energy of his powers of illustration, great as they were, came into play most often, when dark, or revolting objects were before him. The present volume abounds with similitudes, and many of them are in the highest degree impressive, as well as just; nevertheless, it would not be easy to adduce instances having a happy and a sunshine aspect. The splendours of the upper world, the world of immortal blessedness and beauty, did not often—if we are to gather our surmise from his published writings, brighten this eminent man's meditations: he was wont, we presume, to look mournfully, and in a sort of amazement, upon the “evil that is in the world;” and he seems not more at liberty to look off from these lower grounds, or to gaze upon the heavens, than is the solitary hunter of the desert, who, having encountered a lion on his path, stands riveted to the spot—watching his adversary's every movement—look up! if he do—the enemy will take a spring upon him at the same moment! In a word, Foster, in another age, might have been a Gnostic of the later school: but, in this age, he was saved from something analogous to a Manichean belief, by his genuine personal piety, and by a well-reasoned conviction of the truth of the Christian system.

It is a principle—or, at least, as such we hold it—that whatever is TRUE in the moral world, must, in its ultimate meaning, and in its main purport and drift, be HAPPY also: let things look as dark as they may, on spots—it is still a daylight universe we live in. It was not to Epicureans, but to those who “knew the truth,” that the reiterated admonition is addressed—“Rejoice always:—again, I say, rejoice.” To the Manichee, the universe—the round world itself—whole and entire, became “a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence;” and in the false mood generated by this misapprehension of things—in the bewilderment of this “scandalized” state of the soul, the darkest impieties were imagined, and were uttered, with the intention of saving, thereby, the first principle of piety! The functions of Foster's moral nature were not diseased; but we think there was in his constitution an actual tendency to a morbid condition. As a teacher of Christianity, this inward fault, if it existed, would slacken his energy, and abate his successes: as an ethical philosopher, it must tend to perplex whatever system he might adopt,

with assumptions utterly irreconcilable ; nevertheless, in its influence over him as a man of genius, the very same constitutional bias, imparted a depth and an intensity to his mode of thinking, which enchains the reader of his works : and some of these, such as the “ Discourse on Missions,” like a sombre and moody epic, enchant the imagination by terror ; in no sense can this Discourse be spoken of as a practical adhortation to duty ; for that which incites men to action, and impels them to successful good-doing, must ever present to them a bright look-out—a warm glow on the horizon.

What we are now about to cite, is not in itself to be reprobated as untrue ; nor as in any way improper ; if only it be not allowed to give its hue and tone to the soul.

“ But we may first observe, what a mighty amount of thinking there is in human spirits that does not come under the censure of the text. And do we say this in congratulation of our race ? No ! It is little cause for satisfaction that a criminal stands unaccused of one degree of guilt because it is a deeper guilt that is imputed. The epithet ‘ *vain*,’ in its strict acceptation, implies something trifling—light—insignificant—empty. It is therefore not the proper description of *wicked* thoughts. For example, impious thoughts respecting the Divine Being ;—thoughts formed in the spirit of disapproval, aversion, and rebellion ;—thoughts of malignity ;—thinking, in order to indulge malevolent dispositions, rancour, revenge ;—thinking how to give effect to these dispositions, purposes, devices, schemes, expedients ;—thoughts intent on wickedness of any kind ; dwelling on it with complacency and preference ; pursuing it in desire, intention, and project :—such thoughts are of too aggravated evil to be called ‘ *vain*’ thoughts. They are not trivial, idle actions of the mind, but often strong and grave ones ; tending powerfully to an effect.

“ And but consider, how much of *this* order of thinking there is in human minds ! So that it looks like a quite minor vision of evils when we turn to the view of the mere vanities of the mind. But how striking the reflection, that it looks so only by comparison with something so much worse that there is in human spirits !

“ Thus, if a good man had been compelled to sojourn awhile among the most atrocious of mankind, cruel savages rioting in blood and the infliction of tortures (as in Dahomey, Mexico, Ashantee) ; or pirates, desperadoes, and murderers, and at last escaped into the society of frivolous, vain triflers ; by force of comparison this might seem almost like innocence and goodness ; till he recollected his rules of judgment, and said, ‘ But *this*, too, is bad.’

“ So we see how the case is with the moral state of man ! You may fix upon an evil, and by the application of rules, rational and divine, see that it is absolutely a great one. But going deeper, you may reduce it to seem as if it were but a slight one, by comparison with something else which you find in man. Thus vain thoughts, compared with vicious polluted thoughts, malignant thoughts, and

blasphemous thoughts. Oh, the depth to which the investigation and the censure may descend!

"We can easily picture to our minds some large neglected mansion in a foreign wilderness; the upper apartments in possession of swarms of disgusting insects;—the lower ones the haunt of savage beasts;—but the lowest, the subterraneous ones, the retreat of serpents, and every loathsome living form of the most deadly venom.

"With respect to the jurisdiction of the thoughts, it is an unfavourable circumstance that the man is committed wholly to himself, without external restraint or interference. (Putting out of view the divine inspection.) His thoughts are his own; they are within a protecting cover; for them he is not exposed to be censured and made ashamed by the inspectors of his outward conduct; often he *would* be so ashamed, if such a thing could happen as a sudden mental transparency. Under this protection and exemption, it is quite certain that if he shall not exercise a careful government over his thoughts in the fear of God, they will run to vanity, at the least. It is their easiest operation; it is their mere animal play: they hate to carry a weight, except when the passions lay it on. A man may too well verify this by a very little reflective attention.

"Observe next, that if the thoughts are left unrestrained to commit folly, they will commit an immensity of it. In this kind of activity, the thinking power is never tired nor exhausted. Think of the rapidity of the train! how sure it is that another, and still another, will instantly come! Think of the endless evolutions, the never-ceasing sport, the confused multiplicity! Never stagnant pool was more prolific of flies, nor the swarm about it more wild and worthless! But what a wretched running to waste of the thinking principle! *"How long shall thy vain thoughts lodge within thee?"*—Pp. 73–76.

Foster, as we have said, has often been called the "philosophic essayist;" and the epithet is admissible if we take it only in a loose sense, intending by it deep-thinking—original, and intellectually great: but "philosophical," in the sense of scientific, he was not: his mental structure, we think, was nearly of the anti-scientific order; and as often as he touches upon subjects which can be profoundly treated in no other than the analytic mode, he speedily moves off from the ground; and he does so, first, because he will stay no where *on the surface* of things; and then because he was conscious—perhaps distinctly conscious, that analysis, with its low temperature, and its regulated, step-by-step movement, was not his proper function. The two admirable Lectures on "Formality and Remissness in Prayer," might be cited as illustrative of what we here intend. They cannot be read without advantage by any who are at all open to the influence of religious motives; but in glancing at what may be termed the philosophy of prayer, or, more properly, the

theory of the efficacy of prayer, as it affects the scheme of causation in the moral world, the Lecturer draws back—and many will say—discreetly draws back, and, after a note of admiration, (p. 117,) includes, in brackets, the mere names of “Paley, Price,” &c.; as a sort of apology in retiring from the arduous subject.

In the next Discourse—the tenth, and in its counterpart, the seventeenth—we find him quite at home, while, with signal beauty of illustration, he draws practical wisdom from the characteristics of “spring,” and “autumn;” and we should add the nineteenth on “winter.” If we were intending to adorn our pages, on this occasion, we should cite a good portion of these three Lectures. Readers of taste—young persons of intellectual cast, will peruse them, and re-peruse them, with a freshening delight. Of the same quality, and yet rising to a loftier tone, and in the highest degree impressive, is the Lecture on the destruction of the “Cities of the Plain;” it is a running commentary on the text; and, as thrown into this form, the novelty and the grandeur of the thoughts create the more surprise; how few men could have put together such a string of remarks upon a biblical narrative! In truth, we recollect no name which might fitly be placed by the side of Foster’s on this ground. In simplicity of language, in majesty of conception, in the eloquence of that conciseness which conveys, in a short sentence, more of meaning than the mind dares at once admit, this lecture—with that on “Elijah’s sacrifice,” and the one on “Noah and the Deluge,” are, in our view, unmatched compositions. A reader of any sensibility, or of any imaginativeness, suspends his breath, as his eye runs on from paragraph to paragraph. We do not doubt that Foster might have expanded and elaborated these discourses, so as that they should have produced a more profound effect; and so as would have gained for them the admiration of ten times as many readers as will, in fact, ponder over these; but in their actual state, we do not mean crude state, they unfold—so much the more impressively, the inner grandeur of the writer’s soul: such as he here appears, was Foster’s self: such was he, apart from artificial excitement, and from labour or effort: let him but open the Bible, in any place where the sublime and beautiful are combined with the terrific, and Foster’s mind shows its native quality, and its own dimensions!

In one of his Lectures he rebukes, justly, those as indulging “vain thoughts,” who are perpetually vexing themselves with fruitless wishes, “that things had happened otherwise:” nevertheless we must for a moment indulge the now fruitless wish, that Foster had taken to himself the task of expounding, in connected series, the great events of biblical history, just in this same style;

and keeping always clear of scientific exegesis, which was not his talent.

Those of these Discourses* in which the Lecturer assails the spiritual lethargy and the perversion of the human mind, carry such a method of treatment as far as it can be carried; for nothing can be imagined more searching in its quality than are many passages in the Lectures now referred to; nothing more intimate in its application; nothing more comprehensive as to the subterfuges of the heart. The preacher besieges the soul—he digs a trench about it—he hems it in on every side—he plies the ram at every feeble point, and works his way, irresistibly, into the very citadel; and the place, with all the munitions of pride, are carried; and yet a victory is not effected! For it is not thus that human nature is to be vanquished. Philosophy would forbid our expecting such a result from such a process; and we think, too, that the Christian economy, and the style of apostolic teaching, forbids it also. The Lectures now in view are inimitable in this line; and if the method does not prove itself successful in the hands of Foster, it might well be regarded as hopeless in any other hands. The experiment could not be made under more favourable auspices. Nor, indeed, should it be denied that there are hearers and readers whose conscience may be powerfully affected by these very discourses; and surely none could regret the perusal of them. But the practical question comes—are they models which should be much imitated?—only to a very limited extent, as we humbly think. Good men there are, and they are some of the best, and the most intellectual, (if not the most spiritual,) who fret themselves to spectres while mournfully gazing, from week to week, upon the self-deluding scores or hundreds to whom it is their lot to minister; and their ministrations varied by little, but the changes in their own comfortless moods of discouragement—sometimes peevish, sometimes angry, sometimes imploring, consist of wearying endeavours to bring the conscience fairly in front of its *last*—its very last—false plea, and to drag the culprit soul forth, by warrant of Heaven, from its innermost subterfuge! Meanwhile the few hearers who are of the preacher's own sort, admire and applaud his “deep knowledge of the deceits of the heart,” and, at the same time, chide their own folly, which prevents their profiting, “as much as they ought,” by *such* lectures upon the morbid anatomy of human nature. The larger number just say, “It’s all too true; I wish —— would take it to

* Such are Lect. II. The attachment due to spiritual objects. V. Watchfulness and prayer. VI. VII. Vain thoughts. XIII. False grounds of superiority in holiness. XIV. Fallacies operating against earnestness in religion. XVI. Uses and perversions of conscience.

heart;" and more than two or three snore away from the first Sunday of the year to the last; and no wonder; for the human mind, if it is to be auspiciously dealt with, must be presented with objects of another order; beneath such influences it does not melt! Try a parallel experiment: carry a polished speculum to the Arctic seas; hold it up in the chilly sunshine, in front of a jagged iceberg, and let this iceberg—if it have a soul and senses—therein contemplate its own horrific visage; and all impartially depicted! every frosty spike is there, and every deathly chasm! and yet, after having thus beheld its "natural face in a glass," there it floats, neither smoothed nor thawed! But now, moor this same frozen mountain toward a southern latitude: in a word, let the bright sun in his power smite it with his joyous beams! and how soon is every facet furrowed with torrents! The ice dissolves *now*—the entire mass assumes another form—its pinnacles of pride are already gone: its very centre of gravity has shifted; and it rolls over, and it melts to the bottom, and mingles its substance with the universal waters! We need not open up our similitude, which will interpret itself. Foster could indeed treat human nature as few can treat it; but whether his ministrations were happily and ordinarily "successful," we do not know, nor need we inquire, for his sphere was of another sort, and the good he has effected is not of a kind that could be statistically reported.

The most trite subjects Foster presents under a new and impressive aspect; and this, not by the aid—as is so often attempted by inferior minds—of laborious exaggerations, and of strange conceits, set out in antithesis; but by a *natural*, and, with him, a simply managed return to those elementary thoughts which may have been passed by and rejected by others, as "too obvious" to be worth the trouble of working them into a grave discourse. In *his* hands, some of these natural reflections combine, along with a childlike simplicity, a true sublimity; and in some instances, it is but a touch—a touch of the master's hand, that transmutes the well-nigh inane or jejune, into the great and beautiful.—

"When the necessity and value of knowledge are thought of, it is readily admitted that *self*-knowledge is about the most necessary of all. From of old, it has been accounted a precept of the highest wisdom, 'KNOW THYSELF.'

"Might we not, then, wonder a little, that there should not be more of this knowledge among men, and more assiduity to acquire it? That attention should be so much averted from this concern? For I suppose our general belief is—that there is but little. Is not this the notion? In a numerous assembly, or in the crowd of a city, it is presumed, by any one that happens to think of it, that very few, among the numbers

round him, have a deep, comprehensive, well-rectified, steady estimate of themselves—a true insight. The presumption, or surmise, is understood to go even as far as this; namely, that suppose any number of persons acquainted with one another—the judgments they form of one another would, in the whole account, be nearer the truth than those which they entertain of their own selves, notwithstanding the great advantage men have for knowing themselves better than others can.

“But, if the case be so, how comes it to be so? Can it be, that they do not think it worth while to apply a serious attention to so near and interesting an object? or, that they have arbitrary and unsound rules in making the judgment? or, that no rules, nor force of understanding, can preserve their rectitude in the presence of self-love, as if they softened, melted, and lost their edge, in making their way through that warm, investing, protective passion? Or, again, there may be a reluctance to making a rigorous scrutiny, from fear, and thus men remain in ignorance. There may be some apprehension of finding the state of the case less satisfactory than the man is allowing himself to assume it. This may seem like expressing an inconsistency—that a man will not know what he does know. But it is too real and common a case; intimations of something not right are unwillingly perceived; apprehension of what there may be beneath is felt; a man would rather not be sure of the whole truth; would wilfully hope for the best, and so pass off from the doubtful subject, afraid to go too far inward.

“But here is a most remarkable and strange spectacle! A soul afraid of itself!—afraid of being deeply intimate with itself; of knowing itself; of seeing itself. It is easily apprehended how a human spirit might be afraid of another being—of another spirit in a human body; apprehensive in being near it—within reach of its disposition, qualities, and action—afraid to see and meet the corporeal person it is in; alarmed at what there may be, or is suspected to be, in that spirit; shrink from approach, communication, or any lure to confidence. ‘I have a perception of evil omen; a silent warning of danger; there is possible ruin to me in that spirit.’

“It is easy to apprehend that a human soul might be afraid of a disembodied spirit, evincing its presence by voice or appearance; if it seemed to attend a man in his solitary walk, or to be a temporary visitant in his apartment. It would be an awful companionship!—the revealed proximity of the other world; dark mystery personified—a being presented as if in an equivocal conjunction of life and death; with powers unknown—and which the mortal can meet with no similar powers! All this, on the supposition that it were a departed human spirit. More than this, if it were deemed a spirit of mightier order.

Such fear of other beings would seem natural enough. But think of a human soul in dread of itself! having had some glimpses of itself, afraid to meet its own full visage—afraid to stay with itself, alone, still, and attentive—afraid of intimate communication, lest the soul should speak out from its inmost recesses! All the while, what it is afraid of is its own very self, from which it is every where and for ever inseparable! A man uneasy and apprehensive in a local situation, or in the

presence of other men, may think of escape; but in his own soul! there he is, and is to be perpetually. Then what a predicament, when a man, directly and immediately, as being in himself, feels the apprehension of evil and danger!—feels in the presence of something he dreads to abide with, and would fly from; would be glad to separate by a partition or veil. So that, be where he may, with other persons or alone, he has still the inevitable presence, with him and in him, of something which he cannot be at ease in trusting himself with.”—Pp. 336-340.

We now wait, as we have already said, for Foster's “Life and Letters,” or, we should say, for whatever he has left which may fairly, and in consistency with his own expressed or understood intentions, be given to the world—given, not indeed to an eager public, that will snatch up its five or ten thousand copies, and then think not again of the momentary gratification which it has thence derived; for Foster was not the writer to hold at his command any *such* “public” as this; nor, in truth, is this the moment when the remains of an intellectualist of so high an order would produce any great sensation. But his literary legacy, bequeathed to the reflective and cultured minds of this age and the next, will soon be looked for by the immediate legatees; and we hope it will be duly and faithfully made over to them by those to whose hands these “assets” have been intrusted.

How earnestly, how devoutly is it to be desired that the tempest-tossed religious mind should, at this time, be drawn away from the circle of agitation! Whatever may be the ultimate consequence—the intended issue, of the controversial and ecclesiastical turmoil of the last few years, every one who quietly and seriously observes and listens, painfully knows that the proximate effect of all this wrathful stir and hubbub has not been good: nay, that it has deeply vitiated the Christian mass, and has been fatal to personal piety in innumerable cases, diffusing a spirit the very opposite to the temper which the religion of Christ cherishes and sanctions. A soul, elevated and rendered tranquil by the habitual meditation of that which is infinite and eternal, and a disposition and deportment such as this state of the mind generates, do not comport, and never have they been found to consist with a thorough and *consenting* embroilment in ecclesiastical contentions. Christian men, whose fate it has been to be dragged down upon the arena of Church combats, know this, and how joyfully do they accept an honourable discharge from the lists! And such men contemplate, with sorrow and dismay, the ill effects of the same unholy influences, as attaching to the masses, called religious.

But how shall they give a different and a happier direction to the current? How stem the tide? How brunt the swelling waters, and bid them revert to their channels? To do so fully

surpasses human power ; and yet right-minded men will not cease so to desire such a reaction as shall tend—effectively tend—to bring it on ; and the line on which these Christian-like endeavours may be made, will be that of a direct recurrence to the loftiest themes of religious meditation—to the elementary truths of the Gospel—to those principles which constitute “THE TRUTH,” compared with which all matters of contestation among Christian men sink into their place of utter disfavour, if not contempt. At this very moment, let but a few minds—minds of powerful structure and right direction ;—here one, and there another—assume the leading office that belongs to them, and loudly challenge the scattered multitudes in the name of Him who is shepherd and bishop of souls : let this be done, and more than a few, in all communions, would hail with delight the summons ; and thousands around them would listen also. The fomenters of discord, the leaders of faction, the arrogant hierarch, as well as the turbulent sectarist, would feel and know that *their* summer time was past—their hour gone by !

But we stop short. The reader will scarcely need that we should unfold that connexion of ideas that has led us on toward this theme on the present occasion ; nor will he wonder that, with John Foster's name before us, we should think of others his companions, his colleagues, his contemporaries, who are gone whither he is gone ; or that we should wistfully ask, “ Who shall now lead the people toward that which is true, great, eternal ? ” The most surely successful pacificators of the Church at this moment, would be those who, taking their stand upon elementary doctrines, should carry trouble and dismay into the consciences of men individually. Men professedly Christian, would cease to strive one with another, if roused to fight with the adversary of their own souls. An awakening call to “ Repent and be converted,” heard up and down through the land, would speedily bring to its end the delusion of baptismal regeneration : and how like a mist would the mummeries, and the monkery, and the Romish-aping, and the demure nonsense of Oxford disappear, if men, great in temper, and “ mighty in the Scriptures,” were to come forth—not boasting indeed of their apostolical succession, but demonstrating it !

ART. IV.—*A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa.* By JAMES BACKHOUSE. Illustrated by Two Maps, Sixteen Engravings, and Twenty-Eight Woodcuts. 8vo. London, 1844.

MR. BACKHOUSE is a pious member of the Society of Friends. A few years ago, he believed that it was his duty to pay a *religious visit* to Australia, the Mauritius, and Southern Africa. Under the influence of this impression, he submitted to all the perils, and passed through all the toils and privations, which the fulfilment of what he regarded as a sacred obligation required. After his return, he published, some twelve months ago, a "Narrative" of the Australian portion of his visit, in which he pointed out, and by the statement of numerous facts, clearly illustrated, the great benefits which the Gospel communicates to settlers in a colony like that of South Wales; and especially its mighty and most advantageous influence on those persons who had been removed from their native land by the sentence of the laws which they had violated. Many parts of his volume might almost have been termed, "Illustrations of the Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon." The Gospel of the grace of God proclaims the solemn, but delightful truth, that Christ Jesus came into the world to *save sinners*, even *the chief*; and through its power, many who were once, like Onesimus, to society most "unprofitable," have been brought to experience, not only the exercise of the Divine mercy, but the power of that grace which restrains them from their vices, and brings them under the influence of motives and rules which transform them into "profitable" members of the community. Most truly may it be said of them, that what the law of man could by no possibility accomplish, "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus" has effectually done. They have been "made free from the law of sin and death." Evil and strong as were their former habits, the Ethiop has changed his skin, and the leopard its spots. They have become not merely reformed criminals, but new creatures: old things have passed away, and all things become new.

Nor are these triumphs unimportant even in a political point of view. Along with advancing civilization has hitherto always been advancing crime. Legislators are perpetually employed in so altering their laws as to adapt them to the actually existing state of society, but not all they can do avails to lessen the number of criminals. And who has not both observed and deplored the fact, that even the penal inflictions of law often operate so as to strengthen, rather than diminish, the propensities to the conduct which calls for them? Among philanthropic legislators,

there is not a more common topic of complaint than that which is furnished by the fact, that they who have been imprisoned for the infraction of human law, have left their prison with increased subtlety and hardness, taking their place in society again with a disposition to crime, and an ability for its commission greater than ever : and if this be the case where the immense mass of the community walk in orderly obedience to government and law, what must be the social condition there, where society is so largely composed of *liberated convicts*—that is, of those whose crimes have required, not the comparatively lower punishment of temporary incarceration, but the higher and most decided one of expatriation? Composed of such materials, what must the mass be, especially where the corruption is a pervading and active leaven, continually strengthened by fresh admixtures, becoming, by its activity, more intense in its operation, and constantly tending to the contamination of what may have remained comparatively pure? Statesmen have felt the difficulty, and devised various plans for its removal; but however unwilling they may be to confess it, the constant proposition of fresh plans proves that they feel their labour to be, to a great extent, in vain. The evil is deeply seated within, and their appliances possess no inward power. We say not that their plans are altogether useless. Far from it. They prevent many outbreaks of crime. But the law, as a terror to evil-doers, only prevents the commission of the particular evil which it prohibits; while the evil propensity still remaining, soon finds a direction in which it may be developed with safety. Education is often mentioned, but what is commonly meant by education possesses not the slightest curative power. The knowledge of the Rule of Three will not make a man honest. Legislators begin to perceive this, and admit that education, to be moral in its influence, must be connected with religion. But everything depends on the nature of the religion with which it is connected, and on this subject we cannot help having many fears. Not that our statesmen have not had their attention called to what we believe to be the only correct view of the case. Many an *amicus curiæ* has come forward, respectfully offering to aid them in their deliberations, and earnestly soliciting to be permitted to do so. They have been repeatedly told that the only influence which can be effectual is evangelical, and that this always is so. We think it a most remarkable circumstance, that the attention of a celebrated theologian of our own day, whose writings are richly evangelical, should have been led to those very subjects of political economy which have of late years been so keenly agitated, and which, indeed, the present condition of society has rendered it impossible to overlook. With many, his treatises on certain questions have become classical, and the manner in

which his opinions are referred to by those to whose own they are favourable, shows the importance that is attached to them. Many a modern statesman has thus had the saving truth of God brought directly before him, connected with those earnest but luminous argumentations which exhibit its proper mode of operation, and trace the developing cause to its effects. They have not only been told that it will reform men, but shown how it *will*, and why it *must* reform them. Whether they have heard, or whether they have refused to hear, yet, by what we must ever consider to be a providential, as well as a remarkable circumstance, a prophet has been sent among them. That they should "hear," was perhaps more to be desired than expected. He who has no care for anything beyond a nominal Christianity, is as much opposed to the true Gospel of God as he is to the true law of God. Such persons now often talk of religion. Truth has so far won its way in English society, that they can no longer avoid doing so; but, on the real nature of religion, a most melancholy ignorance is often found to exist, and along with this ignorance, a very decided antipathy to that by which alone the effects can be produced, which all profess to desire. Mr. Backhouse's former "Narrative" furnishes many luminous illustrations of the true process of evangelical reasoning. Let the genuine Gospel be preached, and though its hearers should be such as the Apostle describes when writing to the Corinthians,* the preacher will soon have to rejoice in a success such as no philosopher, no moralist, no formalist, ever experienced.

But we refer to this, not merely as showing the value of genuine Christianity in such a state of society as must exist in New South Wales, but as illustrating its value at home. That by which the banished criminal is truly reformed, would, at an earlier period, have prevented the commission of crime. And even this is but a small portion of the obligations which it confers on society. Wherever there is high and advancing civilization, multitudes are found living in a very artificial state, and pursue lines of conduct which, without leading them to what the law condemns as criminal, do nevertheless issue in extensive and injurious mischief. Even though Christianity were not the true source of civilization, yet, such is human nature, that advancing civilization has its evil as well as good; and an efficient, certain correction of the evil, can only be found in the concurrent influence of a genuine, and therefore powerful Christianity. Let society, in its present condition, be closely observed. The observer may lay out of sight all those portions which are exposed to the penal visitations of

* 1 Cor. vi. 11. See also verses 9 and 10.

law. But far away from the abodes of crime, he will meet with enough, both of disorder and wretchedness, to awaken his indignation, and to make his heart bleed. We cannot now enter into particular details, neither is it at all necessary. The facts to which we allude are too obvious to require more than this general reference. We ask only one question. It will suggest for consideration all that is requisite for our present purpose. Who can estimate the amount of actual distress, personal and domestic, to be found in all classes, occasioned by the debasing immoralities, the disgusting vanity, the wasteful expenditure, the ruinous profligacy, always found in connexion with luxury, or with the aping imitation of the luxurious? But when the facts thus suggested have been contemplated, let those passages of Holy Writ be remembered, which, while they express the *laws* of Christianity, at the same time describe the *disposition* which it produces, in all who obey it from the heart.* Such portions of divine truth, indeed, refer primarily to individuals, and there are many who content themselves with regarding them as either expressing parts of the evangelical law, or indicating what it is admitted will be features in the genuine Christian character. But no one can reflect on their deep significance without perceiving, that where truths like these become, by a cordial reception, principles implanted in the inmost soul, of which the external character is but the visible development, their social influence must be most decided, issuing in results, the full value of which it would not be possible for human mind to estimate. And, in these principles, both in their direction and power, we have the counteraction and cure of those evils which, unavoidably, are occasioned by the operation of the various incidents of advancing civilization upon beings such as men are known to be. Those evils are so notorious and so great, that those who *jump to a conclusion*, hoping that change will be improvement, have sometimes been ready to advocate the opinion, that high civilization is not a social good, and that what they have considered, half-dreaming about Arcadian shepherds and shepherdesses, as the simplicity of a rustic life scarcely rising above savagism, is vastly to be preferred. They are mistaken. A certain remedy for all these evils exists. It is found—but it is *only* found—in genuine Christianity.

But while we thus claim for Christianity, rightly understood, that it be considered as the true and efficient corrective of the evils which are found to be connected with advancing civilization, and which, we have seen, are to be attributed, not to civilization itself,

* The reader may, at his leisure, turn to such passages as the following :—Heb. xiii., 5 ; Rom. xii., 2 ; Eph. v., 18 ; Philip. iii., 18, 19 ; Col. iii., 5 ; 2 Thess. iii., 11, 12 ; 1 Tim. ii., 9, 10 ; ib. v., 6 ; Philip. iv., 12 ; Rom. xiii., 12, 13, 14.

simply considered, but to civilization as operating on human nature, as human nature is described in Scripture; we likewise claim for it, and for the very same reasons, that it be considered as the efficient cause and continual promoter of civilization, where hitherto it has not existed. To this view of the subject the remainder of the present article will be devoted. It is, indeed, a high argument, but we address ourselves to it without fear. Our method will be chiefly analytical. We shall point out, aiming at all possible simplicity, some of the chief elements of character and principles of conduct which always *are*, which always *must be*, implanted where true Christianity is truly received. We shall exhibit the effects which these, viewed in their true nature, as essentially active, must unfailingly produce. *In those effects we behold a genuine civilization—a civilization all the more valuable, that in the cause from which it proceeds, and by which it is continually promoted, we find at the same time the corrective of the evils with which, from its operation on human nature, it has been hitherto always connected.* Will the reader excuse us, if we request him to look for nothing like rhetorical declamations in the treatment of the question? There are, indeed, subjects in which these would not only be admissible, but proper, not to say requisite; but this is not one of them. Our object is to communicate the sincere conviction by which our own mind is deeply impressed, and to endeavour to do this in a manner which shall approach, as nearly as in such an argument is possible, to rigid demonstration. We wish to present the facts and principles which the argument includes, in the clear daylight of simple truth; and even though we could cast on them the beautiful, but sometimes partly obscuring hues of the beam decomposed by its passage through the prism, we would not do so. Thankful shall we be, if we are enabled to conduct the reader along such a course of thought and inquiry, as shall bring him, when he has prosecuted it to its just conclusion, more decidedly and more devoutly than ever to

—assert eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to man.

In this fallen, but not forgotten world, there is a class far more numerous than that to which our foregoing remarks have applied. There are those whose condition—if comparisons may be instituted where all is so gloomy—is far more dark, and the rather, because, to all merely human calculation, it seems to be hopeless. We refer to the *Savage Tribes*, located in various parts of the world. By what means shall these be raised up to the condition of men? How shall these almost *de-humanized* creatures be formed into orderly societies?

It has been a favourite dream with some—and there are those who still thus dream—that what is called *Savagism* is the original condition of man, and that all society has grown out of this state of nature, as it has been termed. It would be most amusing to consider the theories which have been based on this foundation, if the trifles of which they are composed did not lead to such serious evils. But we are not going to enter upon the question. The philosophy of it is bad, and it is still worse in all its historical aspects. It receives no support from the documents which narrate the past movements of society. All the evidence is on the other side. And the more the habitable world is explored, the more accurately the state and character of its savage tribes, especially, are examined, the more plainly does it appear that savagism is a deteriorated, not an original, condition. The stream flows downward, and floating with the current are often found the products of that higher level from which it has proceeded, and which evidently differs greatly from that through which it is now passing. And the same *explorations* that so completely establish this fact, show likewise, that they who have sunk so low, possess no means of self-restoration. If raised at all, they must be raised from without; and if not raised from without, they will sink lower and lower, till nothing remains of man but the outward form, and the irremovable, but undeveloped inward human faculties, and perfectly void human capacity. They will become what the aborigines of New South Wales have already become.

Without directly considering this subject, Mr. Backhouse, in this "Narrative" of the second portion of his travels, supplies very decisive evidence upon it; and as we shall several times have to quote from his interesting volume, we may just now, and once for all, devote a few sentences to it.

Mr. Backhouse traversed the principal countries of Southern Africa, and visited the stations of the several Missionary Societies having their agents there. We may observe in passing, that although the leading objects of his journey were, of course, moral, yet in attending to these, he by no means overlooked physical nature. Belonging to a Society in which self-control is learned so early, and generally, so well, we do not expect to find him carried away by the enthusiastic admiration of natural sublimity and beauty, to which some travellers appear to abandon themselves; but he is far removed from insensibility. His feelings are not the less deep for being calm. He travels with an observant eye, and a heart ready to receive all just impressions, whether from nature or man. Nor does he ever forget that he is a creature of God, travelling in the world which God has made. Many talk about "looking through nature up to nature's

God," but Mr. Backhouse really does so. This may render the volume somewhat distasteful to the reader who dislikes the introduction of religious reflections in works not directly theological; but they who wish to know the present condition, and opening prospects, of South Africa, and to be furnished at the same time with clear representations of the face of the country, and of the mode of travelling, and incidents of travel, together with popular, but not inaccurate or indistinct accounts of its mineralogy, botany, zoology, &c., who, in short, look for a pleasing, but instructive, book of travels, which shall also pleasingly interest their religious feelings, will not be disappointed in Mr. Backhouse. We have found him a most agreeable and profitable companion in our "travels at home;" looking on nature as we can suppose that Scott, of Amwell, would do, and on man, in whatsoever circumstances he found him, as a Christian ought to do.

But we have been most interested in those statements which the volume contains, which, though not written with that object, do yet very clearly illustrate the way in which Christianity civilizes the savage. Mr. Backhouse furnishes us with some of the earliest developments of religious principle in the mind of the savage, and in those earliest developments we have, *unmistakably*, an incipient civilization. We see the manner in which the principle operates, and the direction which it takes. We see likewise the power which it possesses as an antagonist to other principles, and in its victories over these, we have a pledge of its ultimate triumphs. To some of Mr. Backhouse's statements we shall refer in the progress of our argument.

But we must now clear the way for that argument, by explaining what we mean by Christianity. What is that cause to which we ascribe such mighty effects? We have already *intimated* our views on this question; we would now somewhat more particularly express them. There are *differences* among Christians which refer only to what are, comparatively, subordinate details, leaving a most important *agreement* in substantial principles. But there are differences of another character—differences which go directly to the nature of personal religion, and to the means by which it is to be promoted. It is to *these* differences that the leading controversies of the present day refer. British Christians seem as though they were gradually forming two great parties. One of them is distinguished by attachment to what may be termed *Ecclesiastical Catholicity*; the other, by attachment to what may be termed *Evangelical Principles and Doctrines*. We take our place among the latter. That Christianity which is, by the divine ordinance, "the power of God unto salvation," and that Christianity alone, produces the effects which

constitute, when viewed in their social aspects, a genuine, healthy, and growing civilization. We lay stress on this : It is a most remarkable circumstance, and one that has not drawn to it, we think, the attention which it deserves, that Mr. Newman has published a sermon in which he speaks of Christianity as appearing to man under the mysterious aspect of a failure. Undoubtedly this is the aspect of Christianity as it is misunderstood by Mr. Newman ; and we have often wondered that the startling character of his conclusion, did not lead him to suspect the soundness of his premises. But his premises are not ours. By Christianity we wish to be understood as referring to that teaching in which all the evangelical churches, both in Great Britain and America, agree. We mean by the term that teaching, with which, as all these Churches are likewise agreed, the promised divine blessing is connected, and which, as thus accompanied, leads to that inward "kingdom of God" which "is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost ;" the teaching which has *Christ crucified* for its theme, and *justification by grace through faith* for its watchword. Whatever is opposed to this, is explicitly declared by St. Paul to be "another Gospel," which "is not the Gospel ;" and so deeply was he convinced that with this alone was connected that divine power which is essential to the success of the ministry, that he most solemnly denounced—let us add that he was led by inspiration to denounce—that fearful anathema against all preachers of a spurious gospel, which we find recorded in the very beginning of the Epistle to the Galatians,—“But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, *let him be accursed*. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, *let him be accursed*.” Very different this from the anathemas of human councils. Often mistaken in their object, and too frequently proceeding from the unhallowed source of passionate bigotry, their utterance has been powerless. They have been the “*curse causeless*,” the mere breath of weak and fallible men. Not so the anathema of the Apostle : suggested by inspiration, and directed against most mischievous error, it is associated with the resistless and abiding energy of God himself, and its lowest effects are seen in the blight which rests on the labours of those who employ such humanly-forged instruments. They prophesy to the dry bones, but no vital breathing follows their word, and the valley remains as full of death and corruption as ever. Civilized society, when largely wrought upon by such teaching, is often found presenting some of the worst features of savagism—a savagism rendered more sensual and barbarous by the light which has been imparted by

that measure of truth mixed up with the spurious doctrine. If we compare the crusaders against the Albigenses with the semi-barbarous Saracens, the result of the comparison will be all in favour of the orientals. We question whether the annals of savage life could supply instances of sensuality more disgusting, than those which are furnished by the unblushing profligacy of some who profess and call themselves Christians; or of barbarity and ferocity more terribly revolting than are found on the duelling records of *men of revenge and honour*; or on the persecuting records of *men of religion and bigotry*, all of whom tell us that they are *very good Christians*! No. When we speak of Christianity as the only efficient instrument of civilization, we mean that teaching which, by God's blessing, "opens men's eyes, and turns them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God," and thus brings them to "receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in Christ." The only preaching that can cast out devils is that which "testifies repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." To all other exorcizers, the reply is virtually given—"Jesus I know, and Paul I know, BUT WHO ARE YE?"

We have felt it to be the more necessary to lay stress on this subject, not only because it is essential to the conduct of our argument, but because we have found in Mr. Backhouse's "Narrative," statements which show how little can be done by a corrupt form of Christianity, towards the emancipation of man from the slavery of vice. We quote some of these statements to clear our own way. They who do not distinguish between the genuine and the spurious Gospel, might point to what they are pleased to term *the vices of Christians*, and exultingly suppose that our progress to demonstration was effectually blocked up. We tell them beforehand that we know this, that we admit it; nay, that we not only allow, but contend, that it could not be otherwise. The path is blocked up. We deny it not. But it concerns not us. Let them see to it by whom such a mistaken path has been chosen. So far from denying the facts, we bring them forward ourselves. It will at once be seen that in the case we are arguing, *they are not evidence*.

In his way from Australia to the Cape, Mr. Backhouse called at the Mauritius, and made a short stay there. He gives some most affecting representations of the social condition which he there beheld. We will string together a few illustrative sentences.

"In the course of the day, I accompanied a pious man in a visit to a sick native of Malabar, residing in Malabar Town, which is closely contiguous to Port Louis, and to which, as a residence, persons of colour were formerly restricted. This individual spoke English, and pro-

fessed Christianity, but had taken cold when out shooting on First Day! The precept, 'He that regardeth a day, regardeth it unto the Lord,' is little observed in this island, in which an infidel wreck of Popery is often mistaken for Christianity, and is that which, in the place of religion, pervades a large majority of the population. This wreck, if left to itself, would probably waste away, and give place to something having more of the life of the Gospel in it; but by the help of government salaries and patronage, the priests, who are generally despised by the people, are enabled to make great efforts to embue them with superstition and prejudice, in the place of true religion," (p. 9.) "The Papal religion, after having had this island under its pretended fostering care for more than a hundred years, *has left it in a dreadfully ignorant and immoral condition,*" (ib.) "There is a wide field for Christian philanthropy; a plenteous harvest and few labourers; and while men sleep, the enemy is sowing tares *by imposing superstition and heathenism instead of Christianity,*" (p. 16.) And after describing a festival, called "the Yamsey," annually kept by the heathen inhabitants from Malabar, he adds, "It is said that many persons in this land, nominally Christian, vow, when under affliction, that if they be delivered from the cause of their distress, they will devote a cock or some other offering, such as a tin hand, or some tinsel, to the Malabar priest at the Yamsey. *Thus does the wreck of Popery mix itself with heathenism,*" (p. 28.)

Such a system leaves its votaries where it found them; of the influence of true religion they know very little, and experience still less; of its characteristic results, therefore, they exhibit no evidence. It is not to such as these that the solemn language of Scripture can be addressed, "*Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord of Hosts.*" But very different is the instrumentality which is at work among the Hottentots and Caffres in South Africa, and very different are its effects. The missionaries there preach that which really is "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," and they are anxiously careful that such, both in *matter* and *manner*, should be their preaching, that they shall be able to say that they "commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." Mr. Backhouse, on several occasions, bears explicit and pleasing testimony to this. And his testimony is the more valuable, in that it is plain, from various remarks, that he never forgets, what we are sure he conscientiously believes, the peculiar views of certain religious subjects taken by the Society of Friends. But, if he does not forget them, neither does he forget that truly Catholic Christianity in which the pious Quaker is one with the pious Episcopalian, or the Congregational Christian. A single instance may be given once for all. It occurred at Philipton, on the Kat River; and is recorded under date of the "30th of 1st month (January) 1839."

"In the course of the day, we were invited to meet upwards of

thirty persons, of the class called Inquirers, who assemble in the chapel once a-week, many of them coming from a considerable distance. They are persons of awakened consciences, of both sexes, and of various ages and nations, who have not yet found peace to their troubled souls. The elders of the Church confer with them, and give them such counsel as their states are respectively thought to require. Being unaccustomed to control their emotions, they often break out into loud sobs and weeping, and exhibit great bodily agitation, which, however, is not generally encouraged. On being asked what they had to say for themselves, most of them replied, Nothing; but that *they felt themselves great sinners, and desired to be saved.* On being interrogated as to how they hoped to be saved, the general answer was, *by Jesus Christ, who, they had been taught, had come from heaven, and had died for them, and without whom they could not withstand temptation, for in themselves they had no strength; they said their hearts told them that Christ alone could help them.* These sentiments were elicited by a variety of questions, as were also several facts of a deeply interesting nature. One man had been brought up at the Missionary station of Zuurbraak, had been conceited of his abilities and knowledge, and had lived in sin, till imprisoned for some misconduct, when he was brought to see his wickedness, and to feel that he must perish in sin unless saved by Jesus Christ. A Hottentot woman *had heard the gospel from her husband, who had been instructed by a pious boor,* and for a time had walked in the fear of God; she had found peace through Jesus Christ, in frequent prayer; but had fallen again into sin, and again been awakened to a sense of her danger. A fine, robust woman had lost all her relations in the wars, far in the interior; she had made her way through various tribes to the Kat river, where she had heard of Jesus, and become convinced of sin, the condemnation of which she still bitterly felt; she said she saw that Jesus alone could save her, and that she felt love to him, and hope in him, and was thankful that she had left her own country, and travelled so far to a place where she had heard of a Saviour. Another woman had left her native land, on the source of a river that watered Dingaan's country, and travelled to the Kat river, where she had heard of Jesus; she was still deeply condemned in herself for sin; she felt much for her country, but was glad she had left it and had come to a place where she had heard of a Saviour. The emotion of this woman was so great as to produce convulsive sobs, with tears, and profuse perspiration. A Fingo woman, still bearing the sense of the Lord's indignation against sin, but nevertheless hoping in Christ, said, she was resolved to keep from the immoral customs and practices of her nation, which she saw to be sinful, and to associate with the people of God, meaning the Christian Hottentots. She said, also, that she knew that the people of her own country could not save her, for they were living in sin; that none but Christ could save her; but that the people of God could keep her in the right way. Many other cases of a similar nature existed here, and were continually multiplying, and showing that *the Lord is bringing to pass a great work, converting the desert into a fruitful field,* to the praise and glory of his own excellent Name."—P. 207.

Such is the Christianity which the agents of some of the leading Missionary Societies are seeking to introduce among the savage tribes of Southern Africa; such are the spiritual results which their labours are actually producing. We say, *spiritual results*, and the expression suggests a most important element of the case we are endeavouring to establish. It must be kept in view, that in the prosecution of our argument, we are assuming the continued existence and exercise of a faithful ministry, by which *the whole of Christianity* is brought to bear upon the mind, and this, in constant reference to the objects designed to be secured by it. If we may refer to the somewhat technical distribution of the various articles of evangelical truth, we would say that the *doctrines* of the Gospel, its *privileges*, its *threatenings*, its *obligations* and *precepts*, are all set forth by the men to whom is indeed "given this grace, that they should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ." And these declarations are made in reference to one definite object—that object being not merely *mental instruction*, but *spiritual illumination and conversion*. It does not satisfy the Missionaries that their hearers are taught to read, and that the Scriptures are given them for free and regular perusal; though this is a great advance from the state in which they are found. Neither does it satisfy these faithful labourers that their disciples are brought to admit certain truths into their understandings; though this, also, is a great advance—a number of new ideas being thus imparted, important in their nature, and expanding and elevating in their influence. This is by no means all. Christianity not only implies a system of *divinely revealed and invaluable truth*, but an *inward and spiritual light, and life, and power*. And unless the missionaries see the evidences of this, they are never satisfied. The faith they desire to see, is not the merely notional admission of certain doctrines, but that by which "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness." They seek to be able to testify that their hearers actually "receive the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls." They seek to be able to say to them—"For ye are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works." And by the blessing of God, their labours are successful. They have converts who are not only instructed by their teachers, but who have "heard and learned of the Father." The law of God is not only in their hands, but is written in their hearts. The light they possess is not phosphorescent, produced by corruption, and indicating death; they have become truly followers of Christ, and they walk no longer in darkness, but have the light of life. And it is to such disciples as these that we must chiefly look. These, in their respective spheres of action, are the lights of the world, and the salt of the earth. It is by them that the true impression of the divine

sealing has been received—by them that, both in example and exhortation, the social law is given to those among whom they live, and who may have only partially admitted the truth which has been declared to them. Human errors and passions will prevent that law from being fully obeyed; but whenever such Christians are sufficiently numerous to attract attention, the law is given, and exerts a most important influence. Thus was it in the beginning of the Gospel, and thus were its first great triumphs won. It was by overlooking this great fact, that spiritual Christians are the only true Christians, and by regarding mental illumination and external profession as sufficient to constitute the Church, that the first steps were taken of the early and long-continued departure from evangelical truth, purity, and power, which every reader of ecclesiastical history so deeply laments. Our argument assumes a return to primitive order and simplicity. The missionaries, whose labours and successes Mr. Backhouse describes, while they rejoice in every impression which they are enabled to make, regard *their* work as undone, unless they see the fruits of that which can only be effected by the *Holy Spirit*.

We again say, that thus it was in the beginning. That, indeed, may be considered as the *highest form* of Christianity which it shall present, when “the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord,” and when the *public mind* of Christian believers, through the continued operation of a faithful ministry, rendered effectual by the promised might of the Spirit, shall be brought to that “unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God,” which St. Paul so impressively describes; when they shall “all come unto a *perfect man*, unto the MEASURE OF THE STATURE OF THE FULLNESS OF CHRIST.” Then, too, shall the full influence of Christianity on society be exhibited, in the realization of those almost heavenly prospects which the word of prophecy opens to the faith and hope of the Church. These, however, are the *final results* of Christian influence on the earth. They are continually to be kept in view; but they do not constitute the *primary and immediate object* of Christian effort. That object is, *the personal salvation of man—the conversion of the sinner from the error of his way*. It is in this work of bringing men from the death of sin to the life of righteousness, that the only true foundations of personal religion are laid, and the power of exerting a truly religious influence is exerted. The *leavening power* is then called into existence, and at once begins to act on the surrounding mass. Men must first have the living water within them, as a well springing up into everlasting life, and then, according to Christ's own saying, “rivers of living water” shall flow forth from them. We contend not for the power of a merely human scheme of religion. Of such systems we not only admit

the failures, but prognosticate them. The true reformation of society can only be effected by what our fathers, with old-fashioned exactness, termed, *a work of grace on the heart*. And at this, the missionaries, whose incipient success among savages Mr. Backhouse very pleasingly describes, continually aim. And on this foundation they seek to raise a noble superstructure. They preach, indeed, that men are saved by *grace through faith*, but by none is greater stress laid on the divine rule, that they which have believed, should be careful to maintain good works. They not only, in general terms, insist on the necessity of practical holiness, but they *open out* to their converts those minute details on the subject of obedience with which the Scriptures abound. Duty, under all its aspects, whether as relative to God, to man, or to the individual himself, is clearly and impressively described in all that it includes.

We thus advert to the *essential and unfailing tendency* of Christianity. Its *actual operation*, though it always illustrates the tendency, will, however, be modified, sometimes in a considerable degree, by the previous character of the individuals who have been brought to submit to it. Man is the creature of habit; and even when he receives an impulse which moves him in a direction the reverse of that in which he was moving before, allowance must be made for that force which previously moved him. The new force will often be found not to bear him so far as it would have done but for the counteracting power. Still, enough will be done to show most decidedly the proper character of this new impulse. And then, seeing that as a Christian parent, he will communicate Christian instruction to his children, the counteracting force will scarcely exist at all in the rising generation. We refer now, not to our *common nature*, but to *habits contracted*. In each generation, therefore, there will be a decided and rapid diminution of the resisting power, while that which impels will be gathering strength as it advances. Let there be no departure from the fidelity which Christian truth demands, and its influence shall increase in the ratio of a constantly augmenting power; it shall move towards its glorious, predicted consummation with a constantly accelerated velocity.

I. The manner in which Christianity leads men to think, feel, and act, in reference to *their body*, and *their bodily circumstances*, tends powerfully to promote their civilization.

It is impossible that he who has begun to consider all subjects in the light in which Scripture places them, should regard his body as he did before. The light may be comparatively only glimmering, but light it is, and the alteration has taken place. That body is the handiwork of God, and he soon learns, not only

that he is fearfully and wonderfully made, but on that very account to praise his Maker. That same body has been honoured by the assumption of one like to it, by man's divine Redeemer. In the case of the true believer, it has become a sacred temple, the habitation of God the Spirit; and on this fact an argument is constructed for controlling all those fleshly lusts which war against the soul, and for preserving the body itself in purity and holiness. That very body, likewise, is included in the arrangements of redeeming love, and he who rightly observes the mercies thence resulting, is inwardly persuaded to present his body as a lively sacrifice, holy and acceptable. In the exercise of the good hope through grace, he waits for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body. He knows that the Saviour, for whom he looks from heaven, shall change even his vile body, that it may be fashioned like to His own glorious body. The body shall die, and thus be sown in weakness and dishonour; but it shall be raised again, and flourish in eternal power and glory. Bright as are the prospects before him, they are all associated with the glorification of his body. In his body, though after death, shall he be perfectly and everlastingly happy and holy.

Among the ancient philosophers, especially the oriental philosophers, the notion of *the essential impurity of matter* extensively prevailed, and their moral systems were largely and powerfully influenced by it. Many of the earlier Christians, departing from the simplicity of Christian truth, imbibed these errors, and their deleterious influence soon became apparent. We need not refer to the dogmas of heretics. It was in the Church that the mischief was wrought. By the adoption of unscriptural views respecting the body, a new character was given to personal religion. Thus was the scheme of *the celibate* introduced, and thus were established the austerities of hermits and monks. The Church was beclouded and weakened by its forgetfulness of those sanctifying and elevating statements concerning the body, by which the Scriptures are characterized, and by which they who believe them rightly, cannot fail to be influenced. So far from regarding it as essentially, and in its own nature, evil, they pray, that the very God of peace would sanctify them wholly, and that their body, as well as their spirit and soul, may be preserved blameless to the day of Christ. They have learned, in a word, to *respect their body*.

And they have learned this, it may just be added, from a system which in the strongest manner, insists on the necessity of universal purity. Inward purification is described by reference to outward purification; and he whose mind is under the influence of correct impressions on this subject, will not fail to be impressed, likewise, by its visible illustration. He will attach a

real, though a duly subordinated, importance to all those circumstances which may express his sense of the sacredness of his body, and of his obligation to attend to its purity.

And now, bearing all this in mind, let the various tribes of savages which have been seen and described by intelligent travellers, be attentively regarded, and it will at once be understood how complete must be the revolution produced by the admission of such views and feelings. The savage is seldom other than filthy and squalid in his person, clothing, (such as it is,) and habitation. Regardful of little more than the satisfaction of his hunger, he thinks not of the quality, but of the quantity of his food. Objects which were plainly never designed by nature for human sustenance, he voraciously devours, often gorging himself in a manner all approaches to which will be—we may not say *instinctively*, but *conscientiously*, and as with the rapidity of intuitive perception—avoided by all who have learned from the Gospel that gluttony and drunkenness are sins, and that they who make a god of their belly are enemies of the cross of Christ. Let the accounts given of the Hottentots a very few generations ago, by earlier modern travellers, be remembered. We cannot detail the disgusting particulars of either *how* they ate, or *what* they ate. In the indulgence of the animal passions of their nature, they had become even worse than *bestial*, for there is a natural cleanliness about the beast, of which the human animal seems to know nothing; about which he certainly cares nothing.

In contrast with this—and the contrast is as strongly marked as it is wonderful—let the condition of those whose minds have been enlightened, whose hearts have been affected, by the Gospel, be carefully observed. They have learned both to respect the body, and to place it under that control and government, which are requisite for preventing it from interfering with the holiness of the soul. It would almost seem as though a new sense had been awakened in them—a sense of purity, and even delicacy,—in virtue of which the body, the clothing, will be kept in a state of cleanliness, of which the mind had previously not the slightest conception. Eating will assume a new character, and restraints be imposed on appetite before utterly unknown. Neither will the body any longer be treated with that barbarity which, under the darkness of heathenism, the *pride of adorning* occasioned. There will be no *tattoos*, no savage mutilations, where the body itself is regarded in the manner in which it cannot fail to be by a scripturally enlightened and awakened conscience.

Now, we consider this, though relating to man's inferior nature, as forming one of the most important parts of at least the foundation of civilized life. Dirty, sensual, and brutalized savages

are generally found as wandering, scattered tribes, forgetful of the past, and every way ignorant of the future. Some sort of societies they will indeed form, for man is essentially a social being; but the actual power of the social principle will be at its lowest degree, and a wide space of country will be roamed over by a scanty population, living only to gratify their appetites, and only caring to know the most effectual means which they can themselves command for doing this. Whereas when the body is respected and restrained, as by the Christian believer it will be; when it is regarded as something sacred; when it is associated with every conviction of present obligation, and every hope of future blessedness, the man becomes attentive to personal cleanliness, clothes himself decently, and prepares a clean and comfortable dwelling-place. In regard to this latter, it will often be found that he goes even beyond this. His cottage stands in a well cultivated garden, and its exterior is adorned with some of those beautiful productions of nature of which he previously thought nothing, but which he is led by his new feelings to admire. He has become a being of purity, modesty, and cleanliness; and slightly altering the couplet of George Herbert, we may say of him,

That his mind's neatness has its operation
Upon his body, clothes, and habitation.

A few sentences from Mr. Backhouse's "Narrative," will show us that these effects have actually been produced, and that in a very short time, among the savages of South Africa.

"The mission at Gnadental is the oldest in South Africa. At the time of our visit, the number of inhabitants was 1500. Children in the infant school 150; in the girls' school 130; in the boys' school 120; in the adult school 169; and in the school of industry, girls, 24. The village contained the mission-houses and workshops, and about 260 neatly-thatched cottages, of unburnt brick, or mud and gravel, which stand very well in this mild climate. It is prettily situated in a cove amongst mountains, from which several streamlets descend, which fertilize the gardens and other grounds. One of these streamlets turns a corn-mill of two pair of stones, a bark mill, &c. There are many fine oaks, with seats fixed under them, in the part of the village where the missionaries reside. Vines were trained in front of many of the humble dwellings of the Hottentots, and over trellises projecting from the roofs. Fig-trees were growing in their gardens, along with other fruit-trees; here the poor and oppressed, having found a refuge under the banner of the Cross, were literally sitting under their own vines, and their own fig-trees, none making them afraid," (p. 97.) "In approaching Pacaltsdorp, which stands on a plain, its little chapel with a steeple, the school-house, and the dwellings of the missionaries, and cottages of the Hottentots, give it the ap-

pearance of an English village. The little town of George, also, meets the eye pleasantly. As is the case in all the other African towns, the houses are white-washed," (p. 125.) "The valleys about Readsdale are well cropped with Indian and Caffre corn and potatoes, and are interspersed with little villages, formed of the rude bee-hive-shaped grass huts of the Fingoes, the house-shaped ones of the poorer Hottentots, and the neat cottages of those who have become more prosperous. Some of the last would not discredit the more respectable of the labouring class in England. The walls are of brick, externally of that which has been burnt, and internally of such as is only sun-dried; they are plastered on both sides with mud, and white-washed internally," (p. 189.) "Stellenbosch is a pretty town; it had at this time about 200 houses, and 1500 inhabitants; it is situated at the foot of a rugged topped mountain, detached from the main range; the streets have on each side a row of fine oak trees. The principal part of the houses were built in the Dutch style, and white-washed. The cottages of the coloured people were numerous and neat; they formed a pleasing feature of the place. The coloured people were neatly clad; they were a very orderly part of the community, and formed the principal portion of the labourers and servants in the town. The Wesleyans had lately erected a neat chapel contiguous to the mission-house; they had a daily school taught by a young man who had a tinge of colour," (p. 622.) "When the first missionary came here, he found the Hottentots in a most wretched condition, and greatly oppressed: they were almost naked, wearing only a few skins, or a karross, and were living in holes, or in most miserable shelters, in an adjacent sandhill, near to which there was a wood, to which, on the approach of any boors, they fled to conceal themselves, lest they should be subjected to compulsory service. Some of them now have comfortable cottages, but a large number of them live in rude, thatched huts, of interwoven branches and mud; and are in appearance about equal to the people of the lower class in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire; perhaps on First days their appearance may be superior, *for the Hottentots make themselves very clean to attend public worship.* Many of them have felt something of the power of the Gospel, and while they remain at stations of this kind, they are under Missionary instruction," (p. 128.) "Could the people of Great Britain have seen the effect that is produced here by the operation of Gospel principles, carried out in Christian instruction, in delivering the people from oppression, and in general education, though but of a rudimentary kind, they would no doubt have joined in the exclamation, 'What hath God wrought!' Many of the half-naked, degraded Hottentots had been raised to a state nearly equal to that of the labouring classes in England, and in some respects superior; certainly above that often found in some of the manufacturing districts. They were dressed like decent, plain people of that class; and in the sixteen schools of the Kat river district, which are about half-supported by the people themselves, and conducted by native youths, they had about 1200 scholars, and an attendance of about 1000."—(P. 186.)

Well might Mr. Backhouse say, when contemplating one of the interesting scenes which, happily, his journeyings so frequently presented,—

“It is difficult to a feeling mind to look on this country without emotion, in beholding the hills covered with herds of cattle, and the valleys with corn, and contemplating these as the possession of a people just rescued from oppression, robbery, and spoil, but now dwelling in safety and peace.”—P. 189.

There is plainly and decidedly an incipient and growing civilization. The fields are not, it is true, white unto the harvest, but they are beautifully verdant with the springing corn. A deep, broad, and stable foundation is laid, and the structure to be raised upon it is evidently advancing. Already does the Hottentot, not long ago so wretchedly degraded, prostrate in the lowest condition of humanity, stand upright, respecting himself as a man, while he humbles himself before God as a sinner. The facts are precisely such as the principles would lead us to expect.

The foregoing remarks have referred chiefly to the *individual*. The *social aspects* of the case will still further support and illustrate our argument.

II. Christianity most efficiently promotes civilization by means of the *Social Principles*, which it implants and maintains.

The entire subject is far too vast to be considered in all its details. A few leading facts, however, may be noticed; and while noticing them, we may remember that in the Gospel there are no discrepancies. All there is consistent and harmonious.

Wherever the Gospel exerts an influence such as that is which we have already described, there will be the full establishment, on right principles, of the *domestic constitution*. Where this exists not, society is at least infirm and unsound; it is generally corrupt at the root, and its progress is not only unavoidably impeded, but always connected with undeniable evidences of inferiority and instability. Man is either a homeless vagabond, or he lives in the indulgence of those animal appetites which go to *sensualize* his whole character; to enervate his intellectual faculties, and strengthen in susceptibility and power his passions of resentment and anger; to make him slow and feeble in thought, and quick and mighty in ferocity. In such a state of society, one entire portion of the human species become the degraded victims of the other, whose position is a perpetual temptation to the exercise of a savage tyranny. The whole mass of human society is in great measure deprived of that deep, and powerful, and salutary influence which *woman* was designed to exert. To this all history bears testimony. Polygamy and barbarism have always gone hand in hand.

And here it is that the influence of a genuine Christianity is most decided. Wherever it is introduced, the great law of the Bible, that one man should have his one wife, and that he should dwell with her as being heirs together of the grace of life, that their prayers be not hindered, is established on the best and surest foundations. Nor does it receive a reluctant, coerced submission. The law is written in the heart. The seed of truth is deposited in a congenial soil. What the judgment acknowledges, the affections love. The proper position of woman in society is perceived, and she is at once placed in it. The Christian regards her whom he has chosen to be the partner of his future life, with feelings unknown to the polygamist, whether in the semi-barbarous or completely savage state. She is neither his toy nor his drudge. He knows that he cannot be the petty tyrant of home, and retain the favour of his heavenly Lord. The domestic constitution is established, because the domestic affections are awakened and sanctified. Next to the duties which he owes to God, and indeed immediately flowing from them, the Christian believer regards those which he owes to his family. He is instructed by *the great word*—and this is one principal theme of ministerial instruction, public and private—to rule over it in the fear of God, walking in his house with a perfect heart. He may not provoke his children to wrath, but is required to train them in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The things which he finds in “the word,” are to be in his heart, and he is to teach them diligently to his children; morning and evening the sacrifice of praise and prayer are to be presented at the family altar. His hallowed dwelling becomes as it were a temple, consecrated to the service of God, and he moves in his family as its anointed prophet, priest, and king.

And as it is by his own family that his chief duties are required, so in the midst of it is it that his chief earthly comforts are enjoyed. Next to those which he derives from communion with God, are those which are supplied by his HOME. Fatigued by earthly labour, harassed by earthly care, in the bosom of his family, with his sympathizing partner, with his smiling, prattling children, he finds relaxation and repose. And if he has to rejoice in some instance of new or increasing prosperity, he feels not the fulness of the joy, till it is shared by his beloved family. Under such an influence man cannot continue to be a savage. He is at least softened and *humanized*; he is more, he is purified and elevated by that *sacred home feeling* which is fixed deeply in his conscience, as one of the elements of his piety. Savagism and home are incompatible. From true Christianity home is inseparable. And therefore does Christianity, as enforcing family obligations, and inspiring the love of family enjoyments, strike at the very

root of savagism. Strictly enjoining personal purity under the most awful sanctions, and the complete subjugation of those appetites and affections of our lower nature, to which the "natural man" completely subjects himself, the Gospel teaches that it is not good for man to be alone, commands him to love his wife as Christ loved his church, to educate his children for duty on earth and blessedness in heaven, and to deal with his servants, if servants he employs, as having himself a master in heaven. Combine this with that self-respect which religion unfailingly produces, while it removes the inflated and ridiculous pride which, as springing from corrupt nature, is found in unregenerate man, whether dwelling in cultivated or barbarous life; and it will at once appear that the wandering savage, yielding to the influence of the Gospel, must become the settled householder, to whom the duties and the comforts of the family are alike sacred; and that in these reclaimed households we have the certain commencement of a living and growing civilization.

But this is not all. Although compelled occasionally to endure severe toil, and to suffer what may sometimes be extreme privation, the predominant habit of the savage is *indolence*. But, take the man who has obeyed the Gospel from his heart, and whose heart, therefore, is truly inclined to follow the directions of the written word, enforced on his serious attention by a faithful ministry. He finds that one of the most explicit of the rules which he is required to observe is, that "if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own household, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." We particularly refer to the very positive language of St. Paul in his epistles to the Thessalonians.* Not only are gluttony, and drunkenness, and dishonesty forbidden, but men are called by the Gospel to an active and industrious prudence for the *regular supply* of their own wants, and of those of their family. "That ye may walk honestly towards them that are without, and *that ye may have lack of nothing*." He who is influenced by these requirements will not trust to the casual and precarious produce of the chase, with its alternations of wasteful plenty, and extreme scarcity, unless in those few and seldom occurring cases in which the necessity that has no law compels him. He is to open the sources whence industry may derive a regularly flowing stream. The earth is to be cultivated, and flocks and herds gathered and tended. They who act according to these laws, will fix themselves in settled habitations; and as the cultivation of the earth, and the regular provision of clothing—setting aside, for the moment, the other wants of society—will require

* 1 Thess. iv., 11, 12; 2 Thess. iii., 11, 12.

attention to the mechanical arts, the division of labour will follow as a matter of course ; and thus, not only will there be the framework of civilized society, but the associating with it of some of the most important principles requisite for even a high state of civilization. The feelings inspired by religion have produced a new class of wants. The man looks for a more decent habitation, and more decent clothing. He can no longer eat his meat half raw, tearing it in pieces as it lies on the earth. And these new wants point to new labours. And then comes in another principle. The man who looks no higher than himself, may do his work as he pleases ; but he who is required to do all *as unto the Lord*, cannot allow himself in *carelessness*. True religion leads to skilfulness in working, for it connects working itself with conscience. And from this it would soon follow, as a natural consequence, that one employment, (generally speaking,) should occupy one man ; and thus we have the division of labour, and the bartering, and trading, which political economy, finding the elements in existence, has arranged into a science, and to which evangelical religion is thus seen naturally and easily to conduct. Communities, as well as families, are produced by its influence ; and the line of conduct which it enjoins is precisely that which tends to preserve the community in a healthy state, and to minister to its prosperity. It is not the result of mere power, but a blessing resulting from the established and continual rule of divine providence, that "godliness is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." Mr. Backhouse beheld, not only comfortable dwellings, inhabited by peaceful, industrious, decently clothed, and sufficiently fed families ; but these dwellings collocated into enlarging villages, with their cultivated gardens, and their street oak-rows, their well tilled fields, and their carefully tended flocks and herds. Under the natural influence of evangelical Christianity, Hottentots, within living memory, sunk in the lowest degradation of savagism, are beginning to occupy the position which man's Creator designed him to occupy, and to which some of the most important principles of Divine revelation are found to refer.

In considering these selected instances of the tendency and operation of the *domestic affections*, their social aspects have been unavoidably seen. But the *social principles* implanted and nourished by the Gospel are too widely influential to be dismissed with only incidental notice, while their range is too extensive to be at present fully examined. We must again select a few instances. And of these, the influence is so obvious, the results so universally admitted, that the task of investigation is easy, and may be very soon performed.

The foundation of the whole is found in the fact, that religion,

when considered in the essential simplicity of its nature, consists of love ; and every thing in the evangelical system is designed to bring us to this, or to preserve us in it. Man is to love supremely the Author of his being ; he is to love his neighbour as himself. And wherever the Gospel is obeyed, this sacred affection is awakened and sustained. And need we argue as to its effects ? It is already done for us by the Apostle. "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour ; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." Euclid furnishes no demonstration more complete, or more obvious. We do not hate ourselves, or seek our own hurt : and if we have submitted to the Gospel, and received its spiritual blessings, as we regard ourselves, so, with the same benevolence, we regard our neighbour. We feel that we can rejoice in the happiness of others, that we desire it, that we are ready to promote it whenever it is in our power. It is therefore saying little that the irascible passions are placed under powerful restraint ; that hatred, malice, revenge, are not only forbidden by the outward rule, but effectually combated by the new principles and motives which reign inwardly : instead of them, the benevolent affections are now established in the soul, and constitute the predominating disposition. The true Christian is, for this reason, *a new creature*, because he is under the full influence of *faith that worketh by love*.

What then must be the effect of this upon man's social condition ? The malignant passions are conquered. There can no longer be hatred, and bloody revenge, and their train of terrible and heart-sickening cruelties. No exposure of infants. No desertion of the sick, the aged, and the infirm. Along with honesty and uprightness, there will be kindness of feeling, courteousness in behaviour. There will be the developments which are described in the often-quoted *thirteenth of Corinthians*. Let that chapter be studied in its details. Let a savage tribe be supposed to be brought, by a faithful ministry, under the influence of its grand affection. So far as this is the case they are *actually civilized* ; and if this be added to what has already been stated in regard to *self-respect*, and the *domestic affections*, the civilizing work will be seen, even in its first subjects, and in its first operations, to have advanced a long way.

But we must refer to two other *social principles* set at work by the Gospel wherever it is truly received. We have purposely confined ourselves to the more obvious aspects of the subject ; there are some which, though less obvious, are scarcely less powerful. We have hitherto only referred to the intercourse between man and man ; but this does not constitute *the whole* of society. For society, government is necessary, and laws must be enacted ; there must, therefore, be legislators and rulers. Now,

without referring to any but the most general views of this subject, it is impossible to read the New Testament without seeing that it is in these respects eminently favourable to social order. Whatever anarchy had previously prevailed, the necessity of agreeing on laws would be *felt* by Christian disciples, and in the New Testament they would find statements admirably calculated to direct them both as to the laws which should be enacted, and the authority by which they should be enforced and executed. The magistrate—therefore there is to be one—is to be the minister of God for good—the sword of justice is committed to him, and he is to be a terror to evil doers, but for praise to them that do well,—he is to discharge the duties of his office in reference to the objects which the Apostle has so well defined—“that we may live quiet and peaceful lives, in all godliness and honesty.” And because this particular constitution of society is designed and appointed by God for human benefit, obedience and support are commands, the obligation to submit to which is laid upon the Christian conscience; and thus rulers, legislators, subjects, are all reminded of their highest duties toward God, while their mutual duties in regard to each, are all placed under the sanctions of religion, and made obligatory on conscience. The magistrate will feel that he is required to be as the minister of God for good to those who, on their part, are required to be obedient not for wrath, but for conscience’ sake.

And there is something beyond all this, slow, perhaps, in its operation, though that operation commences very early. The great theme of the Gospel ministry is *Christ crucified*. The principal object to which awakened inquirers are directed is, *Christ crucified*. This theme the faithful minister expatiates upon, opening its grand principles, at least, to minds which, because spiritually awakened, are prepared to behold and admit them. Now, here is not only the noblest subject for individual contemplation ever presented to the human mind,—the solution, by Christ’s atonement, of the problem, how God can be at once a *just God* and a *Saviour*—but a subject which, when further investigated, is found to suggest just and noble principles of jurisprudence and law. Even the awakened savage *begins* to understand how, in Christ’s death, God both vindicates his law, and causes his mercy to triumph; and as he frequently, and with delighted feelings, contemplates it, it opens to his view, and almost unconsciously he becomes familiar with the loftiest subjects that even angels can study. With such a subject before him, and regarding the dispensation of mercy in that peculiar character in which the Gospel presents it, as *the kingdom of God*, he cannot but experience both mental instruction and enlargement. Just views will thus prevail in society, and principles will be admitted, which, when fully

traced into all their consequences, place before man that system of redemption and government which it has pleased the infinitely wise, holy, and merciful God to devise, and by means of which he imparts such fulness of blessing to his creatures. When these principles are understood, and their influence is felt and obeyed, there cannot be *slavery*—the man who practically views his fellow-man as he appears in the light of redemption, cannot hold him in bondage, nor attempt to play the tyrant. Not only is “*Honour all men*” an evangelical precept, but the Gospel places man in such a light, as loved of God, and redeemed by the incarnation and sacrificial death of the Son of God, that even were not the precept given, the feeling which prompts to obedience would exist. The whole system of government and law which the cross of Christ opens to the view of those whose hearts it has, in the first place, interested, is equally favourable to *true liberty* and *true order*. The Gospel makes man *honourable*, and calls into proper exercise all the faculties of his nature; it is thus highly favourable to liberty: it sets before man his subjection to God, calls for a willing subjection to the Divine authority as expressed in the Divine law, and connecting civil obedience with the obligations and sanctions of religion, lays it directly on the conscience as a Christian duty; it is thus favourable to order. As it gathers men into societies, so does it give to societies their best character and form. And thus, while religion tends, not accidentally, but directly and essentially, to establish such social relations as are obviously most important elements of social civilization, it provides for the very highest degrees of improvement in the social constitution, and is continually bearing men onward on this best, and indeed only safe path. As evangelical developments proceed, not only will the social framework be brought to assume its best form, whatever that form may be, but the whole mass of society will be moved and governed by principles in perfect accordance with it. Tyranny and slavery, rebellion and anarchy, will be alike unknown. Religion at once fixes men in society, and binds them together in comfortable, because honest and courteous intercourse; and then, into the society thus formed, the principles of a jurisprudence, wise, pure, and noble, are cast, which, though their operation be at first slow, shall operate as beneficially as certainly. When men are perpetually demanding their *rights*, angry passions are awakened, and strifes and contentions ensue, in which the weak always suffer *wrong*; whereas, when every man feels on his conscience an obligation to discharge his duty, he is careful to render to all their due, and most careful to render that which is due to the friendless and weak; and when all attend to their *duties*, all shall enjoy their *rights*. And this is precisely the state of things

to which the Gospel powerfully tends. "Owe no man anything but to love one another." "Look not every man upon his own things, but every man upon the things of others."

And the commencement of this work Mr. Backhouse clearly perceived among the converted Hottentots and Caffres of Southern Africa. A brutal polygamy formerly prevailed, but the Gospel has laid the axe to the very root of it; and in the passages already quoted from his "Narrative,"—and many more of a similar character might be given—the observant reader will see plainly that the principles to which we have adverted are already at work, and operating in the direction we have described; so that, were we to pause here, simple as are the views we have taken, yet we believe we have made out our case. The man who experiences a true evangelical conversion is already, in principle, a civilized man, though he were before a savage; while he who only lives to "follow the devices and desires of his own heart," careless how much he "offends against God's holy laws," has, in his heart, the seeds of savagism, however the exterior man may be varnished and polished.

III. We will only add two or three *miscellaneous illustrations*.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that all who walk in error and falsehood, are punished by the intervention of imposture, and that imposture is often found to be a cruel scourge. We will say nothing of the false miracles by which an usurping priesthood often seeks to maintain its power in some parts of Christendom. We confine our view to South Africa, where the religious tendencies of human nature have been reduced to the lowest degree compatible with their existence; where the savage neither sees God in clouds, nor hears him in the wind; where there is barely a vague, meaningless reference to some unknown spiritual and invisible power. Exposed to seasons of destructive drought, they have their conjuring *rain-makers*, who often exercise a cruel tyranny; and, ignorant both of diseases and remedies, they believe that illness is caused by a sort of witchcraft, which can only be counteracted by the detection and punishment of the bewitching agent. Terrible cruelties are often inflicted by the anti-witch doctors. The entire system, in principle and practice, is one of debasement and barbarity. Mr. Backhouse gives some thrilling instances, for which we must refer to his volume. Now, not only is the Gospel altogether opposed to this, but, as soon as its influence upon the heart is experienced, the power of rain-makers and witch-doctors at once and for ever is broken. The converted savage—savage no longer—knows who gives "the former and the latter rain in their season," and causes "the bright shining of the sun after rain." Im-

posture is detected, and is so exposed, that even the natives themselves, in the neighbourhood of missionary settlements, though not obedient to the Gospel, begin to laugh at the rain-makers, and to defy the witch-doctors. A powerful agency of barbarous degradation is thus weakened as to all; while all who become Christian, experience an entire deliverance from it.

But this should not be regarded by itself. Instead of the savage incantations of rain-makers and witch-doctors, there are established the solemn services of Christian worship. The house of God becomes the centre of the settlement; and is it necessary to point out the civilizing power of the public ordinances of religion? Mr. Backhouse, in a passage already quoted, illustrates this by a brief observation, which is yet highly significant:—*The Hottentots are particularly attentive to decency and cleanliness on the Sabbath day, because they then congregate for the worship of God.* They who do this sincerely, every time they assemble, will be reminded that God is their father, Christ their Master and Lord, and that they are all brethren. Christian worshippers cannot come from Christian worship, to plunge into the low sensuality, or the bloody animosities, of savage life. The feelings which are associated with Christian worship, will become the feelings of everyday life. When—where, is God absent?

And, with this, another remark may be connected. The important influence of the *Missionary Family* must not be overlooked. When the crystallizing power seems unusually weak in a saline solution, the chemist sometimes throws in a small crystal of the salt, which thus immediately becomes a sort of *nucleus*, attracting to itself the saline particles, so that the process now proceeds as was desired. The Christian Missionary, for love of souls, comes from a far country, renouncing the advantages and comforts of civilized life, that he may dwell among savages, and be an instrument of saving and reclaiming them. He dwells among savages, but he does not become savage himself. As far as is practicable, he has the dwelling of the civilized man, and in all his own movements, and in those of his family, he shows the superior advantages which he enjoys. He becomes, in the locality where he has settled, the *nucleus of civilization*. Savages can see the difference between those who only come amongst them for conquest or gain, and those who come amongst them to do them good. In Polynesia, repeated instances have occurred of this; and Mr. Backhouse mentions facts of like character. Savage chiefs, having no love for the Gospel, yet give the Missionary a kindly welcome, the first motive being a desire to add to their own consequence and power. But when, by the influence of evangelical grace and truth, the Missionary has collected around him a num-

ber of converts, they look up to him as their benefactor and superior, and *the work of imitation* soon commences—that work proceeding all the more rapidly, because the mind is prepared for it by the light which has been received, and the motives which have now been implanted.

Nor must the *intellectual improvement*, consequent on the spiritual reception of the Gospel, be overlooked. Man was made to know God; but the Hottentots and Caffres, when visited by Christian Missionaries, had not the slightest notion of deity—not even enough to make them idolators. They had no idea of any thing beyond their own existence and condition, except, as we have seen, some indistinct feeling on the subject of an invisible power. What an advance is made, then, in the case of those who have the scriptural idea of God, and who perceive in addition, and that in spiritual light, the system of truth with which the scriptural idea of God is inseparably connected! Their mind is now directed to subjects of thought; and while mental activity, generally speaking, is more pleasant than mental vacuity and ignorance, the feelings which are awakened in them render the contemplation of these magnificent truths a most delightful exercise, so that they will desire and strive to increase in the knowledge of God. And then—rapidly glancing at actual facts—the Scriptures are given to them, and they and their children are taught to read; and, taking the Bible as it actually is, what a multitude of questions does it suggest to the aroused curiosity of the long torpid mind. The converted Hottentot, reading his Bible, wishes to know about *other countries* and *other times*. All that his teacher knows, the convert desires to know; and even though he should feel that himself can only just pass the threshold, there are his children, and his own wishes are all in agreement with the plans of the missionary, that schools may be established, and the rising generation be put in possession of all the knowledge that can be communicated to them. In the extracts given from Mr. Backhouse, it would be observed, that at one station there was a boys' school, and a girls' school, and an infant school, and a school of industry. And whoever has attended to the *statistics* of missionary proceedings, will have noticed the uniform attention to education which they indicate. And, without enlarging on the subject, we only say, that where there is education, superintended by missionaries from a country in a high state of civilization, a connexion is opened between what may be termed the two so greatly different levels, and through the connecting channels the streams of knowledge will flow—in this case without lowering the higher waters—till the level be the same in both. Where *such education is*, before very long *there will be a literature*. When the ancient Gentiles, not liking to

retain God in their knowledge, cast off the light which they possessed, their progress to all the confusion and ignorance of the reprobate mind was rapid: and when the knowledge of God is, with humble, but devout and delighted thankfulness admitted, the progress in an opposite direction is scarcely less rapid, and equally certain. Already are *printing presses* introduced to missionary stations among the most savage tribes. Printing presses in cannibal New Zealand! Thirty years ago, what was Fejee—what New Zealand—what were Hottentots—what Caffres? What are they now? Little more than twenty years ago, the New Zealanders, out of revenge, seized on the ship, *Boyd*, and murdered and devoured the whole crew—more than sixty persons. A year or two ago, an unhappy collision took place between a party of New Zealanders and some British settlers. The New Zealanders had only had a few visits from Christian missionaries. But let the difference be well noted. They only defended themselves; and even in doing so, one of their chiefs strove to prevent the mischief. And when they had obtained the victory, they withdrew; no outrages were committed on the dead. A youthful, unarmed missionary was permitted, without molestation, to commit them to the earth, with the usual and solemn rites of religion. Wherever Christian missions are successfully operating, a civilizing process has most evidently commenced.

From among the many principles which the subject includes, and to which our limits do not allow us particularly to refer, we will only select one more for very brief notice. Christianity, properly understood, directly promotes the improvement of the whole inward man. Its truths are not like mathematical demonstrations, appealing exclusively to the intellect, strictly considered. They include all the subjects into which the human mind delights to inquire. The true, the good, the just, the honest, the beautiful—all which the ancient philosophy sought to know, and which it could never realize—not as vague and cloudy metaphysical abstractions, but as connected with living and personal realities, Christianity unfolds. By the spiritual mind, the truth is loved, as well as known; and the imagination, and the affections, as well as the reason, are called into exercise. Where true religion is, the *poetry of the soul* cannot long be dormant.

Volumes might be written on this deeply interesting subject. The instances we have selected, however, will be sufficient for its elucidation. We only add one or two general remarks.

It must be kept in view that Christianity is a perfect system, every part of which is consistent with all the rest, and with the complete whole. If we have rightly explained its tendency in the instances which we have selected, that tendency will be the tendency of the system, inasmuch as in that system, all is cohe-

rent and harmonious. It has not a single counteracting, or even *negative* tendency. That other systems have operated so as to prevent men from falling into savagism is evident, if we only advert to India and China in later days, and Persia, and Greece, and Rome in ancient times. But the civilization was not only in itself imperfect, but intimately connected with much that was barbarous. Here is the triumph of Christianity, and of Christianity alone. It applies a sufficient power to the entire human nature, and tends directly to the improvement of the whole. And especially does it influence what in man was intended to be supreme—his conscience. His intellectual, his social, his moral faculties, are alike invigorated and controlled, and all are placed in due adjustment to each other. Christian influence is, in point of fact, twofold. It promotes and strengthens all in man from which good to himself and others may arise, and it promotes and strengthens nothing else. Personal evils it so restrains and subdues as to prevent their social development. Civilization on any other principle is not only imperfect in itself, but is connected with some of the worst evils of the savage state; whereas Christian civilization is not only in its own nature complete, because it is the improvement of the whole man, so far as he is the work of God, but it so subdues what is evil in human nature, as that, in proportion as it is permitted to act, the barbarous defects which are found in the results of every other system, are prevented. Social evils in modern society spring not from Christianity, but from opposition to it. It is granted that the social state is a mixed one. But its principles can be ascertained by moral analysis, as completely as chemistry can separate any substance into its constituent parts. Let this be done, and what real good can be traced to a principle separate from Christianity; what evil can it be found to have originated? And can there be any other conception of the full results of the complete influence of an entire and unmixed Christianity, than one which likewise represents a nobler civilization than any ever yet beheld in the world? To the mind, and to the nature of man, both as an instructive and as a remedial system, the Christian religion is precisely adapted; and if it be true—and of its truth that precise adaptation is no slight argument—who could have devised a system so precisely adapted to a nature so complicated, and presenting such apparently contradictory aspects, but the Being to whom it is most intimately known?—if it be true, then are its tendencies rendered efficient by the power of the Holy Spirit, and the watchful superintendence of divine Providence. The kingdom of God is compared to leaven which is put into the measures of meal for the purpose of communicating its own nature and properties to the whole. What the result *is likely to be* we can confidently say

by noting the influence of the heaven on individual cases, and that which might be anticipated from the *theory* is realized in the *actual issue*. It is a case of tried experiment, and as is its philosophy, such are its facts. But we are not left to conjectures as to *probable results*. In the volume of prophecy we have the history of the future, and to the benevolence that mourns over the miseries of mankind, most consolatory and delightful is the picture delineated by the pencil of heavenly truth. We wish to behold a state of perfect civilization—a civilization of knowledge and purity, of kindness and peace. We behold it in the final triumphs of Christianity, and in the sacred glories of the latter day; and if we inquire by what instrumentality this shall be brought to pass?—the reply is, even by the universal diffusion of the heaven which produces such happy effects in individuals. The question is one of experimental philosophy. The successful influence of the Gospel on men *personally* considered, both illustrates its character, and proves its power. By Christianity, the true knowledge of the true God is revealed; by Christian faith that knowledge is received so as that both its nature and power are shown in the formation of Christian character; and by Christian compassion and zeal, labouring in obedience to the divine commands, and in humble, yet confident dependence on the divine blessing, that knowledge is sought to be communicated, through the instrumentality of a faithful ministry, to every nation under heaven. As it spreads, the wilderness and the solitary place are made glad, and the deserts rejoice and blossom as the rose; they blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing. And whose is to be the praise when, “instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree?” “It shall be to the Lord for a name, and for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.” The scenes which the “sure word of prophecy” describes shall then be realized, when “the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.” We say not, therefore, that Christianity *promotes* civilization; this but inadequately expresses the actual truth. An unchristian man is not a truly civilized man. A real Christian has ceased to be a savage. Genuine, healthy, consistent civilization is the aggregate of the individual and social developments of scriptural Christianity.

ART. V.—*The United States of America; their History from the Earliest Period; their Industry, Commerce, Banking Transactions, and National Works; their Institutions and Character, Political, Social, and Literary; with a Survey of the Territory, and Remarks upon the Prospects and Plans of Emigrants.* By HUGH MURRAY, F.R.S.E. With Illustrations of the Natural History. By JAMES NICOL. Portraits, and other Engravings, by JACKSON. 3 vols. Edinburgh Cabinet Library. Edinburgh, 1844.

MEN commonly form an unfair estimate of the institutions, character, manners and customs, of other nations than their own. The means of judging of a nation fully and fairly are not often possessed by foreigners. A feeling of rivalry and jealousy frequently exists between the inhabitants of different countries, which leads them to lean to the side of depreciating and disparaging their neighbours. Even differences in matters so insignificant, comparatively, as the manners and customs which regulate the daily intercourse of social and domestic life, are apt to excite prejudice, and to produce unfavourable impressions in regard to matters much more important, when a candid and impartial consideration of these differences might convince men that many of the habits and customs of other nations were neither less rational in themselves, nor perhaps less fitted to promote general comfort and convenience, than their own, and were unpleasant and annoying to them, merely because different from those to which they had been accustomed. The United States of North America have perhaps shared more largely than any other country in the injustice with which nations are apt to treat each other in the opinions cherished and expressed with regard to them. The history and institutions of that country are in some respects of a kind fitted to excite not very unnatural prejudice among the nations of the old world, and especially in Great Britain; and there are still many things in the condition and circumstances of the United States, though we are disposed to regard them chiefly as adventitious and temporary, which afford plausible grounds for an unfavourable judgment to those who are predisposed to regard them with prejudice. We are not sure that either in Great Britain or in the United States have the feelings engendered by the war which terminated in American independence, been altogether obliterated. There are even yet some men in Great Britain who are disposed to look upon the United States merely as revolted colonies which ought

still to have formed a part of the British empire; and the revival of the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance—of “the right divine of kings to govern wrong,” by the high churchmen of our day—men who talk equivocally of the lawfulness of the Reformation from Popery, and of the advantages which have resulted from it, and who openly condemn the Revolution of 1688 as a “national sin,”—is not likely to favour the eradication of this view, and of the feelings which it is fitted to produce. And many Americans, on the other hand, are still too much disposed to remember that Great Britain once oppressed them, and tyrannized over them, and to allow the recollection of former injuries to tinge the feelings with which they still regard her; and this state of mind and feeling is fostered by the practice still kept up in the United States, of reading publicly, on the 4th of July, the Declaration of Independence, which contains a minute and detailed enumeration of all the hardships inflicted upon the colonies by the mother-country. This custom can now have no other effect than to keep alive uncharitable and angry feelings, and would surely be “more honoured in the breach than the observance.”

The Republican government of the United States has tended greatly to prejudice the subjects of European monarchies against the institutions of that country. If there exist in America a strong tendency to ascribe the ignorance and misery which are to be found in European countries to hereditary monarchy and a hereditary legislature, there is at least an equally strong tendency in this country to ascribe the ignorance and misery which exist in the United States to their republican form of government, and to exaggerate the extent to which these evils prevail, in order to derive from the state of matters in that country an argument against democracy. And there is one peculiar circumstance connected with this matter which has tended greatly to strengthen the prejudice existing in this country against the United States—we mean the notion impressed upon the minds of many worthy persons by the history of the first French Revolution, and not yet wholly obliterated, of there being some intrinsic connexion between democracy and infidelity. It was not very unnatural that the features which the French Revolution presented, should produce an impression of this sort; but still every enlightened and intelligent man must see it to be a mere prejudice. We know of no Scriptural grounds on which it can be established that monarchy is in itself more agreeable to the will of God than republicanism; and it cannot be shewn that the views which usually lead men to approve of a republican form of government, have any natural tendency to make them infidels, or infidel views to make them republicans. The connexion be-

tween republicanism and infidelity, at the era of the French Revolution, was the result of circumstances, and not of any natural and inherent tendency in the things themselves. Some of the most eminent English infidels have been the defenders of absolute monarchy; not a few of those who have been most eminently honoured in promoting the cause of religion, such as Calvin and others of the Reformers, were decidedly opposed to monarchical principles; and we have now, in the United States, a body of ministers, many of whom are possessed of superior talents and learning, as well as undoubted piety, and have been highly honoured by God in the conversion of sinners, who yet openly maintain, that upon grounds at once of reason and Scripture, a republic is greatly preferable to a monarchy or an aristocracy. These facts afford no reason why we should change our views upon the subject of government; but they are surely sufficient to expose the folly of the prejudice which many British Christians entertain against the United States, as if their republican institutions either sprung from, or tended to, infidelity. The Declaration of Independence was indeed drawn up by Jefferson, who was an infidel, though he did not venture very openly to avow his infidelity during his lifetime; but Dr. Wotherspoon was its most able and zealous defender, on the memorable occasion when the Congress adopted it.*

Some one or more of these various prejudices to which we have referred, have influenced most of the British travellers who have visited the United States.† A considerable number of those who have published an account of their travels in that country, have been mere passing visiters, who saw only the surface of things, and, of course, were very liable to be mistaken; while not a few of them have been more anxious to make an amusing and spicy book, by dwelling upon and exaggerating

* There can be no doubt that French infidelity, i. e. infidelity produced by the writers, and sanctioned by the conduct of France, did much mischief in the United States; but there were always many eminent men in that country who strenuously opposed French principles and French influence, and deprecated any close connexion with Revolutionary France, from its tendency to injure the interests of religion. Among these Dr. Dwight, who so long and so ably presided over Yale College, was conspicuous. He was accustomed, on days of public fasting and thanksgiving—for these have always been, and still are, observed in the United States—to declaim against Revolutionary France, and all connexion with her, in a style which would have been perfectly satisfactory to the most zealous clerical worshippers of Pitt and Dundas. On one occasion, towards the end of last century, he wound up a pulpit philippic against France in these words, "Her touch is pollution, her embrace is death."

† One exception to this remark may be noticed. Mr. James Stuart of Dunearn, in his travels through the United States, saw, or affected to see, almost every thing *coulour du rose*. We have heard judicious and intelligent Americans confess that Mr. Stuart's book gave too favourable a view of their country.

peculiarities, than to give a fair and impartial view of the general state of matters. And, in this country, we are very apt, when we hear of any thing ridiculous or offensive as existing or occurring in the United States, to put it down as applicable to, and characteristic of, the whole nation, when probably it may attach only to a few individuals, or to some limited district of that vast region. Many people in this country have heard of some of the follies and extravagances which have been propounded and practised in the United States, on the subject of temperance—of some men asserting the direct and positive sinfulness of using any intoxicating or even any stimulating liquor—of some congregations excluding from communion all who were concerned in the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits, and even all who used them, and of some even going so far as to abandon the use of wine, and to substitute something else, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and hearing of these things, and knowing little else about the state of matters, they have been ready to regard them as attaching to the temperance movement in general, and to the great body of its supporters, whereas they attach only to a very few individuals, and are repudiated by the great body of the friends of the temperance reformation—a work, the success of which is an honour to the United States, as it has conferred incalculable benefits upon the community. The great body of the ministry in the United States have renounced the use of intoxicating liquors altogether, and are quite able to adduce proof that their temporal and spiritual welfare, and their ministerial usefulness, have been greatly promoted by this abstinence, without falling into any of the follies and extravagances above referred to. About twelve or fourteen years ago we heard a great deal of the abuses and extravagances connected with American revivals of religion, and many of us believed that what seemed to be just artificial contrivances for producing a present and temporary excitement, had the general sanction and countenance of the American Churches, whereas these abuses were but local and partial, and under the name of *new measures*, by which they were usually designated, were condemned and exposed by the great body of the evangelical churches, and have now, in a great measure, disappeared. We have heard of late a great deal of repudiation, and many, no doubt, in this country, have been led to attach the discredit of this dishonesty to the inhabitants of the United States generally, whereas only one of the States, Mississippi, has denied its obligation to pay its debts; and the conduct of this State, as well as that of Pennsylvania (which, without denying its obligation to pay, delayed for a time to make provision for the interest of its debt, though it has done so now,) met with the strongest disapprobation in the community at large.

You meet with no person in respectable society, and you can find scarcely any organ of public opinion in America, that is not cordial and decided in condemning repudiation.*

There prevails commonly in this country much ignorance of the United States. The Americans are, in general, better acquainted with us, our institutions, literature, history, and geography, than we are with them. We sometimes do them injustice from our ignorance of the extent of their territory, the nature of their internal government, and the origin and circumstances of the population. When Mr. Webster, the celebrated American lawyer and statesman, was in this country in 1839, he paid a visit to an Episcopal dignitary in the north of England. The Bishop expressed his feelings with some warmth against the neglect of the American Government in respect to preventing the outbreaks continually occurring on the frontiers, and said it was their imperative duty to establish a cordon of troops in order to watch over them and restrain them. And how long does your Lordship think this cordon must be, to cover the boundary line between the British colonies and the United States? said Mr. Webster. The Bishop said that he had not particularly examined that point, but that surely the distance could not be very great. I will tell you then, said Mr. Webster, the distance is as great as from this to Constantinople, and back again to Vienna.

We do not usually take sufficiently into account the leading peculiarity of their government, viz. the entire independence of each of the twenty-six States which form the Union, in all matters of internal regulation, and the want of any central power, like the British Parliament, which has absolute control over all; and in this way we are apt to make the nation in general responsible for many things over which neither the general government, nor the general congress have any control whatever, but with respect to which each State is sovereign and independent. The trial of M'Leod for his alleged connexion with the burning of the Caroline, after the British Government had formally assumed

* A respectable newspaper in New York, published in July last, gave some statistical tables, shewing the great want of schools and the low state of education in the State of Mississippi. The general results were, that of the whole population of the State above twenty years of age, amounting, excluding slaves, to 74,000, there were above 8000, or 1 in 9, who could neither read nor write; and that, of the population under 20, only about one-eighth part were attending schools. We subjoin the concluding reflections of the editor of the newspaper, as indicating the general sentiment of the great body of the people and the press of the United States, on the subject of repudiation:—"Will any one longer marvel that Mississippi is a repudiating State? Can any course be more insane, more unjust to the rising generation, than this of keeping people in such wretched ignorance, when they may just as well be educated and intelligent? Why, compared with these repudiators, the Choctaws and Cherokees, whom we have learned to call savage, are enlightened nations."

the responsibility of the act—a proceeding which had very nearly involved the two countries in a war—was carried through by the Governor of New York under popular influence, and in the exercise of State rights, while the general government did all that was constitutionally competent to them to prevent it. This, however, was an anomaly too gross and too dangerous to be continued; and, accordingly, the next Congress, notwithstanding the extreme jealousy which prevails in America on the subject of State rights, wisely and honourably passed what is called the Remedial Justice Act, the object of which was to bring all such questions, involving international relations, under the Federal jurisdiction, and into the courts of the United States, so that it should not be in the power of the authorities of any single State to involve the nation in war. Still there are many things for which only the particular State, and not the nation or general government, is responsible, and any interference with which, either by the supreme executive, or by the national congress, would be a violation of the constitution, and would lead to the dissolution of the Union; and this consideration we are too apt to overlook or forget in the sweeping censures we sometimes pronounce on the great North American Republic.

The United States have had very great disadvantages to contend with in regard to the character and circumstances of their population, and for these we are not always disposed to make sufficient allowance. They were sprung indeed from most noble stocks, the English Puritans, the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, and the French Huguenots. A nobler ancestry than this the world could not have furnished, and to their descent from these men, and to the principles derived from them, do the inhabitants of the United States owe almost every thing that has hitherto contributed to their prosperity and their virtue, to their greatness and their happiness. But the character of a large portion of those who have emigrated to the United States since they achieved their independence, has been very different from that of the original settlers. Instead of being the *élite*, they have been commonly the refuse and offscourings of the nations of Europe. Instead of being men, who, like most of the original settlers, were animated by the fear of God, and were determined to enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which in Europe were denied to them, they have most commonly been needy adventurers, and men who fled from justice, without character, without resources, without any wholesome influence to restrain and regulate them. The character of these emigrants has exerted an injurious influence upon the population of the United States, and has tended materially to strengthen the power of evil, and to obstruct the influence of the exertions made to promote the cause of religion and

morality. In several parts of Scotland the religious and moral character of the inhabitants has been grievously injured by the influx of Irish Roman Catholics, and the same cause has operated extensively in the United States. It is understood that about 70,000 persons emigrate every year from Europe to that country, and that about 50,000 of these are Roman Catholics, chiefly from Ireland and Germany; and the influx of such a body tends greatly not merely to increase the relative strength of the Church of Rome, but to degrade the general morality of the community.

The singularly rapid growth of the population of the United States, and its diffusion over such a vast extent of territory, tend also, in no inconsiderable measure, to increase the difficulty of providing an adequate supply of the means of education and religious instruction for the inhabitants, and to obstruct the efficiency and success of the efforts made for accomplishing these objects. The differences in the origin, habits, and circumstances of different portions of the inhabitants, scattered over a territory about half as large as Europe, much of it but recently settled, and having still many of the disadvantages and deficiencies of a new country, render it impracticable to give, with any thing like precision and fairness, general descriptions of the character, habits, and condition of the people. There are about as great differences, in many important respects, between the inhabitants of different States of the Union, as between these of the different kingdoms of Europe. Their free political institutions, no doubt, exert a certain influence upon their character, habits, and condition, and of course tend to produce a certain degree of uniformity; but political government is far from being the only element which contributes to the formation of national character; and the influence of their political institutions, besides that it has not yet operated for more than two or three generations, has been counteracted in all its beneficial tendencies by the existence of slavery in some of the States, and in all of them has been much modified by the operation of other causes. It is, therefore, almost as absurd to talk of the *American* character, even when the word is limited in its application to the United States, as of the *European* character; and yet we often do the Americans the injustice of ascribing to the nation in general, features of character and habits and practices which are to be found only in particular districts, and originate in local and temporary causes, for which the Americans are not, in every instance, exclusively responsible. Indeed, there is probably no portion of the existing population of the United States who are more reckless and unprincipled, whose character and conduct are more fitted to bring discredit upon any community connected with them, than the thousands and tens of

thousands of Irish Roman Catholics, whose character was formed while they were our fellow-subjects, living under the British constitution. One specimen of the place which the Irish Roman Catholics hold in the United States, and of the way in which their influence operates, is to be found in the fact, that a few months ago it was ascertained, that out of one hundred and eighty prisoners confined in the jail at Boston, more than one half were natives of Ireland, while there was only one Scotchman among them. And the British traveller in the United States will often meet with facts which should make him blush with shame at the reflection that the British Government has such a body of subjects as the Irish Roman Catholics commonly are, and make him less disposed to press upon the American Government and the nation in general, the responsibility of all the immorality and degradation that may be found in that country.

Another consideration that ought to be kept in view in judging of the United States, and the neglect of which leads us to treat them with some measure of injustice, is, that the evil which exists there comes out more palpably and more offensively than with us, and therefore appears to be greater in comparison than it really is. There is much more freedom of opinion and of action in the United States than in Great Britain. Men are there less influenced by mere routine, or a merely conventional system of acting, by the habit of continuing to live just as they have been accustomed to do, and as those around them are doing. In this country, men are, to a large extent, ground down or raised up to a certain habit of acting, by the circumstances in which they are placed, and the influences which are in operation around them, irrespective of their own personal principles and tendencies, whereas, in the United States, the actual personal character and principles of the individual usually come out more plainly and more palpably, and are less modified and restrained by routine habits and collateral circumstances.

The evil that is in the hearts of all unrenowned men, usually comes out more palpably in America than in this country, and this produces more frequent and public exhibitions of what is offensive. An irreligious man—one who is destitute of personal religious principle—is practically and at heart an infidel; and if he is not openly professing infidelity, and living in the violation of some of the laws of morality, this is owing to the restraining influence of external circumstances. This indirect restraining influence is not, we think, so powerful in America as in Great Britain, and therefore a larger proportion, probably, of irreligious men make a profession of infidelity, and throw off the restraints of decency and integrity, than in this country. The general standard of outward morality among irreligious men is probably lower

than with us, except perhaps among our highest and lowest classes ; and as in America, as well as in this country, truly religious men form but a small minority in the community, there thus meets the eye and the ear, in general society, more that is unpleasant and offensive. The greater separation, too, between the Church and the world which obtains in America, although right in itself, fitted to promote the interests of religion, and thus ultimately and permanently to benefit society, has a certain tendency for the time to lower the general standard of outward conduct among the mass of men. The places of worship over a considerable portion of the United States, containing the great bulk of their population, are at least as numerous as in this country. It appears that, generally speaking, they are as large and as well filled as in Great Britain, and yet the proportion of communicants is considerably less than usually obtains among our Churches. The Orthodox Congregationalists, who occupy the New England States, that part of the country which has been longest settled and is most fully filled up, have, by the latest returns, 1150 ministers and 160,000 communicants, giving an average of nearly 140 communicants to each minister. The two great Presbyterian bodies, old school and new school, who are dispersed over the whole country except the New England States, have between them 3036 ministers and 280,000 communicants, giving an average of about 92 to each. And the other evangelical churches exhibit a similar proportion ; the smaller bodies, who are not dispersed over the country at large, but confined in a great measure to some particular district in the more populous States, approximating commonly to the Congregational rather than the Presbyterian average. This comparatively small number of communicants is an indication of the greater separation between the world and the professing Church than usually obtains in this country. It implies the existence of a higher standard of character on the part of communicants generally, but it implies also, and tends to produce, a somewhat lower standard on the part of those who are not members of the Church ; and as these of course form a large majority of the community, and constitute the class with whom most travellers come chiefly into contact, an unfavourable impression is commonly received of the general standard of morality as compared with that which obtains among the middle classes in Great Britain.

There are many things in the United States which, from the greater freedom of opinion and action, assume an aspect that is offensive to us, when, in point of fact, things the same in substance, though less fully and palpably developed, exist to as great, or perhaps a greater extent among ourselves. The Unitarianism that prevails in Boston and in the state of Massachusetts, of which

Boston is the capital, has been often held up as a proof of the decay and corruption of religion in that country. But, independently of the facts that it is almost entirely confined to one State, and is very decidedly on the decrease, we think it right to say, that the Unitarianism of Massachusetts is neither more nor less in substance than just the religion which prevailed so extensively in the Continental Churches, and in the Established Churches of England and Scotland during the latter half of last century. On the Continent it was called Rationalism, in the Church of England Orthodoxy, and in the Church of Scotland Moderatism; but in all it was just substantially Pelagian Unitarianism, *i. e.* the natural religion of irreligious men, who had no sound views and no deep and sincere impressions of the doctrines of the Gospel, but who did not find it convenient to throw off altogether a profession of Christianity. The extent to which these different parties went in developing their views, and especially in formally denying the doctrines generally maintained by the Churches of Christ, was regulated much more by their circumstances than by their convictions, and these circumstances favoured a more open profession of error on the Continent and in the United States than in this country; while, practically and substantially, the general preaching and conduct of those classes of British ministers to whom we have referred, were as little influenced by Scriptural views of Divine truth, and did about as much injury to the cause of religion, as those of the Unitarians of Massachusetts; and we are not by any means sure that greater injury would have accrued to the cause of religion, if, in our own country as well as in America, these men had been led to make an open profession of Socinianism. A confirmation of the idea, that the Unitarianism of Massachusetts was just the particular form which a certain state of mind and feeling happened from circumstances to assume, while the same state of mind and feeling, under a somewhat less offensive form, prevailed at least as extensively in the Established churches of this country, is to be found in the fact, that in the neighbouring State of Connecticut, the same state of religion, or rather of irreligion, which in Massachusetts led to a pretty general profession of Unitarianism, was quite satisfied with the preaching and conduct of the Episcopalian ministers who were found in that State, just as it would have been satisfied with Scotch moderatism, and that in consequence professed Unitarianism has never made any progress in Connecticut.

Many other illustrations might be given to show, that things in America, which may seem offensive to us, and produce an unfavourable impression, exist to an equal if not greater degree among ourselves, though perhaps not so fully and palpably developed. But

perhaps it may be said, that this greater disregard of routine habits, hereditary practices, and conventional arrangements, producing, along with other influences that have been referred to, a somewhat fuller development of evil, and a somewhat lower standard of conduct, among those who are not under the influence of personal principle, is both the cause and the effect of a lower state of religion and morality. Now we are certainly not disposed to undervalue the important advantages which in this country we possess in the extensive and salutary influence which, in the great body of the middle classes, established habits and public opinion exert upon the ordinary conduct of very many who can scarcely be supposed to be under the influence of principle properly so called. But still, let this influence, wholesome and useful as it is, be estimated at its proper value. Let it not be taken as a substitute for true moral and religious principle, or as a proof of its general prevalence. And, on the other hand, let not the comparative absence or weakness of it in the United States, and the effects which flow from this, be regarded as proofs of the want of moral and religious principle, which we believe to be about as strong and as general in that country as in this, although, from the causes to which we have referred, its indirect operation upon the conduct of the great mass who are not living under its direct and personal influence, is not so widely diffused as in the land where our lot has been cast.

We have made these observations to confirm and illustrate the general position, that the notions prevalent in this country about many things connected with the character and condition of the inhabitants of the United States, are erroneous and unfair; and that in regard to matters where an unfavourable impression may have some foundation to rest upon, we do not usually make a reasonable allowance for the peculiarities of their situation, and the disadvantageous circumstances in which in some respects they have been placed. We are persuaded that intelligent and impartial travellers in the United States, who have had adequate opportunities of judging, will concur in the general substance of these observations; and we think them of some importance in guarding against the erroneous impressions which the statements of travellers of a different description are fitted to produce.

In proceeding to make a few miscellaneous observations upon the state of matters in America, we do not mean to dwell upon the peculiar political institutions of that country, and the effects of these institutions upon the character and condition of its inhabitants, because a discussion of this subject would require a much more full and lengthened investigation of the existing condition of things, with its remote and proximate causes, than we have had an opportunity of making, and because any opportunity we

have had of judging upon this subject, has tended to confirm our faith in the general truth and soundness of the speculations of De Tocqueville, in his very able work upon Democracy in America, both with respect to the advantages they have derived from their political institutions, and the dangers from that source against which they are called upon to guard. De Tocqueville is a man of much greater talent and fairness, and gave much more time and attention to the investigation of this subject, than any British writer who has yet appeared, and his views are therefore much more deserving of serious consideration by all who wish to understand the political institutions of the United States, and their bearing upon the character and condition of the people.

It can scarcely be disputed that the United States derive some important advantages from their republican institutions, which are not usually realized under a monarchical government, though there is certainly good ground for believing that these are fully compensated by corresponding disadvantages. There are not a few persons in the United States who, Republican as they are, think that in the institutions of that country the democratic principle has been carried too far, and who would not regret to see either some limitation on the right of suffrage, or else some interposition of other stages and barriers than at present exist between the mere voice of the people and the ultimate determination of national laws and national measures. As the friends of a limited hereditary monarchy, we concur in this opinion, and think that there is not a little about the state of matters in America that sanctions it. Still, there is much also about that country which is fitted to lead us to entertain a higher opinion than is usually held by the subjects of monarchs, of the capacity of a people for governing themselves, and to confirm the doctrine, which forms the basis and the substance of all liberal views in political matters, viz. that in order to secure the great ends of government, it is indispensable that the people, whose welfare it should be the chief object to promote, should have themselves a very decided and efficient control over the regulation of their national affairs. When we consider the extent to which the republican principle is carried in the constitution of the United States, when we recollect that there almost every man has an equal vote in the regulation of national affairs, we are more disposed to wonder that the country should be so well governed as it is, that the laws should be so good, and upon the whole so well executed, than that there should be some things which we disapprove of, and which a less copious infusion of the democratic element might have prevented. We think it highly creditable to the intelligence and character of the people of the United States, that upon the whole they should govern them-

selves so well; and we do not believe that there is another country in the world that could stand universal suffrage, that is, that there is no country where the same amount of political power could be lodged in the mass of the people, without leading to much more injurious and disastrous results.

Those who may desire some limitation of the suffrage, or some other check upon the influence of the democratic principle, are of course fully aware that any change of this sort is impracticable, and place their chief reliance for the prosperity of their institutions and the welfare of their country, upon the diffusion of education and the influence of religious principle. Notwithstanding the infidelity and recklessness occasionally exhibited, a respect for religion exercises a very considerable influence over the American community, arising both from the religious principles professed and acted upon by their forefathers, and from the extent to which true religion continues to prevail among them. And this respect for religion exerts a wholesome influence even over their political arrangements. A curious and interesting indication of the existence of this feeling was given at the conventions held at Baltimore in the month of May last, by the delegates of the two great political parties for nominating their respective candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, at the approaching election in November. They were political conventions, for a merely political purpose, of delegates from all the States of the Union, and yet in both of them a clergyman was asked to open the proceedings with prayer and the reading of the Scriptures, a practice for which in similar circumstances nothing like a precedent could now be found in Great Britain. In April last, when the salaries of the naval and military chaplains were voted in the House of Representatives, a member opposed the grant in an infidel speech, but three or four members not only expressed their abhorrence of the infidelity, but answered the infidel cavils in a very judicious and intelligent way. No member of the British House of Commons would venture to make an openly infidel speech, though many speeches are made there which would probably do less harm to religion if their authors had the courage to avow the infidelity that is in their hearts; but then, on the other hand, we doubt much whether, if an infidel speech were made in the House of Commons, it would have been so boldly exposed and so intelligently answered on the spur of the moment, as the one in question was in the American House of Representatives. The generality of the newspapers in this country would probably content themselves with giving the infidel speech, as a "specimen of Republican America," and omit the answers to it.

It is of course felt in the United States to be indispensable,

that the people should, as far as possible, have the means of fitting them in some measure for the important duties which devolve upon them in the election of their rulers and legislators; in other words, that they should be able to read, and have opportunities of reading fully, on all matters connected with the regulation of their national affairs. Very great and laudable efforts, accordingly, have been made for promoting the general education of the community. This is effected by a general assessment upon the inhabitants. In many of the States these assessments for educational purposes are large, and the provision is consequently ample. Indeed, education is almost the only object for which the people seem to be willing to tax themselves.* It is generally admitted there, that an obligation lies upon the community to make provision for affording to the young the means of education, and this obligation is to a large extent well discharged. We believe it is now established that, excluding those States which are still subject to the withering blight of slavery, a much larger proportion of the people are able to read, and are at present attending schools in the United States, than in any other country in the world. All due pains have been taken to make the general system of education vigorous and effective. Intelligent and judicious men have been repeatedly sent to Europe to examine into the scholastic system of its different countries, who, on their return to America, have usually published reports of what they had seen, from which we in the old world might derive some useful suggestions.† In the public schools of the United States,

* The annual assessment for the support of the public schools in the State of Massachusetts, amounts to a dollar a-head for every individual in the population, while about half as much more is annually paid to academies and private schools. An assessment at the rate of a dollar a-head for the whole population would produce, in Scotland, considerably more than £500,000, and in England above £3,000,000, annually.

† The principal works of this class which have been published in the United States, are the Report of Dr. Bache, President of the Girard College, Philadelphia, on the charitable foundations for instruction in Europe; the Report of Professor Stowe to the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, in 1837: and the Report by Mr. Mann, Secretary to the Board of Education for the State of Massachusetts, giving the results of an examination into the scholastic system of the principal countries of Europe, made in the summer of 1843. Mr. Mann's Report contains some strictures on the schools of Scotland, which are, we think, especially in what concerns religious instruction, exaggerated and unfair; but it embodies much matter well deserving of serious consideration in this country, as well as in the United States. The following is his general summary of the state of education in the principal countries of Europe:—

“Arrange the most highly civilized and conspicuous nations of Europe in their due order of precedence, as it regards the education of their people, and the kingdoms of Prussia and Saxony, together with several of the western and south-western States of the Germanic Confederation, would undoubtedly stand pre-eminent, both in regard to the quantity and the quality of instruction. After these should

education is provided for the community gratuitously, the erection of the buildings, the salaries of the teachers, and the whole of the materials and apparatus necessary for conveying instruction, being provided for out of the general assessment. We are inclined to think, that upon the whole, this is a wise and judicious principle. Although some advantages may result from charging a fee from the pupils, yet it is scarcely possible to carry out the system of exacting fees in any scheme that professes to provide for the community in general. There must be very many parents in every community, who, while they would like to see their children educated, are neither very able nor very willing to pay for it, or at least to pay for as much of it as would be desirable, and in regard to whom the exaction of a fee would be an obstacle in the way of their receiving education, and thus so far defeat the object for which the community provided the means of instruction. That some should pay a fee, and others at the same school receive gratuitous education, would have an injurious effect upon the attendance of both classes, and thus injure the popularity and efficiency of the schools. The advantages which are conceived to result from the exaction of fees, in inducing parents to take more interest in the regular attendance and the proficiency of their children, may surely be secured to a large extent by other means and influences, whereas the benefits of education to the whole children of a community can scarcely be secured except by gratuitous education; while a liberal remuneration to the teachers, and an efficient system of inspection and superintendence by those who have the power of appointment and removal, will secure all that can be secured in point of qua-

come Holland and Scotland,—the provision for education in the former being much the most extensive, while in the latter perhaps it is a little more thorough. Ireland, too, has now a national system, which is rapidly extending, and has already accomplished a vast amount of good. The same may be said of France. Its system for national education has now been in operation for about ten years, it has done much, and promises much more. During the very last year, Belgium has established such a system; and before the Revolution of 1830, while it was united with Holland, it enjoyed that of the latter country. England is the only one among the nations of Europe, conspicuous for its civilization and resources, which has not, and never has had, any system for the education of its people. And it is the country where, incomparably beyond any other, the greatest and most appalling social contrasts exist,—where, in comparison with the intelligence, wealth, and refinement of what are called the higher classes, there is the most ignorance, poverty, and crime among the lower. And yet in no country in the world have there been men who have formed nobler conceptions of the power, and elevation, and blessedness that come in the train of mental cultivation; and in no country have there been bequests, donations, and funds so numerous and munificent as in England. Still, owing to the inherent vice and selfishness of their system, or their no system, there is no country in which so little is effected, compared with their expenditure of means; and what is done, only tends to separate the different classes of society more and more widely from each other.”—P. 84.

lification, diligence, and activity on the part of the instructors. The public schools in the United States are under the superintendence and management of school committees, chosen sometimes by the municipal authorities of the district, sometimes by the people, and sometimes partly by the one and partly by the other. So strong and so general is a sense of the benefits of education, that, as some would say, *notwithstanding*, but as we are rather disposed to say, *because*, of its being gratuitous, a very large proportion of the youth of the community are attending the public schools. In the published Report of the Controllers of the Public Schools of Philadelphia for 1843, it is mentioned, that "more than 33,000 children, or three-fifths of the whole population between the ages of five and fifteen, now frequent the public schools, and that large numbers of applicants are found seeking for admission, more rapidly than vacancies occur or new schools can be formed." There is a principle commonly acted upon in regard to the schools of the larger towns, which is found to exert a very wholesome influence on the teachers, the parents, and the scholars; it is that of having a gradation of schools, through which the children pass in succession, a fair amount of proficiency at the lower being necessary before they are admitted into the higher; and admission into the highest, where they receive a classical education, being in all cases the result and the reward of superior proficiency in all their previous studies. Thus, in Philadelphia, they have a system of primary schools, into which of course the children are admitted indiscriminately; then a system of secondary schools, into which the children are not admitted until they have made a certain degree of proficiency in the primary; then a system of grammar schools, composed of those children who are found to have made due proficiency at the secondary; and lastly, a high school, where the higher branches of education, including classics and mathematics, are taught, and into which those only are admitted who have distinguished themselves at the grammar schools. In this way, all children, whatever may be the circumstances of their parents, who exhibit talent and an aptitude for learning, have the benefits of a full and liberal education within their reach; the whole scheme of education for the city is brought within the range of a comprehensive system, and of deliberate and efficient superintendence, and strong and powerful motives to a diligent and faithful discharge of their respective duties are brought to bear upon teachers, parents, and children. The average annual expense to the community of the education of each of the 33,000 children attending the public schools in Philadelphia, is only twenty-four shillings sterling, including not merely the cost of tuition, but fuel, books, stationery, and supplies of every description. In this

estimate are included the expenses of the High school, though the average annual expense of each pupil attending the High school, taking that department by itself, is about £9. The instruction in many of the public schools is so well-conducted that it is quite common, even in large towns where private instructors are to be found, for persons to send their children to the public schools, who are both able and willing to pay for their education, and this of course tends to do away the idea of their being charity or pauper institutions. And indeed, we believe that the principal reason why gratuitous education has not usually succeeded well in this country is, because it has been tried only on a very small scale, and has been confined almost entirely to the poorest classes, to the exclusion of all who were able to pay school fees. On this account, the system, so far as it has been attempted in this country, has had a repelling and degrading effect ; whereas, in the United States, it is looked upon as a provision made by the community for the general benefit of the community, to which all the taxable population contribute according to their means, and thus there is no feeling of degradation connected with education in the public schools.

It will readily be supposed that the difficult and perplexing questions connected with religious instruction, which have recently been discussed in this country, have also been agitated in the United States. As there is no established church or dominant sect, and as the assessment for the support of the schools is levied indiscriminately from all classes of the community, there is, of course, nothing sectarian in the choice of the teachers, or in the character of the instruction, in other words, religion properly so called is not taught in the schools. In the situation in which that country was placed, the only alternatives were, either to make no public provision for the education of the community, or else to omit the inculcation of religious doctrines, leaving it to the Churches to provide, in whatever way they might think best, for the religious instruction of the youth connected with them. It is right, however, to mention, that it is quite common in the public schools to spend a quarter of an hour in the morning, at the commencement of the exercises, in the reading of the Scriptures, and the prevalence of this practice is a favourable indication of the general state of public sentiment, especially as it has given rise to much controversy and contention with the Roman Catholics. In one or two cases the Roman Catholics have had influence enough to secure for themselves a share of the public grant to be spent in the erection and maintenance of schools conducted upon their own principles, and in accordance with their own views. But in most districts the majority of the people have, in the meantime, held the position that the reading of the Bible is

not sectarian, and have determined that the practice is to be continued in the public schools. This has led the Roman Catholics to set up separate schools at their own expense, and to make great efforts to render them efficient and popular, and this is one of the agencies which has contributed to promote the influence of the Church of Rome. It is of course open to the Churches either to take advantage of the public schools for the secular instruction of their children, and to provide separately by Sabbath schools or otherwise for their religious training, or to establish separate schools of their own where instruction in the peculiar doctrines of Christianity and in the peculiar tenets of the Church, may be communicated in connexion with secular education. The former has been the course usually adopted, except by the Roman Catholics, who object to the reading of the Bible in the public schools. But a feeling is growing in other Churches that it is injurious to the young to have their religious and their secular education so much dissevered from each other, and that the Churches are called upon to do more than they have hitherto done to have the secular education of the young under their care connected with and based upon religion; and several of them are seriously meditating the establishment of a system of Church schools for the instruction of the youth of their own communion. Whether this idea may be carried out, and, if it be, what may be its effects upon the system of public schools, upon the relations of the Churches to each other, and on the general welfare of the community, it is impossible to foresee; but one thing is manifest, that the experience of the United States concurs with our recent experience in this country, in proving, that the whole subject of the establishment of a general system of education for a community divided among a variety of religious sects, is attended with greater difficulties than many among us have been willing to allow; while at the same time, it seems to point to the conclusions—1st, That it is scarcely possible for the State, in ordinary circumstances, to introduce and establish, *de novo*, a general system of education for a community divided among a variety of religious sects, that shall rest upon a religious basis; and, 2d, That the Churches themselves must in one way or other undertake and provide for the religious education of the youth connected with them.

We have been led to advert to this matter in illustrating the position, that a strong sense of the necessity and benefits of education exists in the United States, and that great efforts are made and large expenses incurred in securing the means of education to the community. This remark, however, applies only to the Free as distinguished from the Slave States. States, whose statute book is disgraced by enactments prohibiting slaves being

taught to read, may be justly supposed to have little education themselves, and to be incapable of appreciating the obligations connected with it, and the benefits resulting from it. We have already seen something of the condition of the Slave State of Mississippi in regard to this matter, and even Virginia, which has been the longest settled, and is altogether the most civilized and respectable of any of the Slave States, has not yet established any general system of public education.

It is necessary not only that the people should be educated, but that they have the means of reading fully on all matters connected with the regulation of public affairs, and these are supplied by the newspapers and the periodical press to an extent of which in this country we have scarcely any conception. Every little town has its newspaper, and there is no place of any importance where the great body of the people are not in the habit of reading a newspaper which is published daily. The reading of the newspaper is looked upon not merely as an amusement, but as a part of every man's business, to which a portion of each day is, as a matter of course, devoted. In every considerable town there are several *dailies* published, and there are two classes of them, the larger, and generally the more respectable, cost a penny, and the smaller, many of which are less reputable, cost only a half-penny. In this way a great deal of information upon all public questions is circulated through the whole community; and we have no doubt that a vastly greater proportion of the inhabitants of the United States have opinions upon all public questions, and are able to state and defend them in an intelligent and sensible way, in short, can discuss politics respectably, than in this country. There is also acquired in this way, and generally diffused, a larger acquaintance with the political affairs of Europe, and particularly of Great Britain, than we commonly possess of those of America. The more intelligent and educated classes, however, do not trust to newspapers for information about European literature and politics, but are much in the habit of reading our reviews and other periodicals of a higher class. Most of the leading British reviews are republished in America, and are sold much cheaper than in this country; our half-crown magazines being generally sold for ninepence, and our six shilling quarterlies for two; and we have reason to believe, that about as large a proportion of men connected with the learned professions are in the habit of reading four or five of our leading reviews as are to be found even amongst ourselves.

A great deal is said in this country about the corrupt state of the newspaper press in the United States, and there can be no doubt that unrestrained liberty in this respect has to a considerable extent degenerated into licentiousness; but we are persuaded

that this too, like many of the other evils existing in America, has been exaggerated. There is a recklessness in the abuse of public men, and of candidates for office, which is not common in this country; and there are outrages upon public decency, in the shape of advertisements of quack medicines, such as never have been attempted here, and would not be tolerated by public opinion; but still the general state of the newspaper press, as indicated by the casual perusal of all such newspapers as happened to come in our way, was not so bad as we had been led to expect; and we fear that even the worst of them might be matched in most respects by some of the widely-circulated Sunday Journals of London. And it should not be forgotten, that if the press in the United States is often employed for evil, it is also vigorously and energetically employed for good, and that by its instrumentality a great deal of matter fitted to promote sound moral, and religious principles, is widely diffused through the community.

By the general diffusion of education, and the absence of all taxes upon knowledge, a large amount of intelligence and of information upon all topics of public interest is spread through the community, and the mass of the people are upon the whole fitted for the important political functions which they are called upon to execute, more fully than we in this country find it very easy to believe.

The leading practical defects connected with the management of public affairs in the United States are the occasional interferences of popular feeling, exhibited sometimes even in the verdicts of juries, with the ordinary execution and administration of the laws, and the occasional outbreaks of popular violence which the civil authorities have sometimes neither force enough nor courage enough to prevent or suppress. These are great defects; and as they interfere with the security of life and property, which is one great end of government, it is an imperative duty which the people of the United States owe to themselves and to the world, to adopt, if possible, some efficient means of preventing or remedying these evils. Still, even about the incidents of this sort that occur sometimes in the United States, offensive as they are to us, who are so familiar, both theoretically and practically, with the absolute supremacy of law in all questions of person and property, there are often some palliating circumstances which should not be altogether overlooked in the estimate we form of them. In many cases of these popular interferences with law and order and the peace of society, there has been some sound notion, some wholesome feeling, in the mind of the people, the perversion or misapplication of which, led to the violence of which they were guilty. Interferences with the ordinary execution and administration of the laws, have usually originated in a popular impres-

sion, whether well or ill founded, that by some legal technicality an accused party was likely to have a punishment inflicted upon him either more or less severe than justice and equity, and the general moral feeling of the community seemed to warrant, and have thus been somewhat analogous in their character and complexion to the execution of Captain Porteous by the inhabitants of Edinburgh—an incident in the history of the city which, though undoubtedly a crime, we presume its present inhabitants do not look back upon with any very deep sense of shame or degradation. Such interferences with law and order are utterly unjustifiable, and ought to be put down; but still they are not to be confounded, especially when viewed as indications of national character, with mere reckless and unthinking love of violence, or the mere indulgence of brutal cruelty. They have never, in the United States, assumed that fearfully offensive form of positive sympathy with murder and murderers, which, in certain parts of Ireland, has sometimes saved the most desperate criminals from the punishment they deserved, by rendering their apprehension or conviction impossible.

The occasional outbreaks of popular violence too, have usually had their origin in some right feeling perverted and misapplied, and have been exhibitions of a sort of wild justice. A few years ago a nun escaped from a convent near Boston, and detailed the bad usage she said she had received; this stirred up the indignation of the people of Boston, who went out and set fire to the convent. The recent riots in Philadelphia originated in the attempts of the Irish Roman Catholics to get the Scriptures expelled from the public schools, and in the strong feelings of indignation and jealousy which these attempts excited in Protestants, who had more zeal than knowledge, but who were anxious to preserve to the community the blessing of an open Bible. The late rising of the populace at Nauvoo, and the murder of that vile impostor, Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, which grew out of it, originated in the tyranny which he and his followers were exercising over the surrounding country, combined with the fact that he had become rather too powerful to be controlled and restrained by the ordinary executive. Something similar is to be found attaching to most of the cases of popular outbreak that have taken place in America. We are not aware that the history of the United States exhibits any outbreak of popular violence so thoroughly disgraceful as the riots which took place a few years ago in Bristol. These Bristol riots originated in sheer love of violence and rapine, and had nothing like the pretence of a good motive, or the appearance of a right object, to palliate or excuse them. Such riots could not have occurred in the United States, just because that country does not contain in

any one of its cities or districts so large an amount of concentrated and unmitigated blackguardism—such a mass of men who have nothing to lose and who have all the recklessness of utter destitution, as may be found in some of the large cities of this country.

But still, though it is fair to have regard to these considerations in judging of events that sometimes occur in the United States, it cannot be reasonably denied that there is too little *government* to afford full security for life and property, too little provision for the enforcement of law and the preservation of peace and good order, and too great a tendency on the part of the rulers to leave the exercise of their functions in abeyance. Some Americans are disposed to indulge in speculations about the general diffusion of knowledge and virtue coming at length to supersede the necessity of law and government altogether. Whatever plausibility there may be in such speculations, and whatever may be the state of matters in the millennium, it is very certain that in point of fact, the time has not yet arrived, even in the United States, when they can be safely or conveniently acted upon in practice; and we rejoice to find that since the recent riots in Philadelphia, the civil authorities of that city have adopted decided measures for raising and maintaining a force that may be adequate to prevent the recurrence of such disturbances, or at least to bring them to a speedier termination.

Something more than mere education, however, is necessary in order to make the United States or any other nation prosperous and happy, viz. the general diffusion throughout the community of religious and moral principle. It is upon this that national as well as individual happiness depends, and just in proportion to the extent of this influence does any nation possess the true elements of greatness and prosperity. There can be no reasonable doubt that it is to the influence of Christianity, direct and indirect, that the small, and once very insignificant island of Great Britain owes the commanding position which it has long occupied among the nations of the world; and there can be just as little doubt that the United States are indebted to the same cause for the great influence and prosperity to which they have already attained. And we should never forget, when we think of America, and of the feelings with which we ought to contemplate her, that she is the only country in the world, except Great Britain, where the religion of Jesus Christ can be said to have at present any considerable influence, where there is any very considerable number of persons who can be fairly regarded as acting from a real conviction that they are under law to Christ. There is certainly no country in the world, except Great Britain, that can be compared with the United States, with respect to the proportion of its inhabitants who may be fairly regarded as living

under the influence of religious principle, and though, from causes to which we formerly adverted, the indirect influence of religion upon those who are not living under its personal sway, is less widely diffused over general society than in this country, there can be no doubt that the influence of religion, both direct and indirect, is immeasurably greater in the United States than in any country in the world, except our own.

We have said that Great Britain and the United States are the only nations in the world that admit of being compared together with respect to the general diffusion of religious and moral principle; and though we are fully aware that a fair comparison between them would need a much fuller, and more careful investigation into the interior state of both than any inhabitant of either is ever likely to have an opportunity of making, yet we must say that we think that Great Britain, notwithstanding her greatly superior advantages, could not establish any very palpable or decided superiority in the comparison. It appears from the latest returns, that in 1843 there were above 17,000 ministers connected with evangelical churches, excluding, of course, Roman Catholics, Universalists, and Unitarians, labouring in the United States among a population of nearly 19,000,000, thus affording an evangelical minister to about every 1100 of the entire population—a much larger proportion of ministers to the population than are to be found in Britain, as large a proportion as exists at present in Scotland, and a much larger proportion than were to be found even in Scotland before the recent disruption of the ecclesiastical Establishment, or than, but for that event, would probably have existed there for many years. It is true that a considerable number of these ministers, especially among the Methodists and Baptists, are men who have not received a liberal education, but we believe the great body of them are pious and devoted men, who are not unsuited in many respects to the situations they occupy, and who are honoured by the Head of the Church as the instruments of spiritual good.* The evange-

* It is proper to mention that the Methodists and Baptists are now making much greater exertions than they once did to secure an educated ministry. The Presbyterians, to their honour, have strenuously resisted attempts which have been sometimes made in consequence of the exigencies of the country, to lower the standard in this respect, and have always refused ordination to men who did not possess the knowledge that is commonly understood to indicate a liberal education. They do not indeed exact attendance upon a prescribed curriculum as indispensable in every case, but they insist upon the possession of the knowledge, in whatever way it may have been acquired. A few years ago, a Presbytery in the West ordained some men to the ministry who had not received a liberal education. The General Assembly refused to sanction the ordination. This led to a separation. The seceders assumed the designation of Cumberland Presbyterians, from the name of the district where they were chiefly settled, and have now about 450 ministers, many of them of course uneducated.

lical Churches of the United States certainly do not present to any considerable extent the fearful spectacle which the Established Churches of this country and the Continent have too often exhibited, of ministers subscribing articles which they did not believe and teach, and palpably falsifying by the whole tenor of their subsequent conduct, the profession which they made at their ordination, that they were "moved by the Holy Ghost," or, "chiefly influenced by zeal for the honour of God, love to the Lord Jesus Christ, and a desire of saving souls," to enter upon the office of the ministry.

The Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in the United States, are in general as well educated, and as intelligent and accomplished, as those who hold the sacred office in this country. We are disposed to think that they commonly manifest a fully higher measure of mental activity, and this arises partly from the greater general stimulus to activity and exertion in every department, by which the whole community is there pervaded, and partly from the way in which their education is usually conducted. There is in the American colleges and theological seminaries less of that mere lecturing *ex cathedra*, which has usually been the great staple of academical labour in our Scottish Universities, and which left a considerable portion of the students in a state of intellectual dormancy, and more of mental training, by means not only of examinations and frequent exercises, but by there being much more of discussion, upon all the topics that enter into the course, between the professors and the students. It is not uncommon to have something resembling the old *disputationes*, in which the students state their difficulties or propose objections, and the professors are expected to remove or solve them. This practice is of course somewhat trying to the professors, and unless managed with great ability and skill on their part, may be fitted to foster a habit of cavilling, and a love of mere disputation and display, on the part of the students, but it is manifestly useful as a mere intellectual exercise, and tends greatly to sharpen and stimulate the mental powers. Its effects, we think, have been good upon the whole, though not unmixed with evil, and it has certainly tended, among other causes, to produce a high general standard of mental activity, among those who have gone through an academical and theological curriculum. The number of ministers preaching Jesus Christ and him crucified, who are labouring in any community, and the general fitness of these men for the office they fill, may usually be regarded as a pretty fair index of the state of religion, and when tried by this test, the United States need not shrink from a comparison with Great Britain, if, as is quite fair, Ireland be put in on the one hand, to counterbalance the Slave States of the South, and the half-settled States of the West, on the other.

The general observance of the Lord's day, is another index of the state of religion, and though some allowance may need to be made here, for a consideration formerly adverted to, viz., that the indirect influence of religion upon those who are not religious men, is less felt in the United States than in this country, and that there men are more in the habit of acting freely upon their own personal views and feelings, unrestrained by the opinions and conduct of others around them, still we do not believe that upon the whole the United States fall very much below England and Ireland, in this important particular. The state of Sabbath observance in the large towns of America, as it strikes a stranger in passing along the streets, is, we would say, intermediate between the state of matters in this respect in the large towns of England and of Scotland; better, we think, upon the whole, than in the Southern, though rather worse than in the Northern division of our island. It has, we believe, been not very uncommon in America, for the men employed in the formation of canals, railways, and other public works, to labour for seven days in the week, an outrage upon religion and decency, with which this country has not yet been disgraced. But the present tendency in America is towards a better observance of the Lord's day, while in this country, the current, we fear, is running in an opposite direction. The following testimony upon this point is given in the Report of the American Sabbath Union, published in April of this year, and we have no doubt of its truth.

“ The transportation of the mails on the Sabbath has, on numerous routes, been discontinued; and stage-coaches, steam-boats, rail-cars, and canal-boats, have, in many cases, ceased to run on that day. Stockholders, directors, distinguished merchants, and civilians, have expressed their convictions that, should this be the case universally, it would greatly promote the welfare of all. The number of those who go, or send to the post-office, who are disposed to labour, or engage in secular business, travelling, or amusement on the Sabbath, is diminishing, and the number is increasing of those who are disposed to attend the public worship of God. Sabbath-breaking is becoming more and more disreputable, and is viewed, by increasing numbers, as evidence of a low, reckless, and vicious mind. The conviction is extending, that it is not only morally wrong, but is unprofitable and dangerous. And should all the facts with regard to this subject be known, and duly appreciated, that conviction, we believe, would become universal. Labourers, in many cases, refuse to work on Sabbath. They view it, as it actually is, as a *degradation* to be thus singled out from the rest of the community, and obliged to labour when others are at rest. They find it to be hurtful to themselves and their families. It injures their health, corrupts their morals, and increases the danger of their being abandoned to infamy and ruin.

Some who, in consequence of refusing to labour on the Sabbath, had been dismissed from their employments, have afterwards been sought for, and employed again, and warmly commended for their attachment to principle, and for their fidelity and success in the discharge of their duties."

The last sentence in this extract suggests to us the observation that the facilities for promoting the better observance of the Lord's day in the United States, are greatly increased by the facts, that the body of the people are much more independent, not only in their feelings but in their circumstances, than in this country, that they are not nearly so dependent upon the wealthier classes, and that, what is in many respects an unspeakable blessing, men who are able and willing to work, have a far greater certainty of being able to procure a decent livelihood for themselves and their families. The working-classes, though certain, when not under the influence of religious principle, to mispend the Sabbath, and to fail in applying it to its proper purpose, are not likely to spend it in ordinary labour, except when this is required of them by those on whom they are dependent for subsistence.

In other matters, too, than Sabbath observance, the influence of religion generally seems to be upon the increase. The great revivals of religion which took place in the early part of this century, and which were followed in the main by the most salutary results, led also, in some parts of the country, to considerable excesses of extravagance and fanaticism. These again produced a certain degree of reaction in favour of coldness and rationality. But this, too, has in a great measure passed away, and the churches, we think, are now profiting by a judicious improvement of the history of religion for the last generation, avoiding excesses and extremes, and labouring with zeal, and yet with prudence, in the great work of their calling. The progress which the Church of Rome is making in some parts of the country, especially in the West, is exciting considerable alarm, and thus contributing to unite the evangelical churches together, by a sense of common danger and common duty, and concentrating their attention upon those important topics which are involved in the controversy between the apostate Church of Rome and the true Church of Christ. This result is also promoted by the wide diffusion of Puseyism and ultra High-churchism, in its most offensive form, among the Episcopalians of America. The Anti-evangelical and Romanizing tendencies of High-churchism are more fully developed in the Episcopal Church of America, than even in the Church of England; and the evangelical party as a body, though there are some noble exceptions there as well as here, seem to be about as deficient in courage and energy, deci-

sion and public spirit, as they are in our own land. The extent to which the Puseyites there have carried out their principles, has not only united the Churches more closely together, but has made the controversies which they have been obliged to carry on against their High-Church assailants, and which have been conducted with much ability and intelligence, turn not merely upon questions of church government and order, but on matters intimately connected with the true ground of a sinner's hope, and the real nature of genuine religion.

It may be fairly regarded as an indication of the growing influence of religion and religious men, that the Whig party have selected, as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency at the approaching election in November, Mr. Freylinghuysen, who has long been known as a decidedly and consistently religious man, an elder and a Sabbath-school teacher in the Presbyterian Church, and a zealous supporter of all schemes directed to the promotion of true religion. The election of Mr. Clay and Mr. Freylinghuysen, the former as President, and the latter as Vice-President, will be supported by the great body of the religious men in the community, and by the great majority of those who are anxious for a steady and efficient government, conducted upon rational and well-defined principles, as opposed to merely temporary popular feeling and present apparent expediency. The election of these men would be highly honourable to the people of the United States, and would go far to refute the charge that has often been adduced against them, of giving their votes only to men who have secured their favour by mean subserviency and flattering their prejudices, and would augur well for the prosperity of the nation, and the stability of the government.

As our leading object in this article is to convince our readers that some of the notions commonly entertained in this country regarding the United States, require to be modified, and that a more favourable estimate than usually obtains among us would also be a fairer one, we would now make a few observations upon some of the particular defects or infirmities which are generally regarded as peculiarly characteristic of our American brethren, omitting any further reference to their political institutions, as we have already said all that we think necessary or expedient upon that point.

It is commonly understood in Great Britain, that the Americans are distinguished for their self-complacency and self-conceit, and their disposition to boast about their country. That they love their country, think very highly of its institutions and capacities, indulge in very sanguine anticipations of its future greatness and prosperity, and express freely, and sometimes, as might be expected, foolishly enough, their views, feelings, and expecta-

tions on this subject, is true; but, after all, we are not sure that they are much more unreasonable and ridiculous in this respect than some other nations that might be mentioned. There is a great deal in the history, condition, and prospects of the United States, which is fitted not unreasonably to call forth complacency in regard to the past, and bright anticipations in regard to the future. One of their authors has said, that "God sifted three kingdoms to sow the American wilderness with the finest of the wheat;" and there can be no doubt that their ancestors were to a large extent the best men whom the three kingdoms at the time contained. Almost every thing connected with the origin, management, and results of the War of Independence, was as honourable to America as it was discreditable to Great Britain. Since that time the increase of the population, and the growing development of the resources and capacities of the country, the diffusion of intelligence, activity, and enterprise through the community, have greatly surpassed any thing of the kind which the history of the world had previously exhibited. The resources of the country are immense and incalculable, and there is a spirit of activity and enterprise in operation, which may not unreasonably be expected to develop them to a wonderful extent. In these circumstances, it is not surprising, that along with the buoyancy and vigour, there should be also some of the boastful presumption and self-confidence, of youth. There seems to be a period in mens history when most of them exhibit something, more or less, of self-conceit, presumption, or puppyism, viz. when they are conscious of the growth and development of new powers and capacities, but not quite sure that others are yet prepared to admit their claims and pretensions to the possession of them. Something similar occurs in the history of nations. The Americans have been fully conscious of the growing strength, influence, and prosperity of their country, but they have been annoyed by the suspicion that their just claims are not yet fully admitted and appreciated by the nations of the Old World. This has operated in the same way as a similar feeling often does among young men at a certain stage of their history, in producing something of an exorbitant disposition to urge their own claims, and a somewhat morbid sensitiveness as to the way in which their pretensions may be received. To whatever extent this feeling may have operated in time past, the Americans are now fully warranted in laying it aside. They are fully warranted in believing that they have become a great nation—that they have attained a very high place among the nations of the world—that they need not now be very greatly concerned about the opinions which other nations may entertain of them—that they may condescend to learn some things from other countries without any fear

of being looked down upon by those whom in some points they may imitate—and that they should just quietly and steadily go on extending the blessings of religion, education, and good government, in the confident expectation that, through the Divine blessing, their country will yet become much greater and more prosperous than it now is, and will yet confer important blessings upon the world. We are in the habit of talking much of the vanity and the boasting of the French and the Americans, but it is well to remember that both French and Americans are in the habit of adducing a similar charge against ourselves, and alleging that Britons, and especially Englishmen, are pre-eminently proud, self-conceited, and boastful; and it would probably be an advantage to all these nations to acquire a little more of the habit of “seeing themselves as others see them.” Our own experience does not bear out the accounts we have sometimes read of the tendency of the Americans to extravagant boasting about their country. We do not remember to have heard, in the course of a visit of some months to the United States, any very unreasonable or offensive boasting or self-laudation. We heard no more of this sort of folly than an American traveller in this country would probably, in similar circumstances, hear from us in praise of ourselves; and on this ground we are inclined to believe that the ridiculous boasting about themselves and their country attributed to the Americans in the gross, is to be found only among a class, who are represented abundantly among ourselves by those who continue to assert and to maintain the old position, that one Englishman can beat three Frenchmen at any time, and other extravagances of a similar description.

Another notion pretty generally prevalent among us is, that the Americans are decidedly inferior to the inhabitants of this country in honesty and integrity, and disposed to regard violations of these virtues as venial when they are managed with skill and dexterity. We have already admitted that the general standard of morality among irreligious men, and to them only, of course, does the allegation apply, is decidedly lower than that which obtains in similar circumstances among the middle classes of our own country, and offered some explanations upon the point. It is this, more perhaps than any thing else, which keeps up in this country a strong prejudice against the United States. The complete cure of the evil is to be expected only from the more general prevalence and the more extensive influence of true religion; but still it is worthy of the consideration of religious and upright men, whether more might not be done in directing general disapprobation and the censure of public opinion, against every violation of integrity, or of anything like it, though not coming under the cognizance of the judicial tribunals. We have

no doubt that Dickens's description of the way in which violations of integrity are palliated and excused in America, upon the ground of the perpetrator being a "smart man," is, like many of his other descriptions, greatly exaggerated, and does not, by any means, apply so generally, even to irreligious men, as his statements would lead us to suppose. We are also fully aware, that on this and on some other topics usually discussed by Dickens and other travellers of a similar character, it is easy enough for Americans to retaliate upon this country, and to pick up a good deal of Change for American Notes. Still, we fear, it must be admitted, that there is truth in the general position, that violations of integrity and proceedings of a very equivocal kind on the score of honesty, do not quite so seriously injure a man's character in general society, and call down such tokens of disapprobation as they would in this country; and that therefore there is much need of aiming, as a distinct and definite object, at raising the moral tone of the community, and stamping a more decided reprobation upon all actions which fall beneath the proper standard of integrity and honour.

Somewhat akin to this accusation, though of a less serious character, is the notion very commonly entertained among us, that the Americans are most eagerly and unceasingly engaged in the pursuit of wealth; and that this, even when kept within the restraints of honesty, has produced a cold, unamiable, sordid character. There is some truth in this notion, though, like most of our popular impressions in regard to the Americans, it is exaggerated, and in so far as it is true, the result is very much owing to the circumstances in which they have been placed. From the free access which all men have to every department of business, and to every avenue to wealth and influence, and from the exclusive dependence which every man must place upon himself and upon his own capacities and resources, for success and advancement, there has been called forth, through the community in general, a very large amount of intelligence, activity, and enterprise. These causes combine to produce an extraordinary measure of competition in every department of trade and business, so that, in general, and in all ordinary circumstances, it requires unwearied activity and constant attention, something very like entire engrossment with business, to enable men to keep up and to advance, or, to use a common phrase of their own, "to get along." This, combined with the almost entire want of idle men and their hangers-on, and the fact that almost every man is labouring, and is obliged to labour, in some way or other, for maintaining his family, or keeping up the station he has already reached, almost inevitably produces a universality of engrossment with business, and a measure of attention to pecu-

niary affairs, which the very different state of matters in this country does not so extensively require. But though, from these causes, an entire engrossment with business, and a thorough devotion of time and attention to the making of money, is more general than in this country, and therefore comes out more palpably on a general survey of society, and though this, to some extent, exerts an injurious influence upon the general tone of character and sentiment, we do not think that there is more of hoarding of money, as if it were valuable for its own sake, and independently of the comforts and advantages it might procure. It is at least as common there as it is here for men to spend and enjoy the money they make; and there are probably fewer instances proportionally of men denying themselves comforts which their money might have been reasonably spent in procuring, and hoarding it up either for the mere pleasure of accumulation, or in order to enrich their children.

The general state of society, requiring and prompting to great engrossment with business, of course exerts a certain influence even upon religious men, as the withdrawal or relaxation of their attention would be likely to result, not merely in their gains being *pro tanto* diminished, but in their being driven altogether off the field. Still, with all the love of money-making usually ascribed to the Americans, and with all the circumstances in their situation that tend to the formation of this habit, we are persuaded that the duty of giving for religious and charitable objects is usually discharged by religious people in that country upon a scale at least equal in proportion to their means to that which has been commonly exhibited by religious people in our own land. Circumstances of a peculiar and extraordinary kind have recently occurred in Scotland, to call forth a greater measure of liberality and a higher standard of giving for religious objects than had been perhaps ever previously exhibited amongst us, and this would probably give us at present an advantage in any comparison which might be instituted now with the American Churches. But if we take the whole of Britain into view, extend the inquiry over the last few years, and omit what has sprung from recent and extraordinary circumstances, the contributions to religious and charitable objects in the United States, viewed of course in connexion with the number and the means of the contributors, would not suffer by the comparison. There is undoubtedly a great deal of money given by the religious people of America, to the maintenance of churches and religious ordinances, and the diffusion of Divine truth both at home and abroad. There are not wanting, on the part of laymen, instances of extraordinary Christian philanthropy, the devotion of much time and money to schemes directed to the promotion of the spiritual wel-

fare of the community. Indeed, we are inclined to think that extraordinary instances of Christian liberality are more common in America than in this country, and we ascribe this to the greater tendency which men there manifest to follow out their own personal convictions and feelings, in place of merely following the multitude in good as well as in evil. It is not uncommon in America for men to give large sums of money during their lives to religious and charitable objects, while here if they gave at all, they would bequeath it in their wills to be appropriated after their death. It is no very uncommon thing, especially in New England, at least it is not so uncommon as in this country, for religious men to act upon the principle of not laying up money for their children or relatives, but devoting their whole gains each year to objects of Christian benevolence. They can, to be sure, count with much greater certainty than we can upon their children being able to secure a respectable livelihood for themselves, but still the practice indicates a deep sense of the Christian obligation of giving as God has prospered them.

Before concluding, we must say something about slavery in the United States. It is a painful subject, and one which no real friend of America can contemplate without feelings of the deepest sorrow and regret. It is the topic on which, of all others, our American brethren are the most sensitive, probably from a lurking consciousness that it is the deepest and darkest stain attaching to their country, and that all they can adduce in explanation or palliation of the system, affords no adequate defence of it. It is certainly disgraceful to men, calling themselves Christians and freemen, to keep multitudes of their fellow-men in bondage, deprived wholly, or in great measure, of opportunities of intellectual and religious improvement, and of the secure enjoyment of the blessings of domestic life; and this guilt, until a few years ago, attached to the British nation, and still attaches to one-third of the free citizens of America, the white inhabitants of the Slave States. The inhabitants of the Free States contain two-thirds of the population of the whole Union. They had abolished slavery throughout their borders before it was abolished in the British colonies, and are not now directly responsible for its existence in the other States, since, by the constitution of the nation, they are precluded from exercising any control over them in this matter. On the white inhabitants of the Slave States, amounting to about one-third of the whole white population of the Union, lies the proper and direct responsibility for the continuance of slavery, and it is certainly no light one.

Those who have assumed to themselves, in the United States, the name of Abolitionists—and who, while they have done much good by exposing the evils of slavery, have also, we fear, done

much harm to a good cause by their injudicious and extravagant views and measures—have succeeded to a large extent in propagating in this country the impression, that in America all men are either abolitionists in their sense, adopting their views and concurring in their measures, or else approvers and defenders of slavery. This representation is unfair and injurious. There are in America four pretty distinctly marked grades of opinion and sentiment upon this subject.

1st, The Abolitionists, technically so called, lay it down as their fundamental principle, that slave-holding is directly and in itself a sin, in the same sense in which murder is a sin; and that every man holding slaves, no matter though they may have come into his possession without any act of his own, and no matter though the civil law of the land may interpose the most serious obstacles in the way of his manumitting them, is *ipso facto*, a thief and a robber, and ought to be regarded and treated as such.

2d, A large class, while dissenting from this ultra-abolition principle, reckon themselves anti-slavery men, because they maintain, that the system of slavery is inconsistent with the natural rights of men, opposed to the moral bearing and general spirit of the Word of God, and injurious to the interests of religion, and on these grounds are anxious to see the system abolished; though they hold themselves precluded by the statements and conduct of the Apostles from regarding mere slave-holding as in every instance, and independently of circumstances, essentially sinful, and on the same grounds, believe that the Church of Christ is not called upon to apply the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline to mere slave-holding, or to sacrifice opportunities of preaching the Gospel and promoting the interests of religion, to agitating the general or abstract question of slavery. This view is entertained by a very numerous and influential body, comprehending, we believe, the great mass of the clergy in the Free States. We confess that we do not see how, consistently with a due regard to Scriptural authority and Apostolic example, higher ground than this can be taken on the subject of slavery; and while we are half tempted to regret that it affords room for some considerations of expediency as to the time and way and manner of setting about the abolition of slavery, which cowardly and selfish men may misapply and pervert, that is no reason why we should go beyond the line of truth and evidence, and run into the ultra-abolition principle, merely because it is more decided and unequivocal.

3d, There are many, who, without holding any very definite principles on the general subject of slavery as a topic of abstract speculation, are desirous to see it abolished, on the ground of the great practical evils which are connected with it, and which seem inseparable from the system. This class usually concur

with that last described, in condemning the laws by which slaves are prohibited being taught to read, the separation of members of the same family is sanctioned, and manumission is rendered almost impracticable.

4th, There are the approvers and defenders of slavery, the enactors and enforcers of these infamous laws just referred to. We have no wish to defend these men from the denunciations of the Abolitionists, though we think, that the recollection of the fact, that by the constitution of the United States slavery cannot be abolished without their consent or permission, might have suggested the expediency of dealing with them in a somewhat more conciliatory way. Had the abolition of slavery in our colonies depended upon the consent of the West Indian interest, it would certainly have continued to exist at this day, and the Anti-Slavery Society would probably have seen it to be their duty to adopt a mode of procedure different in some respects from that which, being admirably adapted to our circumstances, was crowned with such triumphant success.

But while we think that the Abolitionists, who have had very much the ear of the public in this country, have done injustice to the second and third classes, by concealing their existence, or doubting their sincerity, we must say also, that these classes have done great injustice to themselves, by not giving due prominence to their views, and by not making suitable exertions for diffusing them, and attempting to get them carried into effect. The calumnies of the Abolitionists in denying their sincerity—for we have no doubt they are calumnies—have derived much plausibility from their own apathy, their want of union and energy. They cannot indeed join with the Abolitionists, because they do not agree with their fundamental principle, and strongly disapprove of some of their violent and offensive proceedings. But this is no reason why they should do nothing, and leave the subject entirely in the hands of Abolitionists. All except pro-slavery men condemn the prohibition to teach slaves to read, the separation of families, and the serious and almost insuperable difficulties interposed in the way of manumission. And yet scarcely any effort is made, except by Abolitionists, to expose or remove these great evils. All who are in any sense, or upon any grounds, opposed to slavery, and desirous to see the system brought at any time to an end, should be doing something directed towards the attainment of that object—should at least be exerting themselves to obtain for the slaves deliverance from the worst evils of their condition—to secure for them opportunities of instruction, the blessings of domestic life, and manumission when their masters are willing to grant it. Although a great proportion of the intelligence and the worth of America rank in point of profession in the second and third classes, yet

practically the first and fourth classes alone are doing much to attract public notice, and to influence the community, or are engaged in active and energetic efforts upon the subject of slavery. They allege, indeed, that the violence of the Abolitionists, and the violence thereby engendered in the Southern States, rendered it impracticable for a time to do any good, and inexpedient to attempt it. This may have been to some extent true, though we fear that too much was made of it. But this cannot excuse continued inaction; and the time surely has now come, when the abolition of the slave laws, and preparations and arrangements for the ultimate abolition of slavery, should be taken up and promoted by wiser and more judicious men than the present Abolitionists. We know there are great difficulties in the way of effecting this object—difficulties which, in this country, we do not fully appreciate and sympathize with; but if we, from ignorance of the circumstances, and want of due sympathy, underrate the difficulties of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and effecting the ultimate abolition of slavery, is there not reason to fear, that our brethren in America overrate them? that they are too much disposed to say, There is a lion in the way—to fold their hands, and do nothing? The combined efforts of those in the Free States, who, though not Abolitionists in the technical sense, are opposed to the existing slave laws, and desirous to see slavery ultimately abolished, might surely bring some moral influence to bear upon the South, which would not only exonerate themselves from the suspicion of being the approvers and defenders of slavery, but operate beneficially upon the condition of the slaves. We are aware, that the general character of those who govern the Southern States—the worst features of which are plainly traceable to the fact that they are slave-holders—renders the result of any interference on the part of the North, even in the use of legitimate moral means—a somewhat doubtful experiment. But we cannot help thinking, that the failure of the abolition movement was owing, not merely to the extreme views put forth, and the violent measures adopted, but also to the fact, that it was not backed by the worth and intelligence of the North; and that notwithstanding the senseless pride and the foolish insolence of the mass of Southern planters, the friends of the slave in the North might adopt some judicious measures, that could scarcely fail to induce the slave-holders, at least to put an end to those features of the system, which, independently of all abstract principles about slavery, always call forth the deepest indignation, such as the formal prohibition of teaching, the virtual prohibition of manumission, and the separation of families. We wonder that the Americans, and even those in the South, who may see nothing wrong in slavery, do not allow themselves

to reflect upon the manifest impossibility of perpetuating it, and do not, under this conviction, set themselves in right earnest, and with vigour and decision, to bring to a safe and speedy termination, a system which is fraught with so much mischief to all who are in any way connected with it, and which tends so much to tarnish the fair fame of their country. It is true, that there are some men in Great Britain who speak much against American slavery, while yet they opposed the emancipation of the slaves in our own colonies—men who are still opposed to all liberal principles and institutions, and whose pretended interest in slavery is nothing more than an expression of their dislike to America. But it is also true, that all the friends of civil and religious liberty in this country, comprehending, of course, all who entertain the most friendly feelings towards the United States, and desire to see them prosperous and happy, are deeply grieved with the existence of American slavery, and are much annoyed, that the enemies of liberal institutions should have so serious an accusation to bring against them, while so little comparatively can be said in defence or in palliation of their conduct. The Americans owe it to themselves, and to the principles and the advocates of civil and religious liberty, to do more than they have been doing of late years, to wipe away this reproach. The political principles embodied in their constitution, and of which they love to regard themselves as the representatives and the champions, are not likely to command the assent, or even the respect of the civilized world, so long as the enemies of freedom can point to American slavery.

But while we think it right that our American brethren should be plainly and affectionately told, that their best and warmest friends in this country are decidedly of opinion, that they are not doing all that they can and should do for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and bringing about their ultimate emancipation, there are some general considerations suggested by this subject, which should not be overlooked, and which are fitted to moderate the self-complacency with which, ever since 1834, we have been accustomed to contemplate this subject, and to lead us to form a somewhat fairer estimate than we commonly do of the state of matters in America.

1st, There is reason to believe, that the physical condition and the general treatment of the slaves in the United States are better than they were in our West Indian colonies previous to their emancipation. The proof of this is, that their slave population is increasing in number, in a ratio little less than the free population of the same territories, whereas in the West Indies, as Lord Brougham repeatedly proved in the House of Commons, the number of slaves regularly decreased; and the cause of

this is, that in the United States, the proprietors and their families are bred up with the slaves, and live amongst them, and are thus led to the exercise of kindly feelings, which, notwithstanding the corrupting influence of slavery upon the character of the masters as well as of the slaves, do tend greatly to diminish the general amount of cruelty and oppression, whereas, in our West Indies, there were very few cases in which the proprietors and their families were resident, and the slaves were generally under the control of hired overseers, who usually cared for nothing but gratifying their own passions, and increasing their masters' gains.

2d, The abolition of slavery in America would be a far more honourable thing to the Southern States, and to the country generally, than the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies was to Great Britain. The abolition of slavery did not run counter to the ordinary feelings and habits, prejudices and prepossessions of the inhabitants of Great Britain in general. It exposed them to no danger, and did not in the least interfere with the ordinary framework and habits of their society. It cost them just a sum of money, and that sum, though large, could scarcely be regarded, considering the immense resources of Great Britain, as requiring any great sacrifice, or imposing any great hardship. The case is very different in the Slave States of America. There slavery is interwoven with the whole framework and habits of society, with all the arrangements of social and domestic life, and with all the feelings and associations which these things tend to produce. On these grounds, combined with the very inadequate means they possess of guarding against commotions and disturbances, we have no hesitation in saying that the abolition of slavery in America would be a far greater triumph of principle, humanity, and courage, than was the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies, and that, of course, the achievement of it would entitle them to far higher praise than we can claim to ourselves; while the fact, that it has not yet been effected, considering the great diversity of the circumstances, and the far greater difficulties that stand in the way, should not subject them to the same amount of obloquy which might justly have been heaped upon us if the coloured population of our colonies had been still the property of their former owners. The relation of the inhabitants of the Southern States to slavery is much more close and intimate than even that of the West Indian proprietors in this country was to the slavery of our colonies, and its abolition there would be much more honourable to them than it would have been to our West Indian proprietors to have emancipated their slaves without compulsion. Yet we all know that it would have been hopeless to have expected this; and

we are very doubtful whether, if slavery had stood in the same relation to us as it does to the inhabitants of the Southern States of America, there be even now enough of principle, humanity, and courage, in the community of Great Britain to have effected its abolition.

3d, There is fair ground to question whether, notwithstanding the existence of slavery, with all its attendant evils, there be a larger proportional amount of ignorance, crime, and misery, in the United States of North America, than is to be found in Great Britain and Ireland.

We have certainly no desire to palliate the evils of slavery, or to encourage the Americans in apathy and indifference to this great sin and mischief, but we think these considerations deserving of attention—fitted to moderate our self-complacency with respect to our own social state, and to lead us to think somewhat less severely of our American brethren, even in regard to that subject which is undoubtedly the darkest feature in their condition, and the most certain to interfere with their growing prosperity and their increasing influence in the world.

It is surely right in itself, and of great importance to the best interests of mankind, that friendly feelings should be cultivated and friendly relations maintained between Great Britain and the United States. Their common origin, language, literature, and religion, form bonds of connexion that do not subsist between any other nations, and which ought to be cordially recognized and acted upon. Our countrymen in general have treated the Americans unkindly and unfairly—have been too much disposed to exaggerate their faults, and to depreciate their excellences. Britain ought to be proud of having been the mother-country of such a nation—a nation which, amid some considerable disadvantages, has made astonishing progress, and has reached a very high place, in all the leading elements of national prosperity, and which is most likely to continue to exert a growing beneficial influence upon the state of the world at large. Duty and right feeling should combine in disposing us to be

To their faults a little blind,
And to their virtues very kind.

Britain and the United States contain nearly all the true religion that is to be found in the world. They are the only countries to which we can look at present for any vigorous or extensive efforts for promoting the cause of Christ, and advancing the welfare of the human race. They are called upon "to consider each other to provoke unto love and good works." On the Churches of these two countries depends, humanly speaking, the destiny of the world; for it is becoming every day more and more palpable,

even to the eye of sense, that considerations connected with religious subjects will henceforth exert much more influence than formerly upon the regulation of political affairs—upon the fates and the fortunes of nations. The evangelical churches of Britain and America are, indeed, the salt of the earth, and it becomes all who are interested in the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom to pray and to labour that none of this salt may lose its savour. It is the duty of the Churches of these two countries to promote friendly feeling and perpetual peace between the nations, and to maintain friendly intercourse with each other, bearing one another's burdens, profiting by each other's experience, promoting each other's welfare, and striving to please each other for their good to edification: and nothing would afford us greater pleasure than to be in any way instrumental in contributing to bring about such a result, which we have no doubt would be fraught with benefit to the Church of Christ and to the world at large.

Mr. Murray's work on the United States of America, the title of which we have prefixed to this article, we can confidently recommend to the perusal of our readers. It contains a great deal of useful and important information, the result, manifestly, of a much more careful and extensive research than is usually brought to bear upon popular works of this description. We approve highly of the judicious and conciliatory spirit in which it is written, and think it well fitted, in many respects, to produce a fairer appreciation of the United States than usually prevails amongst us, and thus to contribute to the great object of promoting kindly feeling and friendly intercourse between what are undoubtedly, in so far as the highest interests of mankind are concerned, the two most important nations in the world.

- ART. V.—1. *Account of a New Reflecting Telescope*. By the Right Honourable LORD OXMANTOWN, M.P., (now the EARL OF ROSSE.) (*Edinburgh Journal of Science*, Vol. IX., No. XVII., p. 25. July 1828.)
2. *Account of Apparatus for Grinding and Polishing the Specula of Reflecting Telescopes*. By the Right Honourable LORD OXMANTOWN. (Do. do., Vol. IX., No. XVIII., p. 213. October 1828.)
3. *Account of a Series of Experiments on the Construction of Large Reflecting Telescopes*. By the Right Honourable LORD OXMANTOWN, M.P. (Do. do., New Series, Vol. II., p. 136. January 1830.)
4. *An Account of Experiments on the Reflecting Telescope*. By the Right Honourable LORD OXMANTOWN, F.R.S. (*Philosophical Transactions*, 1840. Part. II., p. 503-528.)
5. *Account of a Large Reflecting Telescope, lately constructed by LORD OXMANTOWN, and of the processes employed in forming its Specula*. By the Rev. T. R. ROBINSON, D.D., M.R.I.A. (*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, No. 25, November 9, 1840.)
6. DR. ROBINSON'S *Address to the British Association at Cork, on the 24th August 1843, on the EARL OF ROSSE'S Reflecting Telescope*. (*Athenæum*, September 23, 1843. No. 830, p. 866.)

ALTHOUGH all the physical sciences present to the contemplative mind phenomena of surpassing beauty, and truths of deep and varied interest, yet it is in the study of astronomy that minds of ordinary power find the best exercise for their intellectual faculties, and the noblest impulse to their moral and religious aspirations. The magnitude of the heavenly bodies, and their almost infinite distance from us, and from each other, fill the mind with views at once magnificent and sublime, while our ideas of the Creator's power rise with the number and magnitude of his works, and expand with the ever-widening bounds which they occupy.

It is a difficult task, even for astronomers, to form any thing like an adequate conception of those gigantic features of magnitude and distance which are stamped upon the sidereal universe; and our conceptions but approximate their climax, when, by combining lapse of time with length of space, we ascend from conceivable to inconceivable velocities, and thus form higher and higher, though still imperfect, notions of sidereal extension.

When viewed from the highest peak of a mountainous region,

our own globe is the largest magnitude we can perceive, and the circuit of its visible horizon the greatest distance we can scan; but vast as are these units in relation to the eyeball which takes cognizance of them, they are small when compared with the globe itself, or with its circular outline. The navigator, who has measured the earth's circuit by his hourly progress, or the astronomer who has paced a degree of the meridian, can alone form a clear idea of velocity when we tell him that light moves through a space equal to the circumference of the earth, in *the eighth part of a second*—in the twinkling of an eye.* Equipped with this unit of velocity, the mind soars on a bolder pinion to still higher conceptions. The light of the sun takes 160 minutes to move to the Georgium Sidus, the remotest planet of our own Solar Sytem; and so vast is the unoccupied space between us and the nearest fixed star, that light would require *five years* to pass through it. But as the telescope has disclosed to us objects probably many thousand times more remote than such a star, the creation of a new star at so great a distance, could not become known to us for many thousand years, nor its dissolution recognized for the same length of time. Had the fleet messenger that was charged with the intelligence of its birth, or its death, started at the creation of our own world, he would, at the present time, be only nearing our own planetary system.

But after the straining mind has thus exhausted all its resources in attempting to fathom the distance of the smallest telescopic star, or the faintest nebula, it has reached only the visible confines of the sidereal creation. The universe of stars is but an atom in the universe of space;—above it, and beneath it, and around it, there is still infinity.

These interesting and humbling views of the absolute and relative extent of the solar and sidereal systems we owe entirely to the telescope—an instrument which has a higher claim to our admiration than it has yet received, and which, by the improvements of which it is susceptible, will present to astronomy much grander discoveries than the most sanguine of its students has ventured to anticipate. There is, indeed, no instrument or machine of human invention so recondite in its theory, and so startling in its results. All others embody ideas and principles with which we are familiar, and, however complex their

* Could an observer, placed in the centre of the earth, see this moving light as it describes the earth's circumference, it would appear a luminous ring; that is, the impression of the light at the commencement of its journey would continue on the retina till the light had completed its circuit. Nay, since the impression of light continues longer than the *fourth* part of a second, *two* luminous rings would be seen, provided the light made *two* rounds of the earth, and in paths not coincident.

construction, or vast their power, or valuable their products, they are all limited in their application to terrestrial and sublunary purposes. The mighty steam-engine has its germ in the simple boiler in which the peasant prepares his food. The huge ship is but the expansion of the floating leaf freighted with its cargo of atmospheric dust; and the flying-balloon is but the infant's soap bubble, lightly laden and overgrown. But the telescope, even in its most elementary form, embodies a novel and gigantic idea, without an analogue in nature, and without a prototype in experience. It enables us to see what would for ever be invisible. It displays to us the being and nature of bodies, which we can neither see, nor touch, nor taste, nor smell. It exhibits forms and combinations of matter whose final cause reason fails to discover, and whose very existence even the wildest imagination never ventured to conceive. Like all other instruments, it is applicable to terrestrial purposes; but, unlike them all, it has its noblest application to the grandest and the remotest works of creation. The telescope was never invented.* It was a divine gift which God gave to man, in the last era of his cycle, to place before him, and beside him, new worlds and systems of worlds—to foreshew the future sovereignties of his vast empire—the bright abodes of disembodied spirits—and the final dwellings of saints that have suffered, and of sages that have been truly wise. With such evidences of his power, and such manifestations of his glory can we disavow his ambassador, disdain his message, or disobey his commands?

When Galileo, in 1609, first applied the telescope to the heavens, the true planetary system to which we belong had not yet been established. The systems of Ptolemy, Tycho, and Copernicus, were then rivals for public approbation. The system of Copernicus, in which the earth and all the planets are supposed to move round the sun at rest in the common centre of their orbits, opposed, as it seemed to be, by Scripture, and still more opposed by the testimony of the senses, was the subject of general ridicule. Galileo even, in his early life, viewed it as a piece of "solemn folly," and it was only to a few gifted spirits that this grand secret of nature was unveiled. Galileo was converted to the doctrines of Copernicus by a lecture of Christian Wurteisen, and was destined to enjoy the proud satisfaction of establishing beyond challenge the true system of the universe, and of supporting it by that kind of evidence which appeals most powerfully to ordinary minds.

Independently of the exaggerated estimate which man could

* A Dutch spectacle-maker stumbled upon it when accident threw two of his lenses into an influential position.

not but form of his own globe, and of its pre-eminence over the other celestial bodies, the circumstance of the earth being alone provided with a moon to illuminate it by night, while the sun lighted it up by day, naturally gave rise to the idea that it was the only habitable world, and that the great fountain of light and heat was especially created for its use. This idea, however, sober and rational as it was, and Scriptural as it seemed to be, the strong light of truth was about to dispel. A rumour creeping through Europe, by the tardy messengers of former days, at last found its way to Venice, the city of enterprise and of knowledge, that a Dutchman possessed an instrument which had the miraculous property of making distant objects seem nearer to the observer. When on a visit at Venice, Galileo received this interesting intelligence, and received it, doubtless, with little faith. On his return to Padua, he found a letter from his correspondent in Paris, containing the same information; and having set himself to the task, he succeeded, after much study and some labour, in constructing a leaden tube a few inches long, with a spectacle glass, one convex and one concave, at each of its extremities. This tiny combination—a telescope magnifying three times, which the observer held between his fingers, or hid in the hollow of his hand—was the mustard-seed of those mighty trunks which now rise majestically to the heavens, and on which the astronomer perches himself, like the eagle upon the lofty cedar, to obtain a nearer glance of the God of Day.

Thus equipped for a survey of the heavens, Galileo pursued his task with unwearied assiduity. When viewed through instruments of greater power, the moon displayed to him her mountain ranges and her glens, her continents and her highlands, now lying in darkness, now brilliant with sunshine, and undergoing all those variations of light and shadow which the surface of our own globe presents to the alpine traveller or to the *aéronaut*. The four satellites of Jupiter illuminating their planet, and suffering eclipses in his shadow like our own moon; the spots on the sun's disc proving his rotation round his axis in 25 days; the crescent phases of Venus, and the triple form, or the imperfectly developed ring of Saturn, were the other discoveries in the Solar System, which rewarded the diligence of Galileo. In the starry heavens, too, thousands of new worlds were discovered by his telescope, and the Pleiades alone, which to the unassisted eye exhibits only *seven* stars, displayed to Galileo no fewer than *forty*.

The discoveries thus made with the instruments of the Professor of Padua, directed the attention of philosophers in various parts of Europe, to the improvement of the refracting telescope. One of the most distinguished of these was Christian Huygens, a celebrated Dutch philosopher, to whom both astronomy and optics owe the

deepest obligations. Having studied in early life the theory of the telescope, and of telescopic eye-pieces, he became acquainted with the causes of their imperfections, and attempted to carry into practical execution the results at which he had arrived. With his own hands he constructed refracting telescopes of considerable size and power; and with instruments *twelve* and *twenty-four* Rhinland feet in focal length, he discovered in the year 1656 the ring of Saturn, which, according to the fashion of the day, he announced to the world in an anagram, involving the following sentence, *annulo cingitur, tenui, plano, nusquam coherente, ad eclipticam inclinato*; that is, the planet is *surrounded with a ring, thin, plane, nowhere adhering, and inclined to the ecliptic*. In the year 1655, before he had made out the form and character of the ring, Huygens discovered a satellite of Saturn, which performed its revolution round the planet in nearly 16 days, at the distance of more than *eight* semidiameters of the ring. Thus successful in the application of the refracting telescope to the heavens, Huygens laboured with fresh ardour to execute still more powerful instruments; but in this attempt he met with new difficulties, which it required some ingenuity to surmount. When his object glass had a focal length of 100 feet, how was an inflexible tube to be constructed of such uncommon length? and when it was constructed, where was it to be placed, and how was it to be elevated with ease and expedition, and directed to the heavenly bodies? Huygens conceived the idea of dispensing with long tubes altogether. Having fixed his object glass in a short tube, he mounted it at the upper end of a very long pole like a mast, so that this little tube could be easily turned in every possible direction upon a ball and socket joint. This was effected by a long silk string attached to the tube, by means of which he could bring its axis into the same line with the axis of the eye tube, which he held in his hand. The ball and socket which carried the object glass tube was fixed upon a stage, which, by means of a pulley, could be raised or lowered in a groove cut out of the upright pole. By this contrivance Huygens was enabled to use telescopes more than 120 feet long, and the same method was successfully practised by the celebrated Dr. Bradley, and his uncle, Dr. Pound, with an object glass 122 feet in focal length, which, along with its eye-glass of six inches, and its other apparatus, Huygens had presented to the Royal Society of London.*

While these important discoveries were making in Holland,

* Huygens informs us that he and his brother constructed excellent object glasses, whose focal lengths were 170 and 210 feet!—HUYGENS, *Cosmotheorica*, lib. 11. *Opera Varia*, tom. ii., p. 698. Both these object glasses, and also a Venetian one of 90 feet in focal length, which belonged to Flamsteed, are now in the possession of the Royal Society.

several individuals in Italy were engaged in the construction of large refracting telescopes. Joseph Campani of Bologna executed refracting telescopes 34 and 86 feet long, by means of which Dominique Cassini discovered in October 1671 the outermost, and on the 23d December 1672, the middlemost satellite of Saturn, that is, the *fifth* and the *third*. Anxious to extend the fame of his observatory, Louis XIV. ordered larger telescopes from Campani, and the Italian artist accordingly executed four object glasses of great excellence, with which Cassini discovered in March 1684, the *first* and the *second*, or the two smallest of the satellites of Saturn. The largest of these telescopes was *one hundred and forty* feet long,* but although this instrument was required for the discovery of the two smaller satellites, yet Cassini was able afterwards to see all the five with a telescope 34 feet long. With these instruments Cassini discovered also that the broad surface of Saturn's ring was bisected by a dark elliptical line, dividing it as it were into two rings, the inner one of which appeared brighter than the outer, "with nearly the like difference of brightness as between that of silver polished and unpolished."† Cassini discovered also the rotation of the *fifth* satellite, and a belt upon Saturn, and he was the first who observed and measured the spheroidal figure of Jupiter.

Such were the discoveries made in the seventeenth century, with the ordinary refracting telescope. They were doubtless of great interest and importance; but though Hevelius called upon the nobles and princes of the land to supply the means of executing an instrument of 200 feet in length, and though he exhausted all his ingenuity in devising methods of constructing and directing rectilinear tubes of that extraordinary length, yet even if good glass could have been obtained of sufficient size, the unwieldiness of the apparatus necessary for using such telescopes, the deposition of moisture upon the object glass, and the unsteadiness of the image when highly magnified, set a limit to their length. In the present day, when it is easy to construct plane metallic reflectors, ordinary refracting telescopes, of any length—a thousand feet for example—might be brought into use by using a dry ditch for their tube, and reflecting the rays of the celestial body along its axis. In this way the most perfect steadiness would be obtained; the object glass would be accessible for the purpose of cleaning it, and the air in the tube and every part of the instrument might be preserved at an uniform temperature.

* Ecce enim dum hæc scribo, Cassini literis certior fio, lentes quatuor, quarum maxima telescopio pedum centum quadraginta destinata sit, a Josepho Campano, easque prestantissimas Romæ esse perfectas, et ad magnum Gallie regem missas.—HUYGENS *Astroscopia Compendiaria, Opera Varia*, tom. i., p. 270.

† This discovery was also made in England in 1665, by Mr. William Ball, with a telescope of 88 feet long.

In the year 1663, when Huygens was occupied with the improvement of refracting telescopes, our countryman James Gregory, published an account of the reflecting telescope, to which his name has since that time been attached. It consisted of a concave speculum of a parabolic form, perforated at its centre. In front of it was placed a small concave speculum of an elliptical form, the distance of the two being a little greater than the sum of their focal lengths. The image of a distant object was formed behind the larger speculum, and there magnified by an eye-piece. In 1666, Sir Isaac Newton made a change in the construction of this telescope, by "placing the eye-glass at the side of the tube, rather than at the middle;" and in this way he dispensed with the aperture in the larger speculum. Mr. Gregory failed in the construction of his instrument, probably from the want of the eye-stop, and hence Newton had the honour of being the first person who made a reflecting telescope. It was only *six inches* long, with a speculum of *an inch* in aperture. It magnified 40 times, and performed as well as a *six foot* refractor, shewing the satellites of Jupiter and the phases of Venus. In 1671, Newton completed an instrument with a speculum $23\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch in diameter, which was exhibited to the King and to the Royal Society in 1672, and which is now in the library of that Institution, with the inscription—

"The First Reflecting Telescope, invented by Sir Isaac Newton, and made with his own hands."

Newton's time was too valuable to be spent in mechanical labour, and he therefore never resumed the construction of reflecting telescopes.* The Royal Society, however, doubtless at his instigation, employed a London optician, of the name of Cox,† to execute a reflector like Newton's, *four feet* long, but he failed in polishing the mirror, and no further attempt was made to construct reflecting telescopes, till John Hadley, a country gentleman in Essex, and the inventor of Hadley's Quadrant, directed his attention to the subject. This ingenious individual completed one of these instruments in 1719, and presented it to the Royal Society, whose journals for January 12, 1721, contain the following notice of it. "Mr. Hadley was pleased to show the Society his reflecting telescope, made according to our President (Newton's) directions in his Opticks, but curiously executed by his own hand, the force of which was such as to enlarge

* He employed a London optician to grind a glass speculum for a reflector, four feet long, but the glass was bad, and the experiment failed.

† He was probably the member of the firm of Reeves and Cox, celebrated glass grinders of that day, who failed in executing the speculum of a six feet Gregorian reflector, which James Gregory had employed him to make for him.—BREWSTER'S *Life of Newton*, p. 28.

an object near *two hundred times*, though the length thereof scarce exceeds *six feet*; and having shewn it he made a present thereof to the Society, who ordered their hearty thanks to be recorded for so valuable a gift." By means of this telescope, Hadley saw the transit of Jupiter's satellites, and their shadows on the disc of the planet; the division in Saturn's ring, and the shade of the planet cast upon it; but he was not able to distinguish more than three of the satellites. Dr. Pound and Dr. Bradley, who repeatedly observed with it, found that it represented objects "as distinct, though not altogether so clear and bright" as the telescope of Huygens.*

The celebrated Samuel Molyneux and Dr. Bradley, were instructed in the art of grinding and polishing metallic specula, by Mr. Hadley. They wrought together at Kew, and in May 1724, they finished a telescope 26 inches in focal length,† and afterwards another of 8 feet, the largest that had yet been made. Encouraged by their success, Mr. Hawksbee made one of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, which bore a magnifying power of 226 times, and shewed the *black list*, as it is called, or the division in Saturn's ring; and other opticians now began to manufacture reflecting telescopes of various sizes, for sale.

One of the most distinguished makers of reflecting telescopes, was our countryman, James Short, whose telescopes greatly surpassed those of all the English opticians. He began his career in 1732, and having found out a method of giving his specula the true parabolic figure, he executed one *fifteen inches* in focal length, which exhibited all the *five* satellites of Saturn, a feat which Cassini could perform only with a refractor *seventeen* feet long. Mr. Short executed several reflecting telescopes, with glass specula quicksilvered on the back, and Colin Maclaurin informs us that they were excellent instruments. After Short had established himself in London in 1742, he received £630 for a 12 foot reflector, which he executed for Lord Thomas Spencer, and in 1752 he finished another for the King of Spain for £1200.

Notwithstanding the rapid progress which was thus made in the improvement of the reflecting telescope, and the undoubted excellence of many of the instruments which had been executed, no discovery of the slightest importance had yet been achieved by them. The last discovery in the heavens had been made in 1686, by Cassini, with the refracting telescopes of Campani, and nearly

* Mr. Hadley executed another telescope of the Newtonian form, of the same focal length, and in 1726 he completed a Gregorian one.

† This instrument was elegantly fitted up by Mr. Molyneux, and presented to his Majesty John V., King of Portugal.—SMITH'S *Optics*, vol. ii., p. 363.

three quarters of a century had elapsed without any extension of our knowledge of the solar and sidereal systems. This long interval, however, was one of those breathing times which often precede grand intellectual movements. The power of the refracting telescope had been strained to the utmost, and the reflectors, vigorous and promising in their infancy, were about to attain a power and magnitude which no astronomer had ventured to anticipate. It was reserved for Sir William Herschel to accomplish this great task, and by telescopes of gigantic size to extend the boundaries of the solar system, and lay open the hitherto unexplored recesses of the sidereal world.

Having acquired a taste for astronomy, and a general knowledge of the science from the popular writings of Ferguson, this eminent individual was anxious to see with his own eyes, the wonders of the planetary system. Fortunately for science the acquisition of a telescope sufficient for such a purpose was beyond his means, and he resolved on the bold attempt to construct one with his own hands. From his knowledge of optics and mechanics he encountered fewer difficulties than might have been expected, and he at length succeeded in completing Newtonian telescopes of various sizes, from *two* feet to *twenty* feet in focal length, and Gregorian ones from *eight inches* to *ten* feet in focal length. At this time he had not discovered the direct method which he subsequently possessed of giving to specula the figure of any of the conic sections, and in order to secure a good instrument, he finished a number of specula, and selected the best of them for his telescopes. With this view he underwent the enormous labour, which none but those who have made such instruments can appreciate, of casting, grinding, and polishing *two hundred* specula of *seven* feet focus, *one hundred and fifty* of *ten* feet, and above *eighty* of *twenty* feet, besides several of the Gregorian form, and a great number on the same principle as Dr. Smith of Cambridge's reflecting microscope. The earliest of these instruments was completed in 1774, and was a five feet Newtonian reflector, with which he observed the ring of Saturn, and the satellites of Jupiter. In order to make use of specula of so great a focal length, he was driven to the invention and construction of a great variety of stands, and to these labours we owe his seven feet Newtonian telescope stand, a piece of mechanism of great ingenuity, which he perfected in 1778.

When we recollect the fine discoveries which were made by increasing the apertures and focal lengths of the refracting telescope, we cannot fail to anticipate analogous effects from the increased magnitude which Dr. Herschel thus gave to the apertures and focal lengths of his specula. When he directed these instruments to the heavens in 1776, almost every night which he de-

voted to observation presented him with some new and interesting phenomenon. His first observations, which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions*, were made on the periodical star in the neck of the Whale, and on the Lunar Mountains; but interesting though these were, they sunk into insignificance when compared with his discovery on the 13th March 1781, of a New Planet, having its diameter four and a half times larger than our own earth, or 35,112 English miles. At first he described it as a comet, but a more careful study of its motions proved it to be a planet of our own system, which revolved round the sun in $83\frac{1}{2}$ years, in a path far beyond the orbit of Saturn, and at the distance of 1,800,000,000 miles from the sun, which is twice as far as the planet Saturn. Europe rung with this great discovery. Astronomers of all nations anticipated with delight the future labours of the discoverer; and the name of Herschel, destined to receive new laurels in a succeeding generation, became known in every part of the civilized world. To the new planet which he had discovered he gave the name of the *Georgium Sidus*, in honour of George III., who, with the true munificence of a king, enabled Dr. Herschel to devote the rest of his life to the study of the heavens. He accordingly took up his residence at Datchet, in the neighbourhood of Windsor, and entered upon a career of discovery unparalleled in the history of science.

Our limits will not permit us to give even a general sketch of these important researches;—but viewed as the rich harvest which was reaped by the introduction of large reflecting telescopes, we must take a rapid glance of the most prominent of his discoveries. One of the most valuable properties of large reflectors was the power which they gave the observer of viewing the image formed by the large speculum, directly by the eye-glass, without using a small reflector. This method, called the *Front view*, was nearly equivalent to doubling the area of the speculum, as one half of the incident light is lost by reflection. Upon viewing the *Georgium Sidus* in this manner, Sir W. Herschel discovered on the 11th January 1787, the *second* and *fourth* of its satellites, and in 1790 and 1794, the *first*, *third*, *fifth*, and *sixth*, all of which revolved in a *retrograde* direction round their primary, in orbits very nearly in the same plane, and almost perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic.

When we consider the many thousand stars which present themselves to the astronomer's eye while applying a telescope to the heavens, and their almost perfect similarity, differing from each other chiefly in their size and brightness, we can scarcely conceive it within the limits of human genius to do any thing more than count and name them, group them into constellations, and determine their relative places in the heavens. This, indeed,

was all that had been done before Dr. Herschel's time ; but no sooner did he discover the power of his own instruments than he undertook the Herculean task of *gauging the heavens*, and ascertaining their construction. With a twenty feet Newtonian telescope, having a speculum nearly *nineteen inches* in diameter, he found that all the nebulae and clusters of stars which had been published by Messier and Mechain, could be resolved *into an infinite number of small stars* ; and in examining the portion of the Milky Way which passes through Orion's hand and club, he looked with amazement at the "glorious multitude of stars, of all possible sizes, that presented themselves to his view," and he made the calculation that a belt 15° long and 2° broad, contained no fewer than 50,000 stars, capable of being distinctly counted. During these observations he discovered 466 new nebulae or luminous clouds, composed of stars, and he was led to a *theory of the Milky Way*, one of the boldest and most remarkable, and yet probable, conceptions which human genius has ventured to form. He considered our solar system, and all the stars which we can see with the eye, as placed within, and constituting a part of, the nebula of the Milky Way, a congeries of many millions of stars, so that the projection of these stars must form a luminous track on the concavity of the sky ; and by estimating or counting the number of stars in different directions, he was able to form a rude judgment of the probable form of the nebula, and of the probable position of the solar system within it.

These views were still farther extended in a subsequent memoir, entitled *Remarks on the Construction of the Heavens*. He regarded the starry firmament as composed of twelve different classes of bodies. Insulated stars ;—binary sidereal systems or double stars ;—more complex systems, or treble, quadruple, quintuple, or multiple stars ;—clustering stars, and the milky way ;—clusters of stars ;—nebulae ;—stars with burrs or stellar nebulae ;—milky nebulosity ;—nebulous stars ;—planetary nebulae ;—and planetary nebulae with centres. In reasoning upon these combinations of sidereal matter, Dr. Herschel supposes that double and multiple stars have a motion of rotation round their common centre of gravity ; that the various nebulosities above mentioned are condensed by attraction, and converted into stars ; that stars previously formed attract nebulous matter, and increase in size, and that neighbouring stars slowly advance towards each other, and constitute globular clusters.

Theoretical as these views doubtless are, they are in entire harmony with the laws of the material world, and some of them have been actually demonstrated by the subsequent discoveries of Sir W. Herschel and other astronomers. In more than fifty of the

double stars, he found that in the space of a quarter of a century a change had taken place either in the distance of the stars, or in their *angle of position*, that is, in the angle which a line joining the stars forms with the direction of their daily motion, and that in some stars both their distance and their angle of position had changed. From a comparison of his earliest with his latest observations, he concluded that the smaller of the two stars revolved round the greater, in periods given in the following table :

	Period of Revolution.
Castor, . . .	342 years.
δ Serpentis, . .	375
γ Virginis, . .	708
ν Leonis, . . .	1200
ϵ Bootes, . . .	1681

In the double star ζ Hercules, *the two stars had approached so near that five-eighths of the apparent diameter of the small star were actually eclipsed by the larger one*, so that the two together resembled a single lengthened or wedge-formed star. In the double star, ξ *Ursæ Majoris*, Sir William discovered an unusually rapid change of place, and it appears from the more recent observations of Struve, Sir John Herschel, and Sir James South, that its motion is very unequal, varying from about 5° to probably 20° or 30° per annum, so that the rotation of the one star round the other must be accomplished in *about forty years*!

The last great discovery made by Sir William Herschel is the direction and magnitude of the proper motion of the fixed stars. This motion was discovered by Halley, and explained by Tobias Mayer, who ascribed it to a motion of the whole solar system. Sir W. Herschel ascertained that our solar system is advancing towards the constellation Hercules, or, more accurately, to a point in space whose right ascension is $245^\circ 52' 30''$, and north polar distance $40^\circ 22'$, and that the quantity of this motion is such, that to an astronomer placed in Sirius, our sun would appear to describe an arch of a little more than a *second* every year.

Ambitions of gaining a still farther insight into the bosom of space, Sir W. Herschel resolved to attempt the construction of larger telescopes. He began a 30 feet aerial reflector in 1781, but the speculum, which was *three feet* in diameter, having cracked in the act of annealing, and another of the same size having been lost in the fire from a failure in the furnace, his scheme was unexpectedly retarded. In ardent minds, however, disappointment is often a stimulus to higher achievements, and the double accident which we have mentioned suggested, no doubt, the idea of making a larger instrument. He accordingly

intimated the plan of such a telescope to the King, through Sir Joseph Banks, that liberal and unwearied patron of science, and his Majesty, with that munificent spirit which he had previously displayed, instantly offered to defray the whole expense of it. Encouraged by this noble act of liberality, which has never been imitated by any other British sovereign, Sir W. Herschel, towards the close of the year 1785, began the Herculean task of constructing a reflecting telescope *forty feet in length*, and having a speculum fully *four feet in diameter*. The metallic surface of the great speculum is $49\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, but upon the rim there is an offset one inch deep and three-fourths of an inch broad, which reduces the polished or effective surface to 48 inches. The thickness of the speculum, which is uniform in every part, is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and its weight nearly 2118 pounds. The metal "was composed of pure copper and pure tin, in the proportion of 430 lb. of copper to 2441 lb. of a higher speculum metal, whose proportions were 1496 copper and 812 tin,"—a quantity which Sir John Herschel considers too low to resist tarnish. The composition used by Mudge was 32 copper and $14\frac{1}{2}$ grain tin. Sir W. Herschel's, when reduced to this standard, was 32 copper, and 10.7 of tin. In his first attempt to cast the speculum, Sir William used an inferior metal, which it is not easy to identify from his description of it. It was, however, a failure, and so was his second attempt, with probably a higher alloy. In casting the third, which we have just described, he met with entire success. We had the pleasure of seeing this speculum forty years ago, which was freely shown to us by its distinguished maker; and having been familiar with the aspect of the compositions of Mudge and Edwards, we distinctly recollect that the four feet speculum had the look of a good ordinary speculum, made of the usual proportion of copper and tin, but of course did not possess that peculiar colour which this composition received from the addition of arsenic and silver. The speculum, when not in use, was preserved from damp by a tin cover, which fitted upon a rim of close grained cloth, cemented on the circumference of the speculum. The tube of the telescope was 39 feet 4 inches long, and its width 4 feet 10 inches. It was made of iron, and was 3000 lbs. lighter than if it had been made of wood. The observer was seated in a suspended moveable seat at the mouth of the tube, and viewed the image of the object with a magnifying lens or eye-piece. The focus of the speculum, or the place of the image, was within 4 inches of the lower side of the mouth of the tube, and came forward into the air, so that there was space for the part of the head above the eye, to prevent it from intercepting many of the rays that go from the object to the mirror. The eye-piece moved in a tube carried by a slider directed to the

centre of the speculum, and fixed on an adjustable foundation at the mouth of the tube.*

This magnificent structure, which used to be an object of wonder to all travellers who passed Slough, was completed on the 27th August 1789; and the *very first moment* it was directed to the heavens, a new body was added to the solar system. This discovery was recorded in the following memorable words:—
 “In hopes of great success with my 40 feet speculum, I deferred the attack upon Saturn till that should be finished; and having taken an early opportunity of directing it upon Saturn, the very first moment that I saw the planet I was presented with a view of *six* of its satellites, in such a situation, and so bright, as rendered it impossible to mistake or not to see them.” In less than a month, Sir William discovered, with the same instrument, the *seventh* satellite of Saturn,—“an object,” says Sir John Herschel, “of a far higher order of difficulty.” Though discovered, however, by this noble instrument, both these satellites, which are nearer the planet than the *five* old ones, and revolve round their primary in $23\frac{1}{2}$ and $32\frac{3}{4}$ hours, were afterwards distinctly recognized by Sir William Herschel with the *twenty* feet reflector. Both the *sixth* and *seventh* have been seen by Sir James South with his great Achromatic of *thirteen* inches aperture, and M. Lamont of Munich has seen the *sixth*, with an Achromatic of *eleven* inches aperture.

As a maker of large reflecting telescopes, Sir W. Herschel was followed by Mr. John Ramage, a merchant in Aberdeen, who, so early as 1806, had succeeded in making reflectors with specula six inches in diameter. In 1810 he constructed an instrument whose focal length was 8 feet, and the diameter of its mirror 9 inches. In 1817 he executed a still larger one of 20 feet focal length, and with a speculum $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, now in the possession of Thomas Gordon, Esquire, of Buthlaw, in Aberdeenshire. Since that time, he completed *three* telescopes, each 25 feet in focal length, and with mirrors 15 inches

* In a correspondence which the author of this article had with Sir William Herschel between 1802 and 1806—a correspondence marked with that kindness and condescension which a great mind never fails to show to his inferiors in age and knowledge—he mentioned his having composed a work on the subject of casting, grinding, and polishing “mirrors for telescopes of all sizes, in which the method of giving them not only the parabolic form, but any other of the conic sections that may be required, is explained with perfect clearness, and supported by several thousands of facts.” Sir William mentioned also, that Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society, was acquainted with his intention of giving this work to the public, and that he was, in a few days, (Jan. 1805,) going to London to consult him on the subject. We regret much that other, and doubtless more important pursuits, have interfered with the publication of a work which could not fail to have possessed the highest interest, and to have contributed to the perfection of the reflecting telescope, and to the advancement of astronomy.

in diameter. One of them was sold to Captain Ross, R.N., the celebrated Arctic navigator, and another has been erected at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich.* This instrument, which was for some time in our possession, was an excellent telescope, and showed the double stars with great distinctness. Mr. Ramage's greatest effort was made in 1823, when he cast and polished a speculum 21 inches in diameter, and 54 feet in focal length. It was not erected on a stand at the end of 1825, and we believe it has been purchased by Professor Nichol, for the Observatory of Glasgow.

Notwithstanding Mr. Ramage's success in producing good instruments, yet no discovery whatever was made by any of them, and we must therefore consider the reflecting telescope as having reached its climax in the hands of Sir W. Herschel. It seemed in vain to aim at greater results without royal or national support, and still more vain would have been the expectation that an individual should be found who combined the wealth, the enterprise, and the genius which were required to rival or to exceed the labours of Sir William Herschel. The current of invention, therefore, thus checked in its accustomed course, took a new but a valuable direction, and the improvement of the *Achromatic Telescope* now became an object of general pursuit.

Most of our readers are doubtless aware, that all convex lenses of glass with spherical surfaces, form images of objects in their focus behind the lens. The central parts of the lens, however, form the image nearer the lens than the parts at its circumference, and hence there is a confusion in the picture which is called *spherical aberration*. When the image is formed by *white* light, consisting of *red*, *yellow*, and *blue* rays, there is another imperfection in the image called *chromatic aberration*. The image formed by the *blue* rays is formed nearer the lens than that formed by the *red* rays, while that formed by the *yellow* rays is placed between the other two images. Owing to these two causes, of which the last is the most influential and injurious, the image of any object formed by a spherical lens consists of a mass of images of different colours, and not coincident with each other. Sir Isaac Newton had rashly pronounced these imperfections to be incurable; but in this, as in other cases, the authority even of Newton's name was unable to check the enterprise or paralyse the energy of genius. A humble yet ardent neophyte in the temple of science had the boldness to hope when the high-priest himself had despaired, and the goddess was propitiated by the courage of her worshipper. Mr. Chester More Hall, a country gentlemen in Essex, a name unknown to fame,

† This instrument is described, and a drawing of it, as erected upon its stand, given in the *Transactions of the Astronomical Society*, vol. ii., p. 413.

had, in imitation of the organ of sight, combined media of different refractive powers, and had, so early as 1733, constructed object glasses of flint and crown glass, which corrected the *chromatic* and diminished the *spherical aberration* of the object glass. The telescopes which he thus made, and which afterwards received the name of *Achromatic* from Dr. Bliss, were neither exhibited nor sold, and no account of their construction was given to the world. Pursuing the same object, John Dollond arrived, in 1758, at the same result. He re-invented the achromatic telescope, manufactured the instrument for sale, and for more than half a century, supplied all Europe with this invaluable instrument. The difficulty of procuring flint glass free of flaws and imperfections, prevented him from constructing telescopes which could at all rival reflectors such as those of Herschel, but they were peculiarly adapted for transit instruments and mural circles, and by giving an accuracy to astronomical observation previously unknown, they have perhaps contributed as powerfully to the progress of astronomy as those mighty instruments which were applicable chiefly to the discovery and observation of phenomena.

The monopoly of these valuable telescopes soon passed into foreign states. The manufacture of flint glass had been so severely taxed by the British Government, that the philosopher who made a pound of it exposed himself to the highest penalties; and as if the rapacious Exchequer had resolved to put down the achromatic telescope by statute, they enacted that *a single pound of glass melted fifty times should pay the duty upon fifty pounds!* After the mischief had been done, the Government were made to understand their ignorance of British interests, and a committee of the Royal Society was permitted to erect an experimental glass house, and to enjoy the high privilege of compounding a pot of glass without the presence and supervision of an exciseman. The act of grace, as in many other cases had been too long delayed: We ourselves predicted sixteen years ago, that the committee neither would nor could accomplish the object for which they were associated, and we can now record the melancholy truth, that the experimental glass house has been long closed, and that the experimenters have disappeared.

But though we have thus lost the monopoly of the achromatic telescope, and are now obliged to import the instrument from rival states, there is nevertheless a law of progression in practical science, with which neither ignorant governments, nor slumbering institutions, nor individual torpor can interfere. What a conclave of English legislators and philosophers attempted in vain, was accomplished by a humble peasant in the gorges of the Jura, where no patron encouraged, and no exciseman disturbed

him. M. Guinand, a maker of clock cases in the village of Brenetz, in the canton of Neufchatel, had been obliged by defective vision to grind spectacle glasses for his own use. Thus practically versed in the optics of lenses, he amused himself with making small refracting telescopes, which he mounted in paste-board tubes. He might have advanced a step farther in these interesting occupations, but he would soon have found himself in the same course in which Huygens and Campani had reached the goal. An achromatic telescope of English manufacture had come into the possession of his master, Jaquet Droz. He was permitted to examine it—to separate its lenses—and to measure its curves;—and after studying its properties, he was seized with the desire of imitating the wondrous combination. Flint Glass was to be had only in England, and he and his friend M. Reordon, who went to England to take out a patent for his self-winding watches, purchased as much of it for him as enabled him to make several achromatic telescopes. The glass, however, was bad; and the bold peasant, seeing no way of getting it of a better quality, resolved upon making good flint glass for his own use. “We are confident, as we have elsewhere had occasion to remark, that no chemist in England or in France would have ventured on such a task;—but *ignorance was in this case power*, and glass, fortunately for science, was not an exciseable commodity in the village of Brenetz. Studying the chemistry of fusion, he made daily experiments in his blast furnace, between 1784 and 1790, with meltings of three or four pounds each, and carefully noted down the circumstances, and the results of each experiment. Marked success invigorated his ever-failing efforts, and the intelligence that learned academicians had offered prizes for the object at which he strained, animated him with fresh and glowing excitements. Having abandoned his profession for the more lucrative one of making bells for repeaters, his means became more ample, and his leisure hours more numerous. He purchased a piece of ground on the banks of the Doubs, where he constructed a furnace capable of fusing *two hundred weight* of glass. The failure of his crucibles, the bursting of his furnaces, and a thousand untoward accidents, which would have disconcerted less ardent minds, served only to invigorate his. The disappointments of one day were the pedestal on which the resolutions of the preceding one reached a higher level; and in the renewed energy of his spirit, and the increasing brightness of his hopes, the unlettered peasant seems to have been assured that fate had destined him to triumph. The threads, and specks, and globules which destroyed the homogeneity of his glass, were the subjects of his constant study; and he at last succeeded in obtaining considerable pieces of uniform transparency and refractive power,

sometimes *twelve*, and in one case *eighteen inches* in diameter ! He at last acquired the art of soldering two or more pieces of good glass, and though the line of junction was often marked with globules of air or particles of sand, yet by grinding out these imperfections on an emiered wheel, and by replacing the mass in a furnace, so that the vitreous matter might expand and fill up the excavations, he succeeded in effacing every trace of junction, and was consequently able to produce with certainty the finest discs of flint glass."

After the Achromatic telescope had been banished from England as it were by Act of Parliament, it found a hospitable reception in the optical establishment of Frauenhofer, at Benedict Baiern, near Munich. This illustrious individual, who united the highest scientific attainments with great mechanical and practical knowledge, having heard of Guinand's success in the manufacture of flint glass, repaired to Brenetz in 1804, and induced the village optician to settle at Munich, where, from 1805 to 1814, he practised his art, and taught it to his employers. Frauenhofer was an apt and a willing scholar, and possessing a thorough knowledge of chemistry and physics, he speedily learned the processes of his teacher, and discovered the theory of manipulation, of which Guinand knew only the results. Experience added daily to his knowledge. He detected imperfections even in the crown glass which had hitherto been considered faultless, and reconstructing his furnaces, and directing his whole mind to the work, he succeeded in bringing the manufacture of flint and crown glass to the highest perfection. Thus supplied with the finest materials of his art, he studied their refractive and dispersive powers, and by his grand discovery of the fixed lines in the spectrum, he arrived at methods of constructing achromatic telescopes which no other artist had possessed. In these laborious researches he was patronized by Maximilian Joseph, king of Bavaria, and had not an insidious disease, aggravated in its amount, and accelerated in its course, by corporeal and mental labour, carried him off in the prime of life, he would long before this have astonished Europe with the production of Achromatic object glasses of *eighteen inches* in diameter.

The practical results of these discoveries and improvements we shall now briefly detail. In 1820, several years after Guinand had returned to his native village, he was honoured with a visit from M. Lerebours, a celebrated Parisian optician, who had heard of the success of his processes. Lerebours purchased all his glass, and left orders for more, and M. Cauchoix, another skilful Parisian artist, procured from him large discs of glass. With the glass obtained from Guinand, M. Cauchoix executed two object glasses, one nearly *twelve inches* in diameter, with a focal length

of *twenty* feet, and the other *thirteen* and a third inches in diameter, with a focal length of *twenty-five* feet *three* inches. The first of these object glasses was mounted at the Royal Observatory in Paris; but though the French government had prepared a stand for it at the expense of the £500, they grudged the sum that was necessary to acquire the object glass. Sir James South, who happened to be in Paris, and whose liberality and scientific acquirements are well known to our readers, saw the value of this object glass, and purchased it for his observatory at Kensington. The other object glass, thirteen and a third inches in diameter, was purchased by a young Irish gentleman, then in Paris, Mr. Edward Cooper, M.P., and the telescope to which it belongs has been erected at Marckreea Castle, in the county of Sligo, with an equatorial mounting by Mr. Grubb of Dublin. This splendid instrument has been recently removed to Nice, where, we regret to say, Mr. Cooper has been obliged to reside for the benefit of his health.

The telescopes executed by Fraunhofer, and by his successors at Munich, have been especially distinguished not only by their excellence as optical instruments for the purposes of general observation, but for the ingenuity and value of the micrometers and other appendages, which are indispensable in astronomical investigations. Before his death, Fraunhofer executed two fine instruments, one with an achromatic object glass nearly 10 inches ($9\frac{1}{2}$ %) in diameter, and another 12 inches in diameter. The first of these was ordered by the Emperor of Russia, for the observatory at Dorpat in Livonia, and is the instrument with which M. Struve has made his fine observations on double stars. Its focal length is $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It has four eye-glasses, with magnifying powers, varying from 175 to 700, and its price was £1300, though it was liberally sold at prime cost for £950. The other telescope, 18 feet in focal length, was made for the king of Bavaria, at the price of £2720. Messrs. Merz and Mahler, of Munich, have more recently executed, for the Russian Observatory of Pulkova, an Achromatic Telescope, whose object-glass has 15 inches of effective aperture, and a focal length of 22 feet. Fraunhofer was willing to undertake an achromatic telescope, with an object glass 18 inches in diameter, and which, according to his own estimate, would have cost about £9200; but no wealthy amateur of science, and no sovereign, desirous of immortalizing his own name, and extending this branch of knowledge, has been induced to give an order for such an instrument. If the Achromatic Telescope, therefore, has reached its climax, it is because the power of art has outstripped the liberality of wealth, and because the intellectual desires of our species have ceased to be commensurate with their intellectual capacity.

If astronomy, then, is to be advanced by means of this class of instruments, some new mode must be devised of constructing them in a cheaper and more effective form. Regarding it therefore as impracticable to construct an achromatic object glass more than 15 inches in diameter, for such a sum as we can reasonably expect to command, may we not effect this object by composing the lens of different portions of glass made out of the same pot, and therefore having the same refractive and dispersive powers. This idea, which we suggested many years ago, may be effected in two ways, either by grinding or polishing the different portions of the lens separately, and fixing them in their proper place by mechanical means, or by uniting them together with a cement of the same expansibility by heat as the glass itself. Or we may unite into one telescope two or more object glasses, either of the same or of different focal lengths;—the superposition of the images being effected by reflectors, and in the case of object glasses of unequal focal lengths, the equality in the images being produced by a second and smaller object glass, convex or concave as the case requires.*

But whether the Achromatic Telescope be destined or not to attain greater magnitude and perfection, it has, in its present state, done vast service to astronomical science. To two achromatic telescopes, mounted equatorially, the one *five* feet long, with an object glass $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, executed by Dollond, and the other *seven* feet long, with an object-glass *five* inches in diameter, and executed by Tulley, we owe the splendid series of observations made in 1821, 22, 23, by Sir John Herschel and Sir James South, on the apparent distances and positions of 380 double and triple stars; and it was by the same instruments that Sir James South, in 1823, 24, 25, determined the distances and positions of no fewer than 458 double and triple stars, a task of herculean magnitude, which, had he done nothing else for science, would have immortalized him. His observations were made in a foreign country, at Passy, near Paris, and include about 160 double and triple stars previously undiscovered.†

While the astronomy of Binary and Ternary systems were thus rapidly advancing in England, the liberality of the Emperor of Russia was providing for his observatory of Dorpat the magni-

* Since this article was written, we have learned that M. Bontemps of Paris has acquired M. Guinand's art of making large discs of flint glass, and that he has actually offered to produce perfect discs *three feet* in diameter! Messrs. Chance and Co. of Birmingham have taken out a patent for M. Bontemps' process, and are prepared to manufacture discs of all sizes, either of crown or flint glass, up to *three feet*.

† Sir John Herschel had, previous to 1829, published, in the *Memoirs of the Astronomical Society*, three series of observations on double and multiple stars, completing the first thousand of these objects detected with the twenty-feet reflecting telescope.

ficient achromatic telescope of Fraunhofer, which we have already mentioned. This fine instrument was, in 1824, placed in the hands of M. Struve, who has pre-eminently distinguished himself in this branch of astronomical inquiry; and, in 1837, the Academy of Sciences at Petersburg published* his micrometrical measures of all the double and multiple stars which he had observed during *thirteen* years, from 1823 to 1837, with the great telescope of Fraunhofer. In order to give to these results their full value, Struve undertook the determination of the absolute mean places of these stars, that is, of the principal star of each group, by fixed meridional instruments and repeated observations. This great work was begun in 1822, when the great meridian circle of Reichenbach arrived at Dorpat, and was continued till 1838, when Struve changed his residence from Dorpat to Pulkova; and the catalogue, containing upwards of 3000 double stars, is now about to be published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg.†

As we have no knowledge of the relative distances of the fixed stars, our readers will doubtless wish to know on what grounds astronomers assume that two stars which may be only accidentally in the same line, or near each other, form a binary system, *physically* and not merely *optically*, connected. Double stars are found in every part of the heavens; but, in general, they are less numerous in those places where there are fewer stars, diminishing about the Great Bear, the Dragon, and under the *Canes Venaticæ*, and increasing proportionally as we approach the Milky Way. They are very numerous about Lyra, in the Goose, the Fox, and the Arrow, in Perseus, and in Aries. In Struve's Catalogue of 3063 double stars, the double stars in the different classes, or with different degrees of closeness, are as follows:—

1st Class, or 4" distant,	2d Class, 8" distant,	3d Class, 16" distant,	4th Class, 32" distant,	Total in all the classes.
987	675	659	736	3063

Now, if these stars were only *optically* double, those of the 4th class ought to be the most numerous. For, as the surfaces of spheres, as Struve justly reasons, whose radii are 4, 8, 16, 32 seconds, (the distances of the stars in the different classes) are as

* *Stellarum duplicium et multiplicium mensuræ micrometricæ*, auctore F. G. W. STRUVE. 1837. Fol.

† Under the title of "*Stellarum inerrantium, imprimis compositarum, quæ in Catalogis Dorpatensibus annorum 1820 et 1827 continentur, positiones mediæ ex 22 annorum et 1822 ad 1843 observationibus, in specula Dorpatensi institutis deductæ.*" *Astronomische Nachrichten*, Altona, 1844, Juli 6. The number of stars which passed in review through Struve's telescope was estimated at 120,000, though his survey extended only to 105° from the pole, or to stars whose meridian altitude exceeded 160½°.

the squares of 1, 2, 4, 8, or as 1, 4, 16, 64, the doctrine of probabilities teaches us that the number of optically double stars of various classes will be as the differences, 1, 3, 12, 48, between the last numbers, and therefore it follows, that *out of SIXTY-FOUR stars* optically double, there *should be only ONE of the 1st class*, whereas there are 987! Again, assuming that the 736 double stars of the *fourth class* are *optically double*, it will follow, from the preceding ratios, that the different classes should contain the following numbers of optically double stars, viz.

1st Class,	2d Class,	3d Class,	In all these three Classes,
16	47	184	247

Whereas they contain of double stars,

1st Class,	2d Class,	3d Class,	In all these three Classes,
987	675	654	2316

Hence we may conclude with our author, that almost all the stars of the first class are *physically double*, and likewise those of the second class, and a very great part of the third class. M. Struve goes farther, and maintains that the stars even of the fourth class ought to be considered as physically double, and he establishes or rather confirms this opinion in the following manner:—

“ In the celestial maps of Harding, which may be considered as perfect, as far as regards stars of the *seventh* magnitude, we reckon 10,229 stars of the first to the seventh magnitude, even to the distance of 15° south of the equator. If we apply to this number the doctrine of probabilities, we shall obtain the very remarkable result that we ought to find in this space but one pair of stars 32 seconds distant from each other. If, then, it is possible that some one of the double bright stars of the third and fourth classes are in a manner optically double, all the double stars of the first class, and a great part of those of the fourth, ought to be considered physically double, or as forming a particular system of two stars joined together.”—*Struve's Report on Double Stars, addressed to Prince Lieven.*

Notwithstanding the number and accuracy of the observations which have been made on these double stars, which really form binary systems, it is very difficult to deduce from them any general results in which the mind can rest with satisfaction. Sir John Herschel, and Savary, and Encke, have attempted to determine the laws which regulate the revolution of the lesser star, and to obtain some information respecting the distance of these bodies from the earth. By employing only the position of the line joining the two stars, Sir John Herschel has arrived at the conclusion, that the smaller star describes an ellipse round the greater star, supposed to be at rest in one of the foci of that ellipse, and therefore that the law of gravity, varying inversely as the square of

the distance, is extended to the sesidereal systems. M. Savary has gone still farther, and has pointed out a singularly ingenious method of obtaining an approximate determination of the distances of some of the double stars from our earth or sun. This method, which we cannot pretend to explain without diagrams, consists in determining the difference between the duration of the two halves of the revolution of the lesser star, in an orbit much inclined to the visual ray drawn from the earth to the star, arising from the velocity of light. The semi-revolution performed by the star in describing the half of its orbit, in which it advances towards us, must, owing to the velocity of light, appear to be performed in less time than it is in reality, while the duration of its semi-revolution in the other half, while moving from us, must appear to be augmented. In applying this method, we must, of course, assume, that the orbit of the star is symmetrical in relation to its major axis, and that there are two points in the orbit equidistant from the greater star, at which the lesser star moves with the same velocity. When the inclination of the orbit, therefore, and its angular extent, have been otherwise previously determined, the difference of time between the two semi-revolutions, will afford a basis for approximating to the linear dimensions of the orbit, and the star's true distance from the earth.

Such, we were about to say, is all the knowledge of the binary sidereal systems which we have to communicate; but a notice has just appeared* of an important discovery by that distinguished astronomer, Professor Bessel of Königsberg, which promises to us the development of new mysteries, the exhibition of sidereal bodies, which, though invisible to the eye of man, stand revealed to his reason—just as the concealed loadstone is detected by its attractions when the magician happens to have a philosopher among his audience. Hitherto it had appeared that the proper motions of the fixed stars were uniform, arising, as was supposed, from the advancement of the solar system to the constellation Hercules; but more accurate observations were still required to give plausibility to this bold hypothesis. The fine observations now made in our observatories with fixed meridional instruments, have enabled Professor Bessel to investigate the nature of these motions with an accuracy previously unattainable; and, with this view, he has discussed, by a laborious process, his own observations and those of different astronomers since 1753, the epoch of Bradley's observations. In this inquiry, he has found that the proper motion of *Sirius* in right ascension, and that of

**Athenæum*, August 31st, 1844.

Procyon in declination, deviate very sensibly from uniformity. Hence it follows, that these stars must describe orbits in space under the influence of central forces; and, following out these principles, he has arrived at the conclusion, that the apparent motions of these two stars are such as might be produced by their revolution about *non-luminous* central bodies not very remote from the star itself. Hence they will prove *binary systems*, like those of double stars, and differing from them only in this, that they have dark in place of bright partners, to which they perform the functions of revolving suns. *Sirius* and *Procyon* are, therefore, double stars; and we may indulge the hope that this remarkable fact, deduced only from their motions, may yet be rendered visible by their being more or less eclipsed by the dark planet which controls them. In this case the visible partners will exhibit the phenomena of variable stars, and the law of their variation may enable us to form some conclusion respecting the form and position of their orbits. The phenomena of variable stars have been hitherto ascribed to the rotation of the star about its axis, which may bring into view portions of its disc more or less luminous; but may we not now suppose that stars are rendered variable by the interposition of their non-luminous partners? In like manner we may ascribe the appearance of new stars to their emerging from behind their dark partners, and the disappearance of others to their undergoing a lengthened eclipse from the same non-luminous bodies. There is an obvious difficulty, however, to which the existence of non-luminous bodies is exposed. The revolution of *Sirius* or *Procyon*, as suns, round their dark companions, must have the effect of illuminating them, and though their light may not be sufficiently great to become visible with our present telescopes, yet we may hope that the huge instruments which will yet be directed to the heavens may render them visible, and thus add to our knowledge of these remarkable sidereal systems.

After these preliminary details respecting the construction of gigantic telescopes, and the principal discoveries which they have enabled astronomers to make, our readers will be the better able to appreciate the genius, the talent, the patience, and the liberality with which an Irish nobleman has constructed telescopes far transcending in magnitude and power all previous instruments, whether they were the result of private wealth, or of royal or national munificence. That nobleman is Lord Oxmantown, now the Earl of Rosse, one of a distinguished group of Irish philosophers, who, educated in the same academical institution, now adorn it with their genius, and sustain it by their labours. In the records of modern science there are few brighter names than those of Robinson, Hamilton, Lloyd, and Maccullagh, and in the persons

of the Earl of Rosse and Lord Enniskillen, the aristocracy of Ireland have contributed their contingent to her intellectual chivalry. But to us in a sister land, the land of sober judgment and of serious faith, genius, however bright, is shorn of its purest rays, when it seeks and finds but the bubble reputation among the wonders which it unfolds; and when in search of the richest gems, it has missed the pearl of the greatest price. It is, therefore, a matter of no ordinary satisfaction, that the intellectual energy of Ireland is concentrated in men of like faith with ourselves, who will be found girt for the same contest when the wisdom of this world shall be arrayed against the faith once delivered to the saints. If, in an eloquent address to the British Association at Cork, Dr. Robinson has given expression to his delight "that so high a problem as the construction of a *six feet* speculum should have been mastered by one of his countrymen—by one whose attainments are an honour to his rank—an example to his equals—and an instance of the perfect compatibility of the highest intellectual pursuits with the most perfect discharge of the duties of domestic and social life;"—we also may indulge in the pleasing recollection that Lord Oxmantown's earliest plans for improving the reflecting telescope were first given to the world in three communications which were published in a *Scottish Journal of Science*, and that some of us were the first to recognize their value, and to see looming in the distance that mighty instrument with which we are about to make our readers acquainted.

As the surfaces of all lenses and specula are necessarily of a spherical form, they are subject to what is called *spherical aberration*, that is, the edge both of specula and lenses has a shorter focus than the centre. In lenses this may be diminished or even removed by the opposite aberration of a concave lens; but this remedy cannot be applied to specula. It therefore occurred to Lord Rosse, that the first step towards the improvement of the reflecting telescope, was to *diminish the spherical aberration*. With this view he formed the speculum of *three parts*, a central speculum, a ring, inclosing the central speculum, and an outer ring. These three portions were cemented together, and ground and polished as one speculum. They were then combined by an ingenious piece of mechanism, so that the first and second rings could be *advanced* each a small fraction of an inch, in order that their foci should accurately coincide with the focus of the central speculum. Lord Rosse's first attempt did not succeed to his wishes, owing to a defect in the mechanism, which required frequent adjustments, as the smallest shock displaced the images. He then tried to combine one ring only, 1 inch thick, with a central metal $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, the two together forming a speculum of

six inches aperture, and two feet focal length. This combination was more successful, as it "remained in perfect adjustment even after very violent shocks." In these combinations Lord Rosse did not perceive the ill effects which he had apprehended from contraction and expansion; and it remained to be seen, from future trials, if they did appear, whether or not they could be removed. "On my return from Parliament, (June 1828,)" says Lord Rosse, "if other avocations do not interfere, I propose to construct a speculum in three parts, of 18 inches aperture, and *twelve feet* focal length;—this will be giving the experiment a fair trial on a large scale." This proposal was accordingly executed, and he found the speculum superior to a solid one of the same dimensions.

In order to grind and polish large specula, Lord Rosse soon perceived that a *steam-engine* and appropriate machinery were necessary. He accordingly invented a machine of this kind, and transmitted an account of it to the writer of this article, who published it in the *Edinburgh Journal of Science* for October 1828. The engine which his Lordship actually constructed and used was one of two-horse power, though from some rude trials with it he inferred that a one-horse power would be fully sufficient for executing at the same time *three or four* specula six inches in diameter. For such sizes Lord Rosse conceived that a day would suffice for completing the process, and that a machine on the scale shewn in his drawing, "would be sufficiently large to grind and polish a speculum of *three feet* diameter, or perhaps larger." In this interesting communication Lord Rosse suggests what he afterwards accomplished, that the motion for producing a *parabolic curve*, "might be imitated by means of the eccentric guides, and the slow circular motion of the speculum, and with this advantage, that, were it found really successful, the same result would probably be always afterwards obtained."

Before the year 1830, Lord Rosse had made still farther advances towards the great object he had in view. He found from many experiments that he could not cast a speculum of the moderate dimensions of 15 inches, without reducing the composition considerably below the highest standard, that is without using so much copper as to produce a soft and yellowish metal. All the specula cracked in annealing when the proper composition was employed. In order to get over this difficulty, he tried to cast the specula in different pieces, and to unite them by tinning their surfaces; but though this was practicable, he abandoned it for the following plan. He found that an alloy of copper 2.75 parts, with 1 of zinc, expanded and contracted with a change of temperature in the same degree as speculum metal, and was an alloy malleable, ductile, and easily worked. With this alloy he cast a spe-

culum 15 inches in diameter, with a rim and ribs behind. It was turned smooth and flat on one side, and tinned. Six pieces of the highest speculum metal, $1\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch thick, were then placed on the flat tinned surface, so as to complete a circular disc 15 inches in diameter, and when soldered to it, composed a *plated speculum*. When ground and polished, it formed an excellent telescope of twelve feet focal length. Upon the same plan Lord Rosse constructed a speculum *two feet* in diameter, for a telescope *twenty-six feet* long. Hitherto it had been believed by opticians, that a fine polish could not be given to specula, unless when the polisher became dry and hot; but Lord Rosse at this stage of his researches found out a method of polishing a cold metal upon a moist polisher, an object of very great importance, as a speculum should be polished at the same temperature at which it is to be used.

The next step in Lord Rosse's progress was to make a plated speculum, *three feet* in diameter. The proportions of copper and tin, which he found to be best, were the *definite* ones of *four* atoms of copper to *one* of tin, or 126.4 parts of copper to 58.9 of tin, or 32 of the one to 14.91 of the other. After preparing the alloy speculum, which was to be plated, and turning it to a radius of 54 feet, Lord Rosse proceeded to cast the small plates of speculum metal, about 9 inches square. In doing this he encountered great difficulties, owing to their extreme brittleness, arising, no doubt, from the too rapid cooling of their edges, and the consequent state of tension. In order to remove this evil, he sawed the plates with a circular sawing disc of iron, immersed in emery and water, and he so far succeeded that he obtained plates with which he composed a *two feet* speculum. He also used the same plates originally for the *three feet* one, but before the combination was completed, he discovered the true process of casting specula of all sizes. In order to produce uniformity of cooling, he tried two ways of constructing the mould. The *first* was to make the lower surface of the mould, containing the liquid speculum, absorb the heat rapidly, and the upper retain it; and the *second* was to cool the lower surface, while the heat of the upper surface was undiminished. The first plan did not succeed; but the second did, by making the lower surface of the mould of iron, and the upper of sand; but though the castings were sound, there was this defect, that bubbles of air were entangled between the iron disc and the speculum metal, producing cavities which it was troublesome to grind out. Hence he was led to replace the iron disc, by one made of pieces of hoop iron, placed side by side with their edges up, tightly packed in an iron frame, the surface, thus composed of edges, being smoothed to the proper curvature, by filing or turning. By this most ingenious process, he

constructed a metallic surface every where open, as the closest plates allowed the air to pass freely between them.

"So successful was this expedient," says Lord Rosse, "that of sixteen plates cast for the *three feet* speculum, not one was defective. The following particulars require to be attended to. The disc of hoop iron should be as thick as the speculum to be cast upon it, so as to cool it with sufficient rapidity; it requires to be warm, so that there may be no moisture deposited upon it from the sand; it may be heated to 212° , without materially lessening its cooling power. The metal should enter the mould by the side, as is usual in iron founding, but much quicker, almost instantaneously; one second is sufficient for filling the mould of a nine inch plate or speculum. As to the temperature of the metal, this can best be ascertained by stirring it with a wooden pole occasionally, after it has become perfectly fluid; when the carbon of the pole reduces the oxide on the surface of the metal, rendering it brilliant like quicksilver, the heat is sufficient. When the metal has become solid in the ingate or hole through which it enters the mould, the plate is to be removed quickly to an oven heated a little below redness, to remain till cold, which, where the plates are nine inches in diameter, should be *three or four days at least*."—*Phil. Trans.*, 1840, p. 511.

When the nine inch plates are properly scraped and cleaned, much attention is necessary in soldering them upon the tinned surface of the alloy speculum. Care must be taken that until the tin on the speculum is fused, the melted resin must not be poured in between the plates.

The great success which attended this new method of casting these nine inch specula, induced Lord Rosse to try it on a large scale, and he accordingly proceeded with one *twenty* inches, and another *three feet*, which on the first trial were cast perfect. The crucibles which he employed were made of cast iron, and cast with their mouths upwards; and the fuel used was peat or wood, which are both preferable to coke.

A perfect speculum being thus obtained, the next object to be accomplished is to work it, by grinding and polishing, to a perfect spherical figure. The machine for this purpose, which we have already described, was improved and enlarged so as to work a speculum *three feet* in diameter, and after several years experience, during which specula have been ground and polished with it many hundred times, it has been found to work large surfaces with a degree of precision unattainable by the hand. The peculiarity in this process, introduced by Lord Rosse, and as we conceive essential to success, is, that the polisher works *above* and upon the face of the speculum to be polished, and one singular advantage of this arrangement is, that the figure of the speculum can be examined as the operation proceeds, without

removing the speculum, which when a ton weight is no easy matter. The contrivance for doing this is so beautiful, and has proved so useful, that we must briefly explain it. The machine is placed in a room at the bottom of a high tower, in the successive floors of which trap-doors can be opened. A mast is elevated on the top of the tower, so that its summit is about 90 feet above the speculum. A dial-plate is attached to the top of the mast, and a small plane speculum and eye-piece, with proper adjustments, are so placed that the combination becomes a Newtonian telescope, and the dial-plate the object.

During the operation of polishing the larger specula, a variety of difficulties occurred, but they were all surmounted by the ingenuity and patience of Lord Rosse. At first, in order to allow a lateral expansion of the pitch, it appeared necessary to increase the thickness of the bed of pitch as the diameter of the speculum was increased. This proved a failure, and the lateral expansion was provided for by making grooves in the pitch; but these grooves, though there were two sets at right angles to each other, and only two inches distant, were with difficulty kept open, and the polisher lost its figure. All these evils, however, were removed by furrowing the polisher itself, so as to divide it into definite and insulated portions. The effect of this improvement was so great, that the plated or divided *three feet* speculum defined better with a power of 1200 than it had previously done with a power of 300. In place of pitch, Lord Rosse used, as his polishing surface, a mixture of common resin and turpentine, and this composition was laid on in two strata of different degrees of hardness, the outer one being the harder, the subjacent softer layer expanding laterally, so as to preserve the figure of the polisher. The speculum being placed in a cistern of water, the polishing process is then effected by using peroxide of iron and water, of about the consistence of thin cream.

The last and the most important part of the process of working the speculum, is to give it a *true parabolic figure*, that is, such a figure that each portion of it should reflect the incident ray to the same focus. This grand difficulty has been completely mastered by Lord Rosse. The operations for this purpose consist, 1st. Of a stroke of the first eccentric, which carries the polisher along *one-third* of the diameter of the speculum. 2d. A transverse stroke 21 times slower, and equal to 0.27 of the same diameter, measured on the edge of the tank, or 1.7 beyond the centre of the polisher. 3d. A rotation of the speculum performed in the same time as 37 of the first strokes; and 4th. A rotation of the polisher in the same direction about sixteen times slower. If these rules are attended to, the machine will give the true parabolic figure to the speculum, whether it be *six inches* or *three feet* in diameter. In the three-

feet speculum, the figure is so true, with the whole aperture, that it is thrown out of focus by a motion of less than the *thirtieth of an inch*, "and even with a single lens of one-eighth of an inch focus, giving a power of 2592, the dots on a watch dial are still in some degree defined."

The *twenty-six* feet telescope thus executed, has a general resemblance to that of Ramage, but the tube, gallery, and vertical axis of the stand are counterpoised. It is used as a Newtonian telescope, with a small plane speculum, to prevent the image being deformed by oblique reflection, which is the effect of the front view. When the specula are not used they are preserved from moisture and acid vapours by connecting their boxes with chambers containing quick lime, an arrangement which Dr. Robinson had applied for several years to the Armagh reflector.

When this telescope was completed, it became an object of high interest to ascertain its performance. In doing this, Dr. Robinson had, as he remarks, "the advantage of the assistance of one of the most celebrated of British astronomers, Sir James South;" but the weather, the state of the air, and the light of the moon, between the 29th October and 8th November 1840, were unfavourable. The following is the substance of Dr. Robinson's report :—

"Both specula, the divided and the solid, seem exactly parabolic, there being no sensible difference in the focal adjustment of the eye-piece with the whole aperture of 36 inches, or one of twelve; in the former case there is more flutter, but apparently no difference in definition, and the eye-piece comes to its place of adjustment very sharply.

"The solid speculum showed α Lyrae round and well-defined, with powers up to 1000 inclusive, and at moments even with 1600; but the air was not fit for so high a power on any telescope. Rigel, two hours from the meridian, with 600, was round, the field quite dark, the companion separated by more than a diameter of the star from its light, and so brilliant that it would certainly be visible long before sunset.

" ζ Orionis, well defined, with all the powers from 200 to 1000, with the latter a wide black separation between the stars; β Orionis and β Canis minoris were also well separated.

"It is scarcely possible to preserve the necessary sobriety of language, in speaking of the moon's appearance with this instrument, which discovers a multitude of new objects at every point of its surface. Among these may be named a mountainous tract near Ptolemy, every ridge of which is dotted with extremely minute craters, and two black parallel stripes in the bottom of Aristarchus.*

* Dr. Robinson, in his address to the British Association, on the 24th August, 1843, stated, that in this telescope, a building the size of the one in which they were assembled would, under favourable circumstances, be easily visible on the Lunar surface.—*Athenæum*, Sept. 23, p. 867.

"There could be little doubt of the high illuminating power of such a telescope, yet an example or two may be desirable. Between ϵ and α Lyrae, there are two faint stars, which Sir J. Herschel (*Phil. Trans.* 1824) calls 'debilissima,' and which seem to have been, at that time, the only set visible in the 20 feet reflector. These, at the altitude of 18° were visible *without an eye-glass*, and also when the aperture was contracted to 12 inches. With an aperture of 18 inches, power 600, they and two other stars (seen in Mr. Cooper's achromatic of 13.2 inches aperture, and the Armagh reflector of 15 inches) are easily seen. With the whole aperture, a fifth is visible, which Dr. R. had not before noticed. November 5th, strong moonlight.

"In the nebula of Orion, the fifth star of the trapezium is easily seen with either speculum, even when the aperture is contracted to 18 inches. The divided speculum will not show the sixth with the whole aperture, on account of that sort of disintegration of large stars already noticed, but does, in favourable moments, when contracted to 18 inches. With the solid mirror and whole aperture, it stands out conspicuously under all the powers up to 1000, and even with 18 inches it is not likely to be overlooked.

"Among the few nebulae examined were 13 Messier, in which the central mass of stars was more distinctly separated, and the stars themselves larger than had been anticipated; the great nebula of Orion and that of Andromeda showed no appearance of resolution, but the small nebula near the latter is clearly resolvable. This is also the case with the ring nebula of Lyra; indeed, Dr. R. thought it was resolved at its minor axis; the fainter nebulous matter which fills it is irregularly distributed, having several stripes or wisps in it, and there are four stars near it, besides the one figured by Sir John Herschel, in his catalogue of nebulae. It is also worthy of notice, that this nebula, instead of that regular outline which he has there given it, is fringed with appendages, branching out into the surrounding space, like those of 13 Messier, (Sir J. H.'s, 86,) and in particular, having prolongations brighter than the others in the direction of the major axis, longer than the ring's breadth. A still greater difference is found in 1 Messier, described by Sir John Herschel, as 'a barely resolvable cluster,' and drawn, fig. 81, with a fine elliptic boundary. This telescope, however, shows the stars, as in his figure 89, and some more plainly, while the general outline, besides being irregular and fringed with appendages, has a deep bifurcation to the south.*"

In a Paper entitled "Observations on some of the nebulae communicated to the Royal Society on the 13th of June last, Lord Rosse has given sketches of *five* of the nebulae in Sir John Herschel's Catalogue,† numbered 88, 81, 26, 29, and 47, as seen in his three feet specula, and as soon as this paper is printed, the comparison of these drawings with those of Sir John Herschel, will exhibit the power of the new telescope.

* *Phil. Trans.*, 1833. P. 503.

† *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, No. 25, pp. 8-11. Nov. 9, 1840.

Fig. 26 of Sir J. Herschel's Catalogue (Messier, 27) called the *Dumb-bell Nebula*, from its supposed resemblance to a dumb-bell, is shewn by Lord Rosse's telescope to be a cluster of stars, or rather two clusters in close proximity, and, indeed, to a certain extent, blended together, and without the exact elliptical terminations of Herschel's figure.

Fig. 81 of Sir J. Herschel's Catalogue (Messier, 51,) seen as an oval nebula by both these astronomers, is found to be a cluster of stars remarkable for its singular appearance, the ramifications from its southern extremity extending to a distance equal to its major axis, and giving it the appearance of a scorpion.

Fig. 45 of Sir J. Herschel's Catalogue is a perfectly circular planetary nebula; but Lord Rosse has discovered it to be an annular nebula like the elliptical annular nebula in *Lýra* (29, Sir J. Herschel's Catalogue, and 57 Messier) but very much more difficult to be seen.

Fig. 49 of Sir J. Herschel's Catalogue is represented as a remarkable round planetary nebula, containing three stars, one at each of the three vertices of an equilateral triangle: Lord Rosse's telescope shows this as a *long irregular patch*, with about *seven* stars in it, grouped unsymmetrically.

These are a few interesting examples of the manner in which the new telescope has resolved nebulae into stars, and has destroyed that symmetry of form in globular nebulae, upon which was founded the hypothesis of the gradual condensation of nebulous matter into suns and planets.

Such is a brief account of the construction and performance of a telescope which Dr. Robinson characterizes as the most powerful that has ever been made. Its superiority to all other instruments must have been very gratifying to Lord Rosse, and might have justified him in resting from his labours, and enjoying the honour of having triumphed in so noble an undertaking: But the instrument was scarcely out of his hands before he resolved upon attempting the construction of another reflector, with a speculum *six feet* in diameter, and *fifty feet* long! This magnificent instrument was accordingly undertaken, and within the last month has been brought to a successful termination. The speculum has *six feet* of clear aperture, and therefore an area *four* times greater than that of the *three feet* speculum, and it weighs nearly *four tons*! The focal length is 53 feet. It was polished in *six hours*, in the same time as a small speculum, and with the same facility; and no particular care was taken in preparing the polisher, as Lord Rosse intended to repolish it as soon as the focal length was ascertained to be correct; but upon directing it to a nebula, the performance was better than he expected, and he therefore has suffered it to remain in the tube for the present. The

second or duplicate speculum, not yet finished, is in every respect the same in size. It was only three weeks in the annealing oven, and is reckoned very good.

The casting of a speculum of nearly four tons must have been an object of great interest, as well as of difficulty; but every difficulty was foreseen and provided against. In order to ensure uniformity of metal, the blocks from the first melting, which was effected in three furnaces, were broken up, and the pieces from each of the furnaces were placed in three separate casks, A, B, and C. Then in charging the crucibles for the final melting of the speculum, successive portions from cask A were put into furnaces *a*, *b*, and *c*, from B into *b*, *c*, *d*, and so on.

In order to prevent the metal from bending or changing its form, Lord Rosse has introduced a very ingenious and effective support. The speculum rests upon a surface of twenty-seven pieces of cast iron, of equal area, and strongly framed so as to be stiff and light. There are twelve of these in the outer rim, nine in the next, and six sectors at the centre. Each of these pieces is supported at its centre of gravity on a hemispheric bearing, at the angle of a triangle of cast iron, these triangles being in their turn similarly supported at the angles of three primary triangles, which, again, are supported at their centres of gravity by three screws which work in a strong iron frame, and serve for adjusting the mirrors. This frame carries also levers to give lateral support to the speculum, in the same diffused manner. This frame, which contains the speculum, is attached to an immense joint, like that of a pair of compasses moving round a pin, in order to give the transverse motion for following the star in right ascension. This pin is fixed to the centre piece between two trunnions, like those of an enormous mortar, lying east and west, and upon which the telescope has its motion in altitude. To the frame there is fastened a large cubical wooden box, about eight feet a side, in which there is a door through which two men go in to remove, or to replace the cover of the mirror. To this box is fastened the tube, which is made of deal staves, hooped like a huge cask. It is about 40 feet long, and 8 feet diameter in the middle, and is furnished with internal diaphragms, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in aperture. The Dean of Ely walked through the tube with an umbrella up!

This enormous tube is established between two lofty piers or walls of castellated architecture, about sixty feet high, one of which carries an iron semicircle, against which the tube bears when in the meridian. The declinations, will, therefore, be given in this case by a circle and level, as in Troughton's Transit Instruments. The celestial object is followed in right ascension by drawing the telescope from this plane through a range

of fourteen feet, with a long screw, moved either by hand or by a clock, with a rate variable with the declination. The hour angle will, in such cases, be obtained by another circle and level. The other pier carries the galleries for the observers, which, for fear of producing tremor, Lord Rosse was unwilling to attach to the tube. The galleries will consist of three stages, with some help from ladders, each stage being pushed forward in succession from the top of the piers.

This immense mass of matter weighing about twelve tons, requires to be counterpoised, and Lord Rosse's arrangements for this purpose are most ingeniously contrived. When in the zenith, the tendency of the telescope to fall is nothing, but on each side it gradually increases, and is a maximum at the horizon. The first plan of a counterpoise was this. A chain attached to the upper end of the tube passes over a pulley, and carries the counterpoise which rolls on a curved railway, which can be so formed that the telescope may be in equilibrium through its whole range. The arrangements for this contrivance are already made, but Lord Rosse intends to try a much simpler method, in which the weight, in place of rolling, is kept attached to a fixed point by a guy, so that when the tube is low the weight acts to great mechanical advantage, and when high with less advantage.

Such is a brief description of the noble telescope completed by the Earl of Rosse—a telescope gigantic even among the giant instruments which preceded it. In order to form an idea of its effective magnitude, we must compare it with other instruments, as in the following table, which contains the number of square inches in each speculum, on the supposition that they were square in place of round.

Names of Makers.	Diameter of Speculum.	Area of Surface.
Newton	1 inch	1 square inches.
—	2·37	5·6
Hadley	4½	20
—	5	25
Hawksbee	9	81
Ramage	15	225
—	21	441
Lord Rosse	2 feet	576
—	3	1296
Herschel	4	2304
Lord Rosse	6	5184
<i>To be executed</i>	{ 8-4	10000
	{ 10	14400
Lord Rosse's two 6 feet specula combined	}	10368

In glancing over the preceding table, and marking the rapid strides of the reflecting telescope, it is impossible to restrain the mind from anticipating still grander achievements. If Sir William Herschel made such a start a-head of his predecessors, and if Lord Rosse has taken such a flight beyond his first high position, may we not expect that he, or at least his successor in discovery, will execute the two instruments which we have placed below his own? But it is not merely in the course which has been already pursued, that we are to look for an extension of our astronomical knowledge. We have yet to try what can be effected by specula of moderate apertures and extremely long foci, in which the spherical aberration will almost disappear, for there can be no doubt that a true spherical figure can be more perfectly attained than a parabolic one. The value of fixed telescopes, too, kept in dry vaults of uniform temperature, into which the rays are to be admitted by plain reflectors, remains to be tried; and we venture to propose as practicable, *the combination of two or more specula in a single telescope*. If a six feet spherical speculum has its circular diaphragm of *six feet* converted into two of three feet each, the effect will be exactly the same as that produced by the combinations of two *three feet* spherical reflectors. Lord Rosse may, therefore, by the fine adjustments which he has already executed, unite his two *six feet* mirrors, and thus produce a speculum with a proportional area of 10368 square inches, exceeding in surface our hypothetical speculum of $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet!

But our views must not be confined to the principle of reflexion. The Achromatic Telescope may yet take the start of reflectors, as it once did; and when we consider the successive steps of Lord Rosse's progress, we can scarcely doubt, that with his hands so skilful, and his head so stored with the chemistry of fusion, and the physics of annealing, lenses of flint and crown glass may yet be executed of gigantic magnitude, or even meniscuses of plate glass to hold gallons of fluid for the construction of aplanatic object-glasses.

In cherishing these high expectations, we have not forgotten that the state of our atmosphere must put some limit to the magnifying power of our telescopes. In our variable climate, indeed, the vapours, and local changes of temperature, and consequent inequalities of refraction, offer various obstructions to the extension of astronomical discovery. But we must meet the difficulty in the only way in which it can be met. The astronomer cannot command a thunder-storm to cleanse the atmosphere, and he must therefore undertake a pilgrimage to better climates—to Egypt or to India, in search of a purer and more homogeneous medium;—or even to the flanks of the Himalaya and the Andes,

that he may erect his watch-tower above the grosser regions of the atmosphere. In some of those brief yet lucid intervals which precede or follow rain, when the remotest objects present themselves in sharp outline and minute detail, discoveries of the highest value might be grasped by the lynx-eyed astronomer. The resolution of a nebula—the bisection of a double star—the details of a planet's ring—the evanescent markings on its disc—or perhaps the display of some of the dark worlds of Bessel—might be the revelations of a moment, and would amply repay the transportation of a huge telescope to the shoulder or to the summit of a lofty mountain.

In looking back upon what the telescope has accomplished;—in reckoning the thousands of celestial bodies which have been detected and surveyed;—in reflecting on the vast depths of ether which have been sounded, and on the extensive fields of sidereal matter out of which worlds and systems of worlds are forming, and to be formed—can we doubt it to be the Divine plan that man shall yet discover the whole scheme of the visible universe, and that it is his individual duty, as well as the high prerogative of his order to expound its mysteries, and to develop its laws? Over the invisible world he has received no commission to reign, and into its secrets he has no authority to pry. It is over the material and the visible that he has to sway the intellectual sceptre—it is among the structures of organic and inorganic life that his functions of combination and analysis are to be chiefly exercised. Nor is this a task unworthy of his genius, or unconnected with his destiny. Placed upon a globe already formed, and constituting part of a system already complete, he can scarcely trace either in the solid masses around him, or in the forms and movements of the planets, any of those secondary causes by which these bodies have been shaped and launched on their journey. But in the distant heavens, where creation seems to be ever active, where vast distance gives us the vision of huge magnitudes, and where extended operations are actually going on, we may study the cosmogony of our own system, and mark, even during the brief span of human life, the formation of a planet in the consolidation of the nebulous mass which surrounds it.

Such is the knowledge which man has yet to acquire—such the lesson which he has to teach his species. How much to be prized is the intellectual faculty by which such a work is to be performed;—how wonderful the process by which the human brain, in its casket of bone, can alone establish such remote and transcendental truths. A soul so capacious, and ordained for such an enterprise, cannot be otherwise than immortal.

But even when all these mysteries shall be revealed, the mind will still wrestle with eager curiosity to learn the final destiny of

such glorious creations. The past and the present furnish some grounds of anticipation. Revelation throws in some faint touches of its light ;—but it is in the indications of science chiefly—in the results of mechanical laws—that we are likely to find any sure elements for our judgment. In the creations around and near us all is change and decomposition. The solid globe, once incandescent, and scarcely cooled, has been the theatre of recurring convulsions, by which every thing has been destroyed, and after which every thing has been renewed. Animal life in its varied organizations has perished, and written its epitaph upon imperishable monuments. Man too, though never extinct as a race, returns one by one to his clay, and his intellectual functions are perpetuated in the reproduction of his fellow. In the solar system, we see fragments of planets—asteroids, as they have been called—occupying, in almost interlacing orbits, the place of a larger body ; and in the direction and amount of the annual and diurnal motions of the primary and secondary planets, we recognize the result of a grand creative movement, by which the sun, with its widely extended atmosphere, or a revolving atmosphere itself, has cast off, by successive throes, the various bodies of the system, at first circling in gaseous zones, but subsequently contracted into planets and a sun.

This system, so wonderfully formed, is again enchained with another more distant by an assemblage of comets—a class of bodies which doubtless carry on some reciprocal intercourse for the benefit of both. Composed of nebulous matter, they may yet be consolidated into habitable globes ; and resembling in aspect the vast nebulae which fill the sidereal spaces, and forming a part of our own system, they countenance the theory, that the nebulae which the telescope cannot resolve may be the pabulum out of which heat and motion are to form new systems, where planets, thrown off from a central nucleus, will form new abodes of life and intelligence.

But while all the phenomena in the heavens indicate a law of progressive creation, in which revolving matter is distributed into suns and planets, there are indications in our own system, that a period has been assigned for its duration, which, sooner or later, it must reach. The medium which fills universal space—whether it be a luminiferous ether, or arise from the indefinite expansion of planetary atmospheres—must retard the bodies which move in it, even though it were 360,000 millions of times more rare than atmospheric air ; and, with its time of revolution gradually shortening, the satellite must return to its planet, the planet to its sun, and the sun to its primeval nebula. The fate of our system, thus deduced from mechanical laws, must be the fate of all others. Motion cannot be perpetuated in a resist-

ing medium ; and where there exist disturbing forces, there must be primarily derangement, and ultimately ruin. From the great central mass, heat may again be summoned to exhale nebulous matter ;—chemical forces may again produce motion, and motion may again generate systems ; but—as in the recurring catastrophes which have desolated our earth, the great First Cause must preside at the dawn of each cosmical cycle—and, as in the animal races which were successively reproduced, new celestial creations, of a nobler form of beauty, and of a higher order of permanence, may yet appear in the sidereal universe. “Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered.” “The new heavens and the new earth shall remain before me.” “Let us look, then, according to his promise, for the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.”

The Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon, with Selections from his Correspondence. By HORACE TWISS, Esq. Three vols., 8vo. London, 1844.

IN an age which, unlike that in which Tacitus wrote, is little liable to the charge of being “*incuriosa suorum*,” this is one of the best biographies, in a literary point of view, that has lately appeared. To write a good life, if not the highest effort of narrative talent, must be one of the most difficult, if we are to judge by the frequency of failure. The incidents, indeed, in the lives of ordinary men, which are of the greatest personal importance to themselves, seldom have enough of point or peculiarity to raise interest in the mind of the general reader ; and the biography of many a man whose days have been spent in stirring scenes, and who may have contributed to the great events of his age, may yet, when in the hands of an historian, be little more readable than a merchant’s day-book.

There is, however, one secret of story-telling, of which, when the subject admits of it, the biographer may avail himself with great effect. It has been very truly said, that if all the little events of any man’s life were narrated from day to day, they would in the end make an interesting book. Perhaps this may arise from the interest we always take in the development of unforeseen results from any regular progress of events ; or perhaps it is a branch of that implanted curiosity which creates in all male and female hearts so great a sympathy in their neighbours’ concerns, and makes a dinner party or a wedding next

door the subject of mysterious speculation and interest. But certain it is, that this sort of Dutch painting acquires, from its mere detail, a charm, of which the prominent features of the piece may be totally destitute; and the story of how the most commonplace man living ate, slept, and spoke, will sometimes enchain the attention of a reader who would yawn in disgust over pages of bygone Parliamentary eloquence, or the tale of how forgotten fields were won.

It was a conformation of mind fitting him peculiarly for this style of writing, that made Boswell the prince of biographers; and similar qualities in the author gave its character and popularity to Pepys' Diary. Both men of contracted mental vision, the little things they did see made a strong impression on them, and they described them with a vividness and minuteness which greater minds would have thought frivolous. Mr. Twiss has just borrowed enough from their example to give us the little as well as the great incidents in Lord Eldon's life, and has in consequence produced a very diverting and agreeable book, which, if it does not present the hero of it personally before us, has at least the merit of appearing to do so. In the career of a man, from small beginnings and by slow progress, to the heights of power and fame, enjoyed during the most protracted span of human life, he had an admirable subject; and he has used the materials placed at his disposal with great judgment and discrimination, so as to give a lively current to the stream of his narrative, and to avoid being either cursory or prolix. The history flows smoothly on, diversified by a great variety of letters and anecdotes, which reflect vividly the mind and character of his subject, and show him painted by his own hand. The praise of being a very clever and interesting book we most willingly accord to it; and we believe we only express the opinion of it universally entertained. It has other qualities in point of ability, which are less entitled to approbation.

If we turn from the execution of the work, viewed merely as a literary composition, to inquire how far the author has executed his task with fidelity or truth, and done his best to hand down to posterity the true image of a great public character, extenuating nothing, and setting nought down in malice, our opinion of it is neither so decided nor so favourable. Surrounded by the personal friends of the subject of his history, and trammelled by party connexion, the task he undertook was certainly a difficult one, if he had any ambition to rise above the level of a mere panegyrist, and to write for the instruction of future times, rather than please the prejudices of a *coterie*. Perhaps the circumstances under which he wrote, made Mr. Twiss incapable

of impartial judgment. Had he been to award praise and censure with the stern justice of history, he must have given offence to those by whom his materials were intrusted to him, and the great political party of which Lord Eldon was the type. He may hint a fault in one place, or lay on the colours more faintly in another; but we did not expect, when we opened the book, to find justice meted strictly out—and we did not. We find what we like worse than even pure and indiscriminate laudation: what seems a sedulous and not unsuccessful attempt to create false impressions, and studious efforts to conceal and colour over all circumstances which might have an unfavourable effect upon the reader. While there is a manifest, and almost avowed determination to uphold Lord Eldon throughout, it is done with an air of candour and liberality, as if the reader was put in possession of all the writer knew; while truly we cannot help feeling, that in a great many instances, there is a very plausible and skilful effort to delude. If this be in any degree a well-founded criticism, the book, whatever may be its ability, ceases to deserve any respect or favour.

The suspicion we have now expressed, is chiefly derived from a perusal of the work itself. The sources of accurate information on the various incidents of so long a life, wrapped up, for the most part, in the secrecy of office, are, of course, in a great degree, remote and inaccessible to the ordinary critic, and are far more open to the biographer than to us. Nor did the impression strike us at first. On the contrary, the interest of the narrative, and the candour of the style, had well nigh so far beguiled us, as to lead us to believe, when we concluded it, that Lord Eldon was all that our author represents him—conscientious, high minded, and pure, throughout all his public career. But on maturer reading, glimpses of the truth are seen. That he was a man of rare endowments, and achieved great things, no one can deny; but that he was not the man Mr. Twiss has drawn him, the book itself contains enough to demonstrate.

Our quarrel with our author is not merely that he has written a *party* book. This he avows in the preface, where he says—

“ In such a memoir, a total absence of political feeling would have been hardly attainable, and perhaps not desirable. The life of any modern statesman, if written without a general sympathy in his political views, must have a coldness and flatness, which no tone of impartiality could redeem. The writer of these pages, therefore, though he presumes, in some important instances—even in one so momentous as that of the Catholic Question—to dissent from Lord Eldon's opinions, has not affected an air of indifference as to those stirring questions of politics in which Lord Eldon was mixed, and still less as to

those party attacks of which he was individually the object. Where the course of the work has led the author into contact with such subjects, he has thought it best to deal with them frankly."—Vol. i., Preface.

To a certain extent, there may be some truth in this assertion. It would be difficult for a man who had no sympathy with Lord Eldon's principles to admire, or, perhaps, to do justice to his public character. At the same time, Mr. Twiss carries his vocation too far. He does not "deal with them frankly." It was not necessary that the biographer should so indiscriminately defend every act in a life of politics so much exposed to observation, or that, from the Treason Trials of 1794, to the Bill of Pains and Penalties, every step in his career should be so resolutely vindicated. The time has gone by for such views. Lord Eldon himself was left at last, not like a "great sea mark, saving all that eyed him," but like a vessel moored at spring-tide, which the receding waves had left dry. Mr. Twiss, however, is ambitious of a share of his great leader's reputation; and following in his steps, breaks out into the following obsolete lamentation over the Reform Bill:—

"Wielding this powerful combination of forces, Lord Eldon was enabled, through many a long year of untiring energy, to break the successive tides of revolution,—until at length, in 1831, the ill-starred conjunction of the royal with the democratic will, gave that sinister heave to the constitution which has wrenched it from its frame, and converted its administration from a systematic government to a succession of conflicts, each doubtful in its issue, and each more dangerous than its antecedent. But, in whatever shape and at whatever season the consequences of that dislocation may come upon us, those who honour the memory of Lord Eldon will have the pride of reflecting, that, to the latest practicable moment, he stood up for the ancient safeguards of the crown and the people; and that when at length the constitution was laid low—when the seal of its doom had been extorted by duress from the Peers, and the House of Commons was levelled to a national convention—even then, at an age surpassing the common limits of mortality, that venerable man refused to despair of his country, and set the brave example of a reaction which has raised up one chance more to England, for regulating the liberties of her people, and restoring the security of her state."—Vol. i., p. 20.

This reads like some fragment of a speech spoken, or intended to be spoken, in the debates on Schedule A. Much folly was spoken, and many idle prophecies ventured, in the excitement of that time: but the most foolish of all the forebodings, was the notion, that wealth and rank were to lose their influence through the Reform Bill. Whatever defects it had, there never was a measure which was less entitled to the epithet of revolutionary. It

has not destroyed the Tory party ; on the contrary, it has resuscitated them, and that on a firmer basis than any that supported them in the precarious and slippery times of which our author writes. It did, indeed, much to destroy back-stair influence—influence, however, which Whigs, as well as Tories, could use, and which would have stood sadly in the way of Mr. Twiss and his friends, after the Whigs were once firmly in power. But as Lord Eldon lamented over the Catholic Relief Bill, so does Mr. Twiss think it decent to shed a few tears of sympathy over Gattton and Old Sarum, as a fitting qualification for the eulogist of one who, during his long life, was never known to support a single measure of reformation, or to oppose any ancient abuse.

But the mere confession of faith volunteered by Mr. Twiss might be passed with very lenient censure. It is about as harmless as the Jacobite predilections which clung to the generation of our Scottish lairds which has just passed away. Lord Eldon's political belief, although sufficiently antiquated in theory, was, as we shall see, far more practical ; and though he very stoutly fought for the abuses in the constitution which remained, he did not waste his time or his power in mourning for the departed glories of the Star Chamber.

When, however, we are told by a biographer, that he is in possession of a vast mass of materials—many hundred original letters of his author, from which he makes such selections as suit his purpose ; and when we are farther told, that his main intention is not to write with the unimpassioned pen of history, but with the bias and aim of a party politician—*surgit amari aliquid*—a jar comes on the ear with his smooth sentences ; and we cannot help wishing often, that we had the means of knowing all that *is suppressed*, and of filling up many blanks which occur in the very crisis of expectation. Our misgiving is, that Mr. Twiss has produced all that served his turn, and omitted all that might foil it.

Had Mr. Twiss had the boldness to write for public and lasting reputation, he might have done truer justice to the memory of Lord Eldon, as well as to himself. The really great, or rather powerful points of his character and mind, were quite sufficient, with the partial romance of his early life, to have afforded all legitimate scope for eulogy. These are well and most successfully elucidated in this work. It has, beyond question, raised the reputation of its subject, as far as the attributes of great activity of mind, great sagacity of forethought, and great determination of purpose went to make up the public man. We had always thought of Lord Eldon as the greatest lawyer of his time, and, beyond that, as a skilful discernor of the signs of the horizon, and a knowing trimmer of his sails. In point of fact, he was

much more. He seems to have possessed in a very high degree, the power not of conceiving only, but accomplishing : an earnest and resolute will, joined with great dexterity in bending weaker men to his purpose. He never faltered in action. His doubts were all reserved for the judgment-seat. What he determined to do, he did ; and never turned aside from his design as long as the possibility of accomplishment remained. He never found lions in his path, and whether his personal courage were as great as his biographer tells us, his moral nerves were most firmly strung, and no weak misgivings or compunctious visitings ever stayed his hand. Thus, from the death of Pitt, he was truly the minister, and as far as the fact confers honour, he ruled this country for more than twenty years.

In the history of such a man, it needed not that his biographer should assume for him virtues which he never had, or conceal or gloss over failings or misdeeds which were as much bound up with his character and reputation as the qualities which balance them. Suspicion is thus thrown on the whole narrative. This we shall endeavour to analyze with some little care, and try at once to infuse into our pages something of the agreeable storytelling of the work, and also to enable our readers to judge how far our criticism is well founded.

The principal materials on which Mr. Twiss proceeds, besides the public channels of information, are a large collection of original letters of Lord Eldon, chiefly to his daughters, and a manuscript anecdote-book, compiled by Lord Eldon himself, during the later years of his life. The last has been of essential service to the work. The stories are well and racily told, and we were rather surprised, that a man who found such extreme difficulty in expressing himself with brevity and clearness on public business, should make so good, lively, and terse a *raconteur*.

Lord Eldon was the son of Mr. John Scott, coalfitter in Newcastle, a man of considerable weight in that town, and carrying on an extensive trade. He was born at Newcastle on the 4th of June 1751. His elder brother, Lord Stowell, was born on the 17th of September 1745, under circumstances of some peculiarity, which had a remarkable effect on the fortunes of the two brothers in after life. The story is thus told :—

“ On the 17th of September, 1745, the city of Edinburgh had surrendered to the Pretender’s army, whose road to London lay directly through Newcastle. The town walls were planted with cannon, and every preparation was made for a siege. In this state of things, Mrs. Scott’s family were anxious that she should remove to a quieter and safer place. The narrow lanes, or, as they are called, chares of Newcastle, resembling the wynds of Edinburgh, communicate from the upper part of the town to the quay side, and in one of these named

Love Lane, which is in the parish of All Saints, stood the residence of Mr. William Scott, conveniently situate for the shipping with which he was connected; but the line of the town wall at that time ran along the quay between Love Lane and the River Tyne: and the gates having been closed and fortified, egress in any ordinary way appeared almost impossible. This obstacle, however, was overcome by the courage of Mrs. Scott, who caused herself to be hoisted over the wall in a large basket, and descended safely on the water-side, where a boat lay in readiness. It conveyed her to Heworth, a village distant only about four miles from Newcastle, but situate on the southern side of the Tyne, within the county palatine of Durham; and at Heworth she gave birth to the twins William and Barbara."—Vol. i., p. 26.

Lord Stowell having been thus born in the county of Durham, was eligible for a scholarship, which fell vacant for that diocese, in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which he succeeded in obtaining, and thus laid the foundation not only of his own, but of his still more successful brother's prosperity.

Lord Eldon's boyhood presents no feature of peculiar interest, excepting that he seems to have been noted at the Grammar School of Newcastle as a lad of great abilities, and to have indicated early that constant activity of mind, which was his characteristic through life. His education at home appears to have been attended to with considerable care, after the fashion of the old school, and the paternal lessons of propriety were rigidly enforced by frequent applications of the birch, apparently without any very softening effect on the unyielding material of the future Chancellor.

"I believe," said Lord Eldon, "I have preached more sermons than any one that is not a clergyman. My father always had the Church service read on the Sunday evenings, and a sermon after it. Harry and I used to take it in turns to read the prayers or to preach: we always had a shirt put over our clothes to answer for a surplice."

He does not, however, seem to have done great honour to his canonical costume, at least as far as a regard to truth is concerned, as he recounts in his anecdote-book, apparently with some pride, sundry instances of sturdy lying, the punishment of which seems to have made an impression on his memory, but to have effected anything but contrition for the offence. Indeed, it struck us as a trait of his character not altogether insignificant, that he never scrupled at direct untruths, even in his maturer frolics, as the anecdotes related on pp. 62-108, vol. i., may serve to illustrate.

On their teacher, however, in the Grammar School of Newcastle, the Rev. Hugh Moises, the Scotts appear to have produced a feeling of very deep and lasting affection. With great pride did the provincial schoolmaster watch the rising footsteps of his

two favourite pupils; and, to do them justice, they seem fully to have reciprocated his attachment. Lord Eldon kept up his correspondence with his old preceptor, amid all the honours and distinctions which future years showered on him. One of the first acts of his Chancellorship was to make Mr. Moises one of his chaplains. He twice afterwards offered him still more substantial preferment; but this the old man always sturdily declined:—

“I must be permitted to think,” he says, “that I shall be better entitled to your favourable opinion, shall certainly act in a manner more becoming my great age, to decline any distinctions of increased wealth or consequence.”

The patronage, however, which he declined for himself, was bestowed upon his family.

Lord Stowell having gone to Oxford, and commenced his career with great success, it was intended that John should follow his father's occupation. His brother, however, who knew his great abilities, would not allow them to be so buried. “Send Jack here,” he wrote from Oxford, “I can do better for him.” And to Oxford Jack was sent accordingly, and entered as a commoner of University College, in the year 1766, under the tutorship of his brother.

Of his journey to Oxford, he relates in his anecdote-book a story which deserves to be extracted, from the light it throws on one very ruling feature in his character—a feature for which in his meridian he was indebted for much of his great success, and which growing from a virtue almost into a disease, clogged the reputation, and destroyed the comfort of his later life:—

“‘I have seen it remarked,’ says Lord Eldon in his Anecdote Book, ‘that something which in early youth captivates attention, influences future life in all stages. When I left school in 1766 to go to Oxford, I came up from Newcastle to London in a coach, then denominated, on account of its quick travelling as travelling was then estimated, a fly; being, as well as I remember, nevertheless, three or four days and nights on the road: there was no such velocity as to endanger overturning or other mischief. On the pannels of the carriage were painted the words *‘Sat cito, si sat bene:’* words which made a most lasting impression on my mind, and have had their influence upon my conduct in all subsequent life. Their effect was heightened by circumstances during and immediately after the journey. Upon the journey a Quaker, who was a fellow-traveller, stopped the coach at the inn at Tuxford, desired the chamber-maid to come to the coach-door, and gave her a sixpence, telling her that he forgot to give it her when he slept there two years before. I was a very saucy boy, and said to him, ‘Friend, have you seen the motto on this coach?’—‘No.’—‘Then look at it: for I think giving her only sixpence *now* is neither *sat cito* nor *sat bene.*’ After I got to town, my brother, now Lord Stowell, met me

at the White Horse in Fetter Lane, Holborn, then the great Oxford house, as I was told. He took me to see the play at Drury Lane. Love played Jobson in the farce, and Miss Pope played Nell. When we came out of the house, it rained hard. There were then few hackney-coaches, and we got both into one sedan-chair. Turning out of Fleet Street into Fetter Lane, there was a sort of contest, between our chairmen and some persons who were coming up Fleet Street, whether they should first pass Fleet Street, or we in our chair first get out of Fleet Street into Fetter Lane. In the struggle, the sedan-chair was overset with us in it. This, thought I, is more than *sat cito*, and it certainly is not *sat bene*.—In short, in all that I have had to do in future life, professional and judicial, I have always felt the effect of this early admonition, on the pannels of the vehicle which conveyed me from school, '*Sat cito, si sat bene.*' It was the impression of this which made me that deliberative judge—as some have said, too deliberative;—and reflection upon all that is past will not authorize me to deny that, whilst I have been thinking '*sat cito, si sat bene,*' I may not have sufficiently recollected whether '*sat bene, si sat cito*' has had its due influence."—Vol. i., p. 48, 50.

Some good sayings are recorded among the recollections of his early Oxford life, of which this, we think, is the best:—

"A clergyman had two churches, Newbury and Bibury; and instead of dividing the duties equally between them, chose always to perform the morning service at the former, and the evening service at the latter. Being asked his reason, he made answer: '*I go to nubere in the morning, because that is the time to marry; and I go to bibere in the evening, because that is the time to drink.*'"—Vol. i., p. 55, 56.

The only distinction which he acquired at Oxford, was gaining the Lichfield prize, by an "Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Foreign Travel." He took his Bachelor's degree, and intended to prosecute his studies for the Church. But an event, fortunately as it turned out, averted the whole current of his life.

At a ball at Newcastle, young Scott had seen and admired a Miss Bessy Surtees, the daughter of a townsman of his father's, of great consideration in that quarter. The lady's image seems to have pursued the Oxonian to the banks of the Isis, and we find him pouring out sundry half-stifled lamentations on the subject, in his letters to his companions. Various temporary opportunities increased the attachment on both sides. And at last, to put an end to all objections or demurs on the part of either family, he eloped with her to Scotland on the 18th of November 1772.

The relations were highly displeased with the match, and the fortunes of the bridegroom were supposed to be so completely marred by this exploit, that a wealthy grocer in Newcastle offered

to his father to take him into partnership as the only means of establishing him respectably. The proposal was so far entertained as to be referred to William Scott for his opinion, but his answer in the negative preserved his brother for greater things.

Though Lord Eldon's conduct in the elopement is of course not a subject for eulogium, yet as far as appears in the biography he acted in a spirited and manly manner; and bore up without dismay against the frowns of his friends, and the unpromising prospect of the future. His marriage rendered it impossible for him to prosecute his views toward the Church, with any chance of success, unless a living should fall vacant in his College during the first year—and he accordingly resolved to turn himself to the law, and entered in the Middle Temple on the 28th of January 1773. He continued, however, to reside at Oxford, but prosecuted his legal studies with the greatest assiduity. The year of grace passed without any College living becoming vacant, and thus was his destiny conclusively fixed. While keeping his terms at the Temple, he continued his residence at Oxford, employed partly as tutor of University College during the years 1774-75, and partly as Deputy-Professor of Law, for which service he received £60 a-year. The commencement of his labours in the latter department were singularly felicitous.

“About this time, however, Mr. John Scott gave lectures on the law as deputy for Sir Robert Chambers the Vinerian Professor: and for this service he appears to have had £60 a year. Talking to Mrs. Forster of these lectures, Lord Eldon said,—‘The most awkward thing that ever occurred to me was this: immediately after I was married, I was appointed Deputy Professor of Law at Oxford, and the law professor sent me the first lecture, which I had to read *immediately* to the students, and which I began without knowing a single word that was in it. It was upon the statute of young men running away with maidens. Fancy me reading, with about one hundred and forty boys and young men all giggling at the professor. Such a tit-ttering audience no one ever had.’—Vol. i., p. 91.

This reminiscence of Dr. Johnson at Oxford is characteristic:—

“If put out of temper he was not very moderate in the terms in which he expressed his displeasure. I remember, that, in the common room of University College, he was dilating upon some subject, and the then head of Lincoln College, Dr. Mortimer, was present. Whilst Johnson was stating what he proposed to communicate, the Doctor occasionally interrupted him, saying, ‘I deny that.’ This was often repeated, and observed upon by Johnson, as it was repeated, in terms expressive of increasing displeasure and anger. At length, upon the Doctor's repeating the words ‘I deny that,’ ‘Sir, Sir,’ said Johnson, ‘you must have forgot that an author has said, *Plus negabit unus asinus in unâ horâ, quam centum philosophi probaverint in centum annis.*’—Vol. i., p. 88.

He finally removed to London in 1775, considerably depressed in spirits as to his future prospects, which is not surprising, considering that he was almost without sixpence he could call his own, to support himself, his wife, and by this time their infant child, John, who was born on the 8th of March 1774. From his father and other relations he received little attention. Indeed, the generosity and kindness of his brother William, for which in after life he was always deeply grateful, were chiefly instrumental in enabling him to prosecute his views for the bar. His first house was in Cursitor Street, of which he used to say—"Many a time have I run down from Cursitor Street to Fleet Market, to get sixpenny worth of sprats for supper," (p. 96.) He was called to the bar on the 9th of February 1776.

" 'When I was called to the Bar,' said he to Mrs. Forster, 'Bessy and I thought all our troubles were over: business was to pour in, and we were to be almost rich immediately. So I made a bargain with her, that during the following year, all the money I should receive in the first eleven months should be mine, and whatever I should get in the twelfth month should be hers. What a stingy dog I must have been to make such a bargain! I would not have done so afterwards. But however, so it was; *that* was our agreement: and how do you think it turned out? In the twelfth month I received half a guinea; eighteen pence went for fees, and Bessy got nine shillings: in the other eleven months I got not one shilling.'"—Vol. i., p. 100.

Although he had little occupation in Westminster Hall, however, he was slowly laying the foundation of his great and deserved legal renown by most intense and unremitting application. It is impossible to rate too high the energetic and determined spirit with which, without any encouragement but his inward sense of power, he tasked himself to master every detail of his profession within his reach. It is here, perhaps, in his whole career, that he has most title to admiration, and that the truly masculine complexion of his mind shines out most clearly. In all his future exertions fame and power were glittering before him; but they would probably never have been his, if he had not with such unbending firmness, and such thorough mastering of his studies, gone through his course of labour, while clouds lowered all round him. If the life of Lord Eldon had no higher merit or utility, it would be invaluable as an example and encouragement to all who expect to achieve greatness, or would feel

"The spur, that the clear spirit doth raise"—
 "To scorn delights, and live laborious days."

Amid his severer studies, however, he seems to have had a keen sense of the humorous, and to have picked up various stray

witticisms in his loiterings in Westminster Hall. The following is a diverting story of Dunning:—

“ It is related that Mr. Dunning, who was the most eminent of the counsel practising in the Court of King’s Bench when Mr. Scott first entered the profession, ‘ had, some years before, when Solicitor General, diverted himself by making an excursion, in vacation time, to Prussia. From his title of Solicitor-General, the King supposed him to be a general officer in the British army; so he invited him to a great review of his troops, and mounted him, as an eminent military person, upon one of his finest chargers. The charger carried the Solicitor-General through all the evolutions of the day, the ‘ General’ in every movement being in a most dreadful fright, and the *Horse’s duty* never allowing him to dismount. He was so terrified and distressed by this great compliment, that he said he would never go abroad again as a general of any sort.’”—Vol. i., p. 310.

The dawn of brighter days for the young lawyer came on but slowly, and he was on the point of settling as a provincial counsel in his native town, when in 1780 he unexpectedly acquired great reputation by his argument in the case of *Ackroyd v. Smithson*. He was engaged single-handed against all the eminent counsel of the day: and, indeed, his argument seems to have been rather ultroneous. The case related to a lapsed share under a will, and he had got a guinea to consent for the heir-at-law. He told his employers that he would not give up the heir’s right to the lapsed share, but would argue the point, and that if it was to be given up, he must take his brief elsewhere. The attorney consulted his employer, who said, “ Do not send good money after bad—let Mr. Scott have a guinea to give consent, and if he will argue, why let him do so, but give him no more.” Mr. Scott did argue, gained his point, settled the law ever afterwards, and made his own fortune.

The reputation he acquired on this occasion obtained for him the offer of the Recordership of Newcastle, which at the time was one too tempting to be declined in his circumstances, and he accordingly accepted it, and had taken a house in Newcastle, when his better angel again interposed. In March 1781, the counsel in an important election case (the Clitheroe petition) having been detained on circuit by illness, Scott, as a promising young counsel, was waited on at four in the morning, and requested to open the case at ten that day. He undertook the task, and accomplished it. The case proved long and famous, fees came rolling in, Scott replied at the end with great power, amid compliments from every side, and abandoned all thoughts of Newcastle. His success was now certain, and the tide of his fortunes bore him faster and faster on. In 1783, he received a patent of precedence as King’s Counsel, from the Coalition Mi-

nistry, and in the month of June of that year was elected Member of Parliament for the borough of Weobly.

Up to this period, the subject of Mr. Twiss's Memoir commands and deserves our deep interest. He fought a noble battle with adversity, and gained it by his own right arm, without patronage or favour. He did his best to redeem the early folly of his marriage, by risking his health and life in a struggle to gain comfort, affluence, and honour for the bride to whom he had no home to offer. It is impossible to read the story of his shifting fortunes without sympathy and emotion, and admiration and respect for the qualities which earned and commanded such success. The quality of sturdy independence is certainly far more prominent in this period of his career, than it ever was afterwards: and without saying at present that he learnt to bend more easily in the halls of great men, and the courts of princes, the virtue, if not destroyed or lessened, was much more seldom called into exercise in his days of prosperity.

We suspect Mr. Twiss overrates the position of Lord Eldon, as a pleader to a jury. We have never understood that in that capacity he stood in the first rank. His rare sagacity, and profound knowledge, must have made him a very wary and subtle counsel, both at Nisi Prius, and in his criminal practice; but his speaking never was of a popular cast, and it is to do injustice to the reputation of so consummate a lawyer, to found it on the department in which he was least pre-eminent.

As a counterpart to the anecdote of Dr. Johnson, we insert a piece of professional pleasantry, of which his biographer was the victim.

“ ‘ At an assizes at Lancaster, we found Dr. Johnson's friend, Jemmy Boswell, lying upon the pavement,—*inebriated*. We subscribed at supper a guinea for him and half a crown for his clerk, and sent him, when he waked next morning, a brief with instructions to move, for what we denominated the writ of ‘ *Quare adhæsit pavimento*,’ with observations, duly calculated to induce him to think that it required great learning to explain the necessity of granting it to the judge, before whom he was to move. Boswell sent all round the town to attornies for books, that might enable him to distinguish himself,—but in vain. He moved however for the writ, making the best use he could of the observations in the brief. The judge was perfectly astonished, and the audience amazed.—The judge said, ‘ I never heard of such a writ—what can it be that adheres *pavimento*?—Are any of you gentlemen at the bar able to explain this?’ The Bar laughed. At last one of them said, ‘ My Lord, Mr. Boswell last night *adhæsit pavimento*. There was no moving him for some time. At last he was carried to bed, and he has been dreaming about himself and the pavement.’ ”—Vol. i., p. 130.

Another story, of which Boswell is the hero, does credit to the

smartness of the operator, although at the expense of our country and countrymen.

“ ‘Jemmy Boswell called upon me at my chambers in Lincoln’s Inn, desiring to know what would be my definition of *Taste*. I told him I must decline informing him how I should define it;—because I knew he would publish what I said would be my definition of it, and I did not choose to subject my notion of it to public criticism. He continued, however, his importunities in frequent calls, and, in one, complained much that I would not give him my definition of taste, as he had that morning got Henry Dundas’s (afterwards Lord Melville), Sir Archibald Macdonald’s, and John Anstruther’s, definitions of taste. ‘Well then,’ I said, ‘Boswell, we must have an end of this. Taste, according to my definition, is the judgment which Dundas, Macdonald, Anstruther, and you, manifested, when you determined to quit Scotland, and to come into the south. You may publish this if you please.’ ”

—Vol. i., p. 303.

We have now seen Scott launched, at the age of thirty-two, on the sea of public life, and from this time forward the part he was destined to play was public, and is identified with the history of the time. His aptitude and qualification for these new scenes, and, in consequence, his general character, became now more clearly developed. We shall interrupt the thread of the narrative for a little, to endeavour to estimate his merits and failings as a public man. In this task we shall differ widely from his biographer. We concur indeed almost entirely with Mr. Twiss as to the many great attributes, which we admit him to have possessed. But we see him with other eyes—if Mr. Twiss has done justice to his own powers of vision. Taking the portrait of him given us, it seems to us, when attentively studied, to present a much more chequered surface, than that smooth unvarying colour of magnanimity and excellence, in which it appears to his admiring historian.

The features of his character, as a politician, on which his memory most safely rests, were sagacity and resolution—constant activity and energy, and untiring patience. These are very conspicuously displayed throughout his life, which, as we have already remarked, has raised his reputation as a practical man of affairs much higher than we had thought it stood. He also had the art—a rare one—of acquiring influence over weaker men. His secret was not that sort of fascination by which commanding spirits, like Napoleon, draw men after them—neither was it influence gained by debasing servility. It rather seems to have consisted in a certain practical adroitness, not remote from his professional qualities, united with a constant eye to the main object in which he was engaged. In this way, apart from some congeniality of taste and mind, which probably contributed not a little to that

result, he acquired a most remarkable ascendancy with George the III., and Queen Charlotte, and what was a greater triumph of his power, he continued to possess an influence, nearly equal, with George IV., with whom, while Prince of Wales, he had lived in open hostility. He was consistent. That praise cannot be denied him. The mob, at Oxford, cheered him justly, as having never ratted. Whatever may have been the nature or quality of his opinions, he maintained them most stoutly, and clung to them to the last. Nor are we inclined to doubt that they were conscientiously entertained by him—at least so far as he ever stopped to trace the process of reasoning by which he arrived at them. For in his mind they were not so much opinions as axioms, which commended themselves to his judgment without reasoning, and which therefore no reasoning could disturb. And when we say that he was most cautious, wise, and firm in council, as well as energetic in action, we think our catalogue of political virtues is nearly complete.

Whether he was as disinterested as consistent, or as scrupulous in the means he used to promote his opinions, as honest in holding them, admits of more legitimate doubt. It might be harsh to assert that with him, as Sydney Smith says, "God save the King," meant "God save my salary;" but it is very clear that the honours and emoluments of office were ever most prominent in his thoughts. It is plain that he dwells with great inward complacency on his accumulating wealth and dignity, and in spite of the incessant intimations of approaching resignation, he never seems to have forgotten the advice of the Principal of Brazenose, "*Cave de resignationibus*." Although he often took leave, he was very loth to depart; and while, in 1820, for about the tenth time, he protests that sixty-nine is a preposterous age for a Chancellor, and that he must resign, 1826 finds him, at seventy-five, only yielding up the seals to the irresistible grasp of Canning.

It appears to us that all this arose from a certain fear of change, which, he was afraid, might endanger the fortune and fame which he had so unexpectedly achieved. He had made money, a name, and a family, and he was tremulously fearful that some flap of the fickle goddess's wings might rob him of them all. "*Resigno quæ dedit*" was a motto he was not fond of, and he had experience enough of "*proba pauperies*" not to seek her again. In short, it was a certain moral cowardice and prudence combined—a desire to make his harvest sure, without waiting for the uncertain ripening of later fruit, while the sky looked louring. This feeling is well exemplified in one of the last panics which he took, at the period of the Radical riots in 1819. Writing to Lord Stowell, after stating in a former letter that sixty-nine and the

Chancellorship were quite incompatible, he remarks, "Lord Clarendon, I think, speaks of Lord Keeper Coventry as fortunate in not living to see the civil broils of his country. I am excessively fearful that no man can now hold the Great Seal for any material portion of time, and live without seeing what Coventry did not see." It is not very plain why it was necessary to hold the Great Seal, in order to live to see all this; but the meaning or impression is obviously that the Chancellor suspected that the holder of the Great Seal might possibly live to find his head off his shoulders, or his estates made public property, and that under such circumstances sixty-nine was a retreat from which he might survey the storm in safety, without the imputation of cowardice. But the storm passed by, and the infirmities of sixty-nine vanished with it.

Neither did he ever hesitate about the means he used for obtaining those ends on which he mentally determined. Not that we mean to say his means were underhand and tortuous. That was not his nature. But in the use of such means as his nature did prompt, he was singularly unscrupulous, and we are much mistaken, if a fairer exhibition of his private correspondence would not have shown this still more clearly. This quality of his mind appears in almost every remarkable act of his life; the Treason and Sedition Bills, his conduct as Chancellor in 1804, during George III.'s illness, and his ultimate behaviour to Queen Caroline, may be mentioned as instances.

But the one grand and essential defect in the character of his hero, Mr. Twiss is apparently resolved not to see; although, in the course of the work, there are faint glimpses, now and then, through "chinks that time has made," of a greater degree of light than he will admit himself to possess. That a man so gifted by nature, not merely to shine, but to act; with powers so practical, and grasp so great, should have passed through a career of such unbroken prosperity and influence, without doing one good deed for his country—without stamping his name on one single measure of improvement, or one generous effort to ameliorate the condition of his fellow-citizens, leaves on our mind a sense of sickening humiliation, which utterly absorbs any interest or respect the individual might otherwise excite. Yet so it is. In these three volumes there is not one example of any spontaneous effort to do good. On the contrary, there is not a measure of humanity, or liberality, which did not find in him an active and acrimonious opponent—whether the reform was in representation, in toleration, or in jurisprudence, it was equally sure to meet with unreserved resistance. The history of his political life is one of perpetual endeavours to restrict and abridge the existing liberties of the people, and to prevent all efforts for their extension.

His legislation was all directed to breaking down the sacred barriers of the constitution—his deliberation to continuing all its obsolete and unjust distinctions. Wilberforce, in the cause of humanity, Romilly, in the amendment of the law, and Pitt himself, in his half-hearted efforts for religious liberty, found him their constant antagonist. As far as we recollect, the only instance in which he is found supporting a measure of reform, is in that of Lord Erskine's Bill for preventing cruelty to animals, for he seems to have had a feeling for the brute creation as a class, which he never extended to the great mass of his countrymen.

Not, indeed, that he was naturally of a harsh or an unkindly nature. In private he was much the reverse; and many of his letters, and of the anecdotes concerning him, show him capable both of gentle and generous feeling. But he was utterly destitute of enlarged views or principles of public policy. His mind was by nature narrow and bigoted. Reared originally in the monkish retreats of Oxford, his education strengthened the natural temper of his thoughts. He seems to have had but one notion in politics—that, whatever was, was right; and as long as that existing state of things brought him a comfortable salary and public honours, he marvelled how any one could live discontentedly under so benign a constitution. The loadstar of his compass was the monarch; the repellent force the people. To serve, to please, to satisfy the first, was the object of his life; the last he never seems to have regarded in any other light than as a many-headed monster, which would fain make a meal of the Great Seal, if any license were allowed it. It was not aristocratic scorn, or the efforts of a parvenu adventurer, to forget his origin. He did not begin to think, like Lord Foppington in the play, that "when he was a commoner he was a very nauseous fellow." He regarded everything having the semblance of popularity, with pure and loyal terror and dislike, and considered all efforts at change as an insidious design to let loose those whom it was the object of all government to restrain. "The divinity that doth hedge a king" was so august in his eyes, that he gravely speaks of his half-mad, though still *royal* master in 1807, as having "more sense and understanding than all his ministers put together;" and to judge by his letters to him, one would think that the highest duty and felicity on earth was to keep the king comfortable.

The character of his political reasonings was precisely such as was suited to carry out the views and measures he supported. They were never founded on enlarged principle, but were always *indirect*, tending to show, not that what was defended was right, or what was proposed wrong in principle, but that some indirect consequence might follow from the proposed improvement, or

that some consequential benefit might arise from the abuse complained of. Such is his argument in defence of the seizure and detention of the Danish ships in 1801—one of the most unjustifiable pieces of tyranny that ever was exercised by a strong over a weaker power; and, above all, in his vindication of the slave trade, in support of which, with his usual consistency and determination, he struggled to the very last. The plain question of right or wrong he never meets directly; and in all his speeches in Parliament, we do not believe there is one in which a single sound rule or canon in political science is to be found enunciated.

One other ruling object he had;—to *be* in, and to *stay* in. He had no desire to do so at the expense either of personal consistency or party connexion, for to both he was faithful in a very high degree. But we cannot read the book without perceiving that the power and circumstance of office was the great aim and enjoyment of his life. Even from the extracts of the correspondence given, this is plainly discernible, although certainly it is wonderful how the wary politician suited his letters to the party addressed. Sometimes, to his old master, or his country friends, he will dilate on the vanity of all earthly ambition; but his heart was plainly all the time in the perplexed movements of the Cabinet, and the tides of Royal inclinations. When he left office in 1806, or rather on resuming it in 1807, he seems to have inscribed in his judicial note-book a fragment from one of Seneca's tragedies, commencing

“ Me dulcis detinet quies
Obscuro positus loco
Leni perfruar otio.
Nullis nota Quiritibus
Aetas per tacitum fluat.”

And in like manner, he writes to his friend, Dr. Ridley:—“ I have become inured to, and fond of retirement. My mind had been busied in the contemplation of my best interests—those which are connected with nothing here.” But in a letter to his brother dated the same day, he is full of the feverish excitement of his return to power, and anxious speculation as to its probable endurance; and from a subsequent letter in October 1807, to a young student of law, it appears that the man who had thrown ambition behind him, and only sought out a retreat where his years might flow noiselessly by, had amused his rustic hours by reading over “Coke upon Littleton!”

“ Haec ubi locutus fenerator Alfius
Jam jam futurus rusticus,
Omncm redegit Idibus pecuniam;
Quaerit Kalendis ponere.”

The true nature of his feelings is perhaps more accurately expressed in his advice to the landlord of the inn at Rusheyford, when he was more than an octogenarian—

“ I hear, Mr. Hoult, you are talking of retiring from business, but let me advise you not to do so. Busy people are very apt to think a life of leisure is a life of happiness; but believe me, for I speak from experience, when a man who has been much occupied through life arrives at having nothing to do, *he is very apt not to know what to do with himself.*”—Vol. iii., p. 246.

We have given this short outline of the unfavourable features of Lord Eldon's political character from no want of appreciation of his sterling qualities, or any party wish to decry them. But we have been prompted to dwell more strongly on the views we have expressed, from the constant and intolerable strain of praise in which his biographer indulges, and the utter omission of all notice of defects, which strike the most unbiassed reader, on the face of his very artfully contrived narrative. We fairly own, that our confidence is entirely shaken in the impartiality of the selections he gives us from the correspondence—and we cannot but conclude, from the manifest spirit of the work, that much remains behind which would throw more light on the true character of the subject of his narrative. We now resume our analysis, and shall try by a detailed consideration of some of the more important events of his life, to illustrate the justice of these remarks.

When Lord Eldon entered the House of Commons in 1783, the excitement of the Coalition question and the India Bills was at its height. He took part with Mr. Pitt in that controversy, and continued through life true to the party with whom his political life commenced. There is no doubt that his Oxford education had a strong tendency to form an arbitrary and illiberal system of political thought: but the probability is, that the immediate influence which operated in determining his choice of a party, was the strong friendship which Lord Thurlow had conceived for him, and the very material services which he had rendered him in his profession. At the same time, Pitt was the *King's* Minister. The Coalition lost their offices, under circumstances of considerable personal offence, because individually they were obnoxious to the King—and Lord Eldon's future history proves how deep a sympathy he must have had with a Cabinet constructed on such a principle.

We shall not be seduced by any thing in the work before us, into a discussion on the fruitful subjects of controversy by which the country was then disturbed. They are treated fairly enough by Mr. Twiss, considering his own party predilections. Scott did not engage in the discussions prior to the dissolution—and in the

succeeding Parliament he distinguished himself honourably by speaking and voting with Fox, and against his own friends, on a question of law involved in the Westminster scrutiny: a service which Fox remembered ever afterwards. He is unquestionably entitled to full credit for the manliness and independence of his conduct on this occasion. He was a young Member—the Opposition were feeble in numbers, and unpopular in the country, and party spirit ran in a deeper flood than had been known since the latter days of Walpole. But he maintained the point for which Fox contended, with all the pertinacity of a lawyer for the integrity of his peculiar system: and it must be admitted, that in this early essay in public life, self-interest had little share.

The anecdote book relates the following incident in the debates on the India Bill, which we recollect to have read elsewhere, but which is a very good example of Sheridan's ready wit:—

“During the debates on the India Bill, at which period John Robinson was secretary to the Treasury, Sheridan, on one evening when Fox's majorities were decreasing, said, ‘Mr. Speaker, this is not at all to be wondered at, when a member is employed to corrupt every body in order to obtain votes.’ Upon this there was a great outcry made by almost every body in the House. ‘Who is it? Name him! name him!’ ‘Sir,’ said Sheridan to the Speaker, ‘I shall not name the person. It is an unpleasant and invidious thing to do so, and therefore I shall not name him. But don't suppose, Sir, that I abstain because there is any difficulty in naming him; I could do that, Sir, as soon as you could say *Jack Robinson*.’”—Vol. i., p. 161.

Scott's reputation had risen so high as a lawyer, that in 1788 he was appointed Solicitor-General, and he took a prominent part in the Regency debates of the following year. The hair-splitting and nice distinctions of the discussions which then arose were congenial to the metaphysical and discriminating cast of his mind: and although he never was a good parliamentary debater, and the only occasion on which he was known to break out in declamation, was singularly unfortunate, (see p. 1, vol. i.), in this instance he afforded the Minister much real assistance, and laid the foundation of the remarkable good-will which George III. conceived for him. But we pass over these matters, to come to a period of his life at which he may most justly be regarded as standing at the bar of posterity, for a series of acts, on which, if not clearly justified by the circumstances of the times, no sentence too severe could be passed on a public man.

By the promotion of Sir A. Macdonald to the Bench, a vacancy was created in the office of Attorney-General in 1793, to which Mr. Scott succeeded; and he had accordingly thrown on him the whole weight and responsibility of the State Trials which

have so unhappily given a character to the succeeding year. His biographer is right in the anxiety he displays to defend his reputation in this important crisis of his life. As a political man, it was on this stage that he played his most important part. Possibly in cabinet intrigues, he may in after years have silently affected interests as deep. But on this occasion he came forward as the public and responsible author and adviser of proceedings of the deepest interest to the liberties and privileges of this free people. He acquitted himself, as indeed he always did, with ability and with moderation of manner. But in any estimate of Lord Eldon's character, it is necessary to go a little farther, and to consider the essential merits of proceedings, which, for good or evil, stand out so prominently, in the history of English jurisprudence.

We think Mr. Twiss's treatment of this subject one of the worst and least creditable parts of his performance. We have already adverted, and not, we are sure, too severely, to the injury he has done his work, by the avowed party character in which he writes it. Still he professes to write as an historian—although allowing his cast of sentiment to borrow a colour from the complexion of his political thoughts. We should therefore have expected, that on a matter of history so public and so important in the annals of our country, we should have met with something very different from a party argument against the verdicts of the juries in these far-famed prosecutions. Indeed, while we most willingly admit the great pleasure with which we read the work before us, and would do justice to the tone of liberality in which the author generally speaks of individuals distinguished by opposite political sentiments, we cannot disguise our surprise and deep regret at the manner in which an Englishman and a constitutional lawyer has in the present day ventured to treat this subject.

It is too much perhaps to expect that Mr. Twiss, or those who think with him in politics, should consider, as we do, these treason trials as a most unhallowed sacrifice offered up to the frenzy of a public panic; or look upon them as a singular and humiliating example of how frail the tenure is by which our boasted liberty is held, or how liable it is to be thrown beneath the feet of our legislators in the paroxysms of cowardice, or by the schemes of treachery. But we did expect that Mr. Twiss, writing at the distance of fifty years, after all the excitement of the time has long passed away, if he did not, which he certainly cannot be compelled to do, open his mind to receive lights which succeeding years afford, would at least have done his duty faithfully as an historian, and not have presented us with the piece of special pleading, which he introduces under

the title of "some outline of the main questions of fact and law which were raised at the trial."

It cannot be disputed that at the period in question, a very violent and seditious spirit had made some little progress in different parts of the country, and the foolish imitation of the phrases and style of the French revolutionary leaders made the extent of this feeling appear greater than it was in reality. We are certainly not at all inclined to say that a provident government would not have acted wisely in taking prompt and effective measures to counteract the designs of the guilty parties, and to punish their overt acts. At the same time we may differ very much from the statesmen of those times, as to the most salutary and effectual way of checking the spirit of disaffection under such circumstances. It is a rule almost universal, and holds true exactly in proportion to the general liberty of the constitution under which it arises, that such states of public mind as that which was supposed to threaten the safety of the country in 1794, never exist without some corresponding defect or vice in the state of the constitution itself. Though it is a lesson which governments are slow to learn, the principle to be deduced from this proposition is equally certain, that the surest and only certain way to cure sedition in a free country, is the reform of abuses, and the equal and fair administration of the law. The outward sore does infallibly indicate an inward disease, and vain are all violent applications outwardly, if the constitution is not purified. It is not by the gibbet or the axe, the terrors of state prosecutions, or the proclamation of martial law—it is not by throwing aside the legal safeguards which protect thousands in order that one guilty man may not escape, that a great nation can secure itself from internal dangers. This indeed is to promote the evil, not to remedy it, for the unjust discontent which you seek to punish in a few, becomes thereby just indignation in the minds of the many. It would be well that rulers would bear in mind the words of the preamble to that statute, which was the cause of so much discussion in the times of which we write, "that the state of a king standeth and consisteth more assured by the love and favour of the subjects towards the sovereign, than in the dread and fears of laws made with rigorous and severe punishment:"*—and that to preserve that love and favour, either to a monarch or a constitution, it is only necessary in a well regulated state, to rule with equal justice, and to apply timely reformation.

When we look back to the supposed dangers, and the too certain remedies of these times, it is impossible not to feel how little the latter partake of the true spirit of government. On the one

* 25 Edward III., stat. 5, c. 2.

hand we have all the violent expedients to which feebleness always flies in great emergencies—the *habeas corpus* Act suspended—the freedom of public speech prohibited—the right of petitioning Parliament restricted and abridged—remedies, alas! which left their deadly poison behind them, long after they themselves had been erased from the statute book. But for what was all this endured?—Ostensibly, to put down an imagined conspiracy against the King and the constitution, but truly, in a great degree, to prevent and extinguish agitation for that reasonable reform in our representative system, which length of time, and change of circumstances had rendered right, and which, with the full assent of the community, was carried into effect forty years afterwards, after the plentiful crop of disaffection and discontent had been reaped.

It is impossible to read the trial of Hardy without being satisfied that while there was a certain desire to impress the public with the belief of a conspiracy to introduce French principles—a term conveniently obscure; and among a great deal that was reprehensible, and perhaps inflammatory and seditious, one principal overt act of which he was accused, and almost the only overt act which was proved against him, was the design to effect a Reform in Parliament. This indeed is made clear beyond question by the garbled quotations, and emphatic italics of the biographer. We are not sure that Mr. Twiss does not consider the Reform Bill itself as treason, or at least revolutionary and Jacobin, if we are to judge of his real sentiments by the ridiculous and obsolete tone of his observations on it. But a few extracts from his quotations from the evidence will show wherein he thought the strength of the charge against Hardy lay. For instance, he seems to consider it as tending to treason to hold that “a republican—is one who wishes to promote the general welfare of the people,” (p. 244)—that “sovereignty as a matter of right, appertains to the nation only, and not to any individual”—(a sentence of Tom Paine’s, which Mr. Twiss prints in italics, but which seems to us the soundest and most elementary principle of government)—that “every citizen is a member of the sovereignty, and as such can acknowledge no personal subjection, *and his obedience can only be to the laws.*” We should like to hear any different doctrine ventilated at the present day, either on the hustings or in the House. Then the following paragraph is given; the italics are the biographer’s:—

“On the 20th of January 1794, a general meeting of the London Corresponding Society agreed upon an address to the people, and upon certain resolutions. Both the address and the resolutions were printed by Hardy’s order. The concluding paragraph of the address ran thus:—‘You may ask perhaps by what means shall we seek re-

dress ? We answer, that men in a state of civilized society are bound to seek redress of their grievances from the laws, *as long as any redress can be obtained by the laws.* But our common master, whom we serve, whose law is a law of liberty, and whose service is perfect freedom, has taught us not to expect to gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. *We must have redress from our own laws, and not from the laws of our plunderers, enemies, and oppressors.* There is no redress for a nation, circumstanced as we are, but in a fair, free, and full representation of the people.'—Vol. i., p. 254.

In other words, we must have redress from a Reformed House of Commons, and not from one which does not represent the people.

These are merely examples, both of the substance of the prosecutions, and of the spirit in which Mr. Twiss has thought fit to deal with them. Let any man compare the passages we have quoted—we do not say with the speeches at Birmingham, or in the King's Park at Edinburgh,—but with the principles constantly enunciated in the debates in Parliament on the Reform Bill, and reflect that the former were made the ground-work of a CAPITAL CHARGE against a man who *was not the author*, but was merely supposed to be a favourer of the sentiments expressed, and he will then have a just criterion of the character of the proceedings.

The extracts given by Mr. Twiss are most unfairly made. He gives the reader all that bear against, and none that bear for the prisoner ; he actually never once hints that the witnesses who spoke to the more violent of the expressions he takes notice of, were Government *spies*, for whose evidence the Attorney-General himself was obliged to apologize to the Jury, and whose character and credit were so utterly extinguished on cross-examination as entirely to neutralize their testimony. And, on the whole, his clear design and aim is that the uninstructed reader should conclude that the prisoner was acquitted in some inexplicable turmoil of popular feeling, contrary to the clear and undoubted evidence in the case.

We are confident that there are very few men indeed in this country who, on reading over Hardy's trial at the present day, could honestly say that the verdict was anything but the clearest and most transparent deduction from the evidence, or that the execution of Hardy, on such evidence, would have been anything but a murder under colour of justice. The man was on his trial for TREASON, and any one who will take the trouble to read the jumbled extracts in Mr. Twiss's chapter will have a favourable specimen of the strange materials out of which this charge—the highest and most fearful state crime—was sought to be constructed. If Hardy had been convicted, no man's life was safe for an hour ; for no one could have told whether the treason consisted in praising

Paine, or the French Revolution, or in wishing for reform in Parliament, or in ordering the band to play the Marseillaise Hymn, or in not answering the questions of the Norwich Society, or for belonging to a Society to which a man belonged who was suspected of writing a play called "George's head in a basket," or any other of the hundred and one circumstances of a similar nature, on which, taken together, the verdict of the Jury was demanded.

We are so far from sympathizing in any degree with the tone with which Mr. Twiss treats this subject, that we cannot look back without trembling to the consequences from which the courage of a British advocate, and the honesty of a British jury, saved our country. The nobleness of the defence—the integrity of the verdict—the triumph of the law and the liberty of the subject—have no charms for our author. But to us they constitute a bright green spot on which the eye of the patriot may rest, in one of the darkest and most dreary periods of our constitutional history. These were days, when every man's feet were beset with snares, and in which, at his own table, or by his own fireside, he was not safe from the designs of traitors—when every unguarded word which he spoke in the openness of his heart, and the confidence of domestic retirement, was caught up and recorded by a spy :—days in which, to speak the name of Liberty, rendered the speaker suspected, and when every free aspiration was checked and stifled, to satisfy an inordinate and tyrannical spirit of fear. It has been said, and very generally believed, that if Hardy and his confederates had been convicted, many hundred warrants were in readiness to be issued. Well they might be; for if many of the matters of which Hardy was accused, and which were chiefly insisted on, were treasonable, the traitors were numberless. Let us hope that these days of terror are departed, never to return; and that, if our author ever rises, as perhaps he may, to fill the same post as Scott then occupied, he may find, that doctrines which may appropriately become the biographer of Eldon, would never now be tolerated in an English Attorney-General.

But there is a defence given for the Attorney-General's conduct in this matter, which he himself advanced in the House of Commons, and which he appears to have inserted in his anecdote book, deserving some consideration. It is in substance this, that he had doubts whether the crime amounted to treason; but that if he had tried the parties for sedition, he could not have brought in all the evidence which he wished to lay before the country; and that therefore, to rouse the country to a sense of their danger, he preferred trying for the capital crime, even although he ran the risk of an acquittal. He expressed it thus—

"It appeared to me to be more essential to securing the public safety, that the whole of their transactions should be published, than that any of these individuals should be convicted."—P. 284.

In the same way, he said in the House of Commons—

"Though a traitorous conspiracy was not proved at those trials, a design to traduce and subvert the constitution and good of the country was made manifest, by meetings which had never before existed, and by the publication of libels to which this country had been a stranger."*

Now, how far this was a cause invented after the event, we cannot precisely determine. We have little doubt, that the trials *were* intended to support that fabric of alarm on which the minister depended, and from which have flowed so many calamities. But from an officer in the position of the Attorney-General, we cannot accept any such ground of expediency as an excuse for his proceedings. It was his own principle, that the Attorney-General was bound to act independently of the Cabinet, and Fox laid it down, apparently with his concurrence, that whenever it was the opinion of the Attorney-General, that persons had been guilty of high treason, it was his bounden duty to prosecute. If, then, the Attorney-General was satisfied, that the acts charged amounted to treason, he had no alternative. But the serious part of this matter is, that it is plain HE DID NOT THINK IT TREASON. He nowhere says that he thought it so. He did not say so in the House, neither does he say so in the somewhat querulous defence of himself in the anecdote book. On the contrary, he says, that *although* a traitorous conspiracy was *not proved*, a design to traduce the constitution *was* proved; and that he preferred trying the parties for treason, not because he thought them guilty of treason, but because, by so trying them, he was enabled to disclose certain facts to the country. But what is this but acknowledging, that he was playing a most unauthorized game with the lives of the accused? Can any thing be conceived more revolting, than that the Attorney of England should confess, that he tried a man for his life, when he believed him not guilty of a capital crime; and that he ran the fearful risk, of having that declared treason, which he believed not to be treason, and the life of a fellow subject unjustly sacrificed, merely from a motive of state policy? If this were true, Machiavelli himself never taught any thing more abominable. But, in truth, we do not believe it. We believe it an excuse invented after the fact, to give the impression, that the conviction so eagerly desired, never was expected; but that instead of the mortification of defeat,

* Cobbett's Parl. Hist., vol. xxxii., p. 485.

which is transparent, the author of the prosecutions was indulging the complacency of success in his main design. Whatever the truth may be, in either light the proceedings prove how little regard Scott really had for the liberties or privileges of British subjects, when brought into competition with any object he wished to accomplish.

Fortunately for our Constitution, the tide of arbitrary principle which had set in so strongly, was stemmed in England in the ordinary course of judicial procedure: and amid the insanity of the times, which prompted even a man like Wyndham to talk of exercising "a vigour beyond the law," an English Jury were found incapable of sacrificing the freedom of their countrymen.

Such were these celebrated trials. Perhaps the contemporary proceedings that brought down so much reproach on our criminal system in Scotland, were in some degree compensated to this country, by the firm and stable basis on which trial by jury was established by the English verdicts. Long may it remain the honour and the protection—*decus et tutamen*—of our constitutional freedom—and long may it be before it is degraded into a "*delusion, a mockery, and a snare.*" We will do Scott the justice to believe, that however anxious for a conviction, he was incapable of permitting the prisoners to be tried by a Jury packed for conviction, or sentence to be carried into execution on a verdict so obtained, pending the discussion of its legality.

The trials having failed, a timely incident was laid hold of as the occasion of the introduction of restrictive laws. The tide of popular feeling was beginning to turn against the French war, and distress and starvation oppressed the people. The King, on going to open Parliament, was assailed not only by strong marks of disapprobation from the crowd, but also by various missiles. Mr. Pitt, accordingly, came down to the House, and because some stones had been thrown at the monarch, proposed a bill by which the assembling of more than fifty persons under pretence of petitioning Parliament, was declared to be sedition, and the meeting was made liable to be dispersed by any magistrate. A more direct inroad on the elementary principles of British liberty cannot be conceived, and the pretext was absurdly inadequate to the measure built upon it. We can best illustrate the proceeding by a modern example. In the end of 1830, King William was openly insulted in the streets of London, and, as is well known, was obliged to decline going to dine with the city. What would the country have said if, as a cure for the nation's discontent, Earl Grey, instead of coming to Parliament with a Reform Bill, had proposed to declare all meetings to petition Parliament seditious? Yet to such a degree had the diatribes of Burke, and the fear of revolutionary principles possessed both Parliament and

the country, that not all the earnest denunciations of Fox, nor the manifest and plain abandonment of liberty, could rouse any spirit of independence within the walls of St. Stephen's. The fertile mind of the Attorney-General was set to work to invent new measures of restriction, and the House found no more difficulty in passing, than he did in preparing them.

We cannot, however, pursue this theme farther, and we willingly turn from this dark chapter of our history, to follow Lord Eldon's fortunes farther. We cannot afford space to trace, as they deserve, the effect of the events of that calamitous period on the subsequent liberties and fortunes of the country. We have dwelt at a little length upon them, because Scott judged rightly when he told the jury, in Hardy's case, that his name would go down to posterity in connexion with these trials. The responsibility which pressed upon him he could not avoid, from the position which he held when the startling events of the time occurred : and no candid man, in his estimate of his conduct, will fail to take into account the many and bewildering difficulties by which he was surrounded. But, as we said in the outset, he stands at the bar of posterity on trial, for his character as a great public man : and when merit, and not excuse is claimed for him, we must give our verdict accordingly. And therefore we say, that he lent his aid, as far as it could go, to destroy the liberties of England ; that he did so honestly and heartily, because he had no true appreciation of free principles of government ; and that if at this hour, we enjoy freedom of speech and of action, we owe it to the failure of his efforts, or to the noble resistance which was made to them. In taking our leave of the subject, we shall only observe, that the proceedings were as creditable in manner, to the ability, manliness, and moderation of the Attorney-General, as in substance they were the reverse. He never forgot the dignity of his office, or the courteous demeanour which at the Bar or on the Bench, always distinguished him.

The year 1799 saw him quit the bar and the House of Commons as Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, and elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Eldon. We are rather disappointed that Mr. Twiss, himself a lawyer, has not given us a better estimate of his powers as a pleader. He rather chooses to dwell on his successes on circuit, in confounding witnesses, and beguiling simple juries, in which, as we have already remarked, Scott's excellence could not lie, because he was a confused unimaginative speaker, with no fancy whatever, and hardly any power of rhetoric. But to the Bench, on legal questions, he must have been a reasoner of the deepest power. The singularly clear and lucid flow of his thoughts, his quick apprehension of distinctions the most subtle, and, at the same time, his firm and masterly grasp

of the strong points of his subject, must have rendered him an instructive model of legal reasoning; and we regret the more that Mr. Twiss should not have elaborated this part of the subject, that to us, in this quarter of the island, the distinctive excellences of the advocate have been thrown into the shade by the characteristics and peculiarities of the judge.

As a Parliamentary debater he cannot be said to have held any rank; because he never, or hardly ever, interfered in any but questions in his own peculiar province. His complete mastery over that, and his thorough discretion, made him a useful auxiliary to Pitt; but he was without pretensions to oratory; and amid the blaze of light that then shone in the House of Commons, he was certainly among the lesser fires.

His tenure of the Chief-Justiceship seems to have been always regarded by himself as the happiest period of his life. Although short, it established his judicial reputation on perhaps a footing even higher than that which he attained afterwards as Chancellor. Mr. Twiss make the following remarks on this subject:—

“The days of his Chief Justiceship, though they lasted only from July 1799 to April 1801, contributed greatly to his fame. On the Bench of a Common Law Court, no scope was allowed to his only judicial imperfection, the tendency to hesitate. A Common Law Judge, when he has to try causes at *Nisi Prius*, or indictments in a Crown Court, must sum up and state his opinion to the Jury on the instant; and when he sits in Bank with his brethren to decide questions of law, must keep pace with them in coming to his conclusions. Thus compelled to decide without postponement, Lord Eldon at once established the highest judicial reputation; a reputation, indeed, which afterwards wrought somewhat disadvantageously against himself when Lord Chancellor, by showing how little ground there was for his diffidence, and consequently how little necessity for his doubts and delays.”—Vol. i., p. 340.

It was impossible that when the poor Oxford student, who had been driven to the law by sheer necessity, found himself thus introduced, on equal terms, among the proud aristocracy of England, he should not have felt great satisfaction and considerable complacency in the event. To do him justice, he was above any little flutter of vanity. He was evidently impressed and agitated; and although the letters which he wrote on the occasion, in particular that to his mother, who was still alive, breathe too much self-righteousness, and attribute his success to “his life spent in conformity with the principles of virtue,” there is a subdued seriousness in the cast of his thoughts, and a strong appreciation of the responsibilities he was about to undertake, which recall the interest we felt in him, while struggling with adversity.

Lady Eldon’s pride on the occasion was embittered by one circumstance. She could not bear the wig:—

“ ‘In compliance with Lady Eldon’s feeling,’ says the present Earl, ‘Lord Eldon applied, as he has told me often, to King George III. to allow him to dispense with his wig, at times when he was not engaged in performing official functions. He pressed on the King the fact, that in former days, under the reigns of some of his Majesty’s predecessors (referring, I think, particularly to James I. and Charles I.) wigs were not worn by the Judges. ‘True,’ replied the King good humouredly, ‘I admit the correctness of your statement, and am willing, if you like it, that you should do as they did: for though they certainly had no wigs, yet they wore their beards.’”—Vol. i., pp. 339-340.

His tenure of the Chief-Justiceship was of short duration. In 1801, Lord Loughborough resigned the seals, on the retirement of Mr. Pitt from the Treasury, and Lord Eldon succeeded him as Chancellor, and entered on that career which has chiefly made his name famous.

Our limits will not allow us to follow Mr. Twiss as closely as we have done hitherto through the remaining part of Lord Eldon’s career; nor, indeed, is this at all necessary, as the subsequent events in his history are matters of public notoriety. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with taking notice concisely of some of its more prominent features.

Lord Eldon received the Great Seal for the first time in 1801. He resigned it on Mr. Pitt’s death in 1806. He again received it on the dismissal of the Grenville Ministry in 1807, and held it until the breaking up of the Liverpool Administration in 1826—having held it in all 24 years, 10 months, and 23 days, the longest period it ever was held by any individual since the Norman Conquest.

As of course he became as Chancellor, a member of the cabinet, his character as a minister forms the most important element in his subsequent career. Although Mr. Twiss tells us in high-flown phrase, that Lord Eldon’s mind was one of those “to which, in times of doubt and danger, the minds of men make fast as to a mooring,” and although he himself said, not-with too much modesty, that in public life he had either been “always right or always wrong,” he really had no pretension to be called a statesman at all. He had but one rule for every thing, as we have before observed in speaking of the character of his mind;—and the history of his public administration is told when we say that he made his first speech in the House of Lords in favour of suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and his last as a minister, in opposing the Catholic claims. We think it is Pitt who is represented in one of the political eclogues, as exclaiming

“I lately thought, forgive the rash mistake,
That kings should govern for their peoples’ sake.”

But Lord Eldon never seems to have been guilty of similar temerity. He spent his life in opposing every measure tending to increase the power of the people, or indeed to change even their social condition for the better: while, on the other hand, every proposal by which the power of the prerogative or the executive might be increased, met with his hearty approval. Therefore, while such measures as the Six Acts were warmly supported by him, he was the uniform and unrelenting opponent of Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, Slave Abolition, Free Trade, Toleration of all kinds, Popular Education, and indeed of every one of those measures of public benefit which the last fifteen years have happily rendered law. He hated change for its own sake. The disappearance of hoops from the drawing-room filled him with alarm. Even in the law, he could not bear that the uncouth ancient land-marks should be altered in the slightest degree. A remarkable instance of this, as it occurs to us, is to be found in his opposition to the "Debtors' Freehold Estate Bill."

"The Chancellor," says Mr. Twiss, "on the 18th of July, opposed also a bill, sent up from the Commons, for rendering the freehold estates, of persons dying indebted, liable to their simple contract debts.

"It was always (said he) in the creditor's power to stipulate for a bond, and then he would have his remedy against the land of the debtor. This bill, while it went to remove the guards with which the policy of the law had fenced landed property, afforded in fact but little benefit to the creditor; and it was better that he should be left to use his own caution and discretion, than that he should sit down in apathy, under the notion that the legislature would take care of his interests."—Vol. ii., p. 256.

To our Scotch ears, it does indeed sound marvellous in the extreme, that the highest legal authority should gravely maintain that a debtor's property should not be liable for his debts, and that the law should not protect a creditor for fear of making him careless. The details of the Bill might, of course, be open to exception, but the justice of its principle, and the futility of the Chancellor's grounds of opposition seem manifest. It is a remarkable illustration of the tenacity with which his mind clung to things as they were.

Catholic Emancipation was the chief public question on which his interest and energies were exerted. He seemed to regard these disabilities as a sort of sacred fire which it was his duty to keep burning, and to which the element of the coronation oath added additional sanctity. It was the question on which he took office, and on which he left it, and it possessed all the elements of deep sympathy for all the natural predilections of his mind;—religious exclusion commended itself to the bigotry of his disposition—the popular cast both of the Catholics themselves,

and of the measures for their relief, jarred with the arbitrary tenets of his creed—and the resistance of the monarch roused all the narrow loyalty of his nature. It was the palladium of *his* British constitution, and we can conceive the old man, when he retired from the House of Lords in 1829, regarding the past with something of the feelings of Anchises, when he looked back on the flames of Troy, consuming his altars and his household gods, all that he had worshipped and venerated through life.

“*Abnegat, inceptoque et sedibus hæret in isdem.*”

Pitt's retirement on this question in 1801, was not conducted with that openness and straightforwardness which became his character. Whether he made the Catholic claims a stalking-horse, to escape from the net of European politics, through which he could not thread the nation, or whether he was honestly satisfied of the necessity of the measure, no one can tell. It is certain he returned to office in 1805, without any satisfaction on the cardinal point which had caused his resignation. But having once resolved to quit the Government on this question, he ought to have given the country the benefit of those views which he thought so essential, and the King's opposition to which had deprived the nation of his services. Since the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from that country—recalled because he almost pledged the Government to remove the disabilities—the state of Ireland had been most disastrous. Her statesmen and patriots had set their hearts on fair and equal rights with their Protestant brethren, in representation and legislation. If Pitt had fairly thrown his weight into the scale, and had joined Fox in a serious and honest effort, the thing must have been done. Instead of this, all that the country knew, was the simple fact of his resignation. Why he could not propose his intended measure, what it was, or what difficulties intervened, he would not inform the House of Commons; and thereby insured the delay of the all-important measure, and the excitement and agitation of Ireland, for a period of thirty years. The correspondence which was published by Lord Kenyon in 1827, shows, what was quite well known, that the King's scruples were the immediate cause of his retirement; but he would have deserved more credit, had he vigorously insisted out of office for the measure, which, as minister, he thought himself so deeply bound to carry.

Mr. Twiss, professing himself a friend to Catholic Emancipation, enters into a disquisition as to whether it has produced the effects expected from it, into which we shall certainly not follow him. Any man who thought that the measure wrested by O'Connell from the Duke of Wellington in 1829, would calm the troubles of that long agitated country, as well as if it had

been granted at the Union, has little pretensions to knowledge of mankind, or of nations. There is, however, one result in the progress of events, which probably Lord Eldon expected least. While trembling for Protestant ascendancy, among the shouts of the applauding under-graduates in 1829, in the Theatre at Oxford, he little thought, that in those orthodox bowers, where he first imbibed his anti-catholic tenets, Catholicism and Romanism were destined, at no distant date, to find their most welcome resting-place.

Connected with this subject, are some very curious revelations, regarding the part which George IV. bore in passing the Catholic Relief Bill. It would seem as if a superstitious terror had seized him in his old age; and that he whom vows had never bound, began to doubt whether he was safe in conscience in granting the Catholics that relief which the two Houses of Parliament had conceded. In March 1829, he sent for Lord Eldon, and had two interviews with him, of the tenor of which Lord Eldon preserved a memorandum. The last of these visits is said to have ended thus—

“ ‘Little more passed—except occasional bursts of expression,— ‘What can I do? What can I now fall back upon? What can I fall back upon? I am miserable, wretched, my situation is dreadful; nobody about me to advise with. If I do give my assent, I’ll go to the baths abroad, and from thence to Hanover:—I’ll return no more to England—I’ll make no Roman Catholic Peers—I will not do what this bill will enable me to do—I’ll return no more—let them get a Catholic King in Clarence.’ I think he also mentioned Sussex. ‘The people will see that I did not wish this.’

“ ‘There were the strongest appearances certainly of misery. He, more than once, stopped my leaving him. When the time came that I was to go, he threw his arms round my neck and expressed great misery. I left him about twenty minutes or a quarter before five.’”—Vol. iii., p. 86, 87.

Whether there was as much sincerity as stage effect in all this, may be judged of from the next letter—

“ ‘The fatal Bills received the Royal assent yesterday afternoon. After all I had heard in my visits, not a day’s delay! God bless us, and His Church!’”—Vol. iii., p. 87.

We suspect his Majesty played upon the ex-chancellor’s weakest point.

We have already remarked on Lord Eldon’s arguments against the Abolition of the Slave Trade, as furnishing a striking example of the indirect mode of reasoning which characterized all his political speeches. His argument against that great measure of justice and humanity was simply this, that as we could not command the co-operation of foreign nations, the proposed measure

would not diminish the transport of negroes or effect the preservation of a single individual. In short, that we should continue to be thieves, because others would steal if we became honest men. We advert to this subject in order to express our reprehension of the spirit in which Mr. Twiss treats the question of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

"The circumspection and caution of Lord Eldon upon this subject were represented by his political opponents, as betokening a disposition adverse to freedom as well as to reform. But the ground of his resistance, as he distinctly declared, was no reluctance to redress any oppression or grievance, but a persuasion that the cause of justice and humanity would gain nothing by the abolition as then proposed. The results have but too amply fulfilled his forebodings. For want of the requisite concurrence on the part of foreign states, the total of suffering endured by the African race, instead of having been diminished, has been frightfully augmented. *Manifold are the difficulties which start up, and infinite is the caution which must be employed, in attempting the cure of any abuse wherein trading interests are extensively involved.* It may have been fitting that, even at all hazards of exposing the Africans to increased suffering from the more merciless cupidity of foreign adventurers, England should relieve herself from the crime of continuing the slave trade; but justice should be done to the practical humanity of those who desired only, before they ventured upon extensive changes, to make sure that the old mischief would not be reproduced in a new and more virulent shape."—Vol. ii., p. 22, 23.

So Mr. Twiss, in the present day, only thinks that it "*may have been fitting*" that the British should cease to be man-stealers; and will not say that the *manifold difficulties* which start up in curing abuses in which the trading interest is concerned, and the unhallowed continuance of foreign nations in that nefarious traffic, do not render it at least questionable whether after all man-stealing should not have been continued. We note this, not because we have the least imagination that Mr. Twiss would defend or tolerate the slave trade on any such weak prettexts. We do not believe there is a politician alive in this country who does not rejoice at its abolition. But we mark it in order to shew to what unhappy lengths our author allows himself to be led, in his determination to admire or to excuse every thing on the part of the subject of his eulogy.

There is another instance of the Chancellor's peculiar system of political reasoning, which Mr. Twiss treats with great respect and admiration, but which, in our humble judgment, is entitled to very little of either. We allude to the argument contained in a letter from Lord Eldon to Sir William Scott, regarding the detention of Napoleon after the battle of Waterloo. We have not space to enter at length into the discussion, but it strikes us that that which Mr. Twiss characterizes as "a remarkable evidence

of Lord Eldon's extraordinary powers," is neither more nor less than a very paltry piece of sophistry, which after all was not even satisfactory to his own mind. Sir William Scott and Sir William Grant, two men to whose judgment on such a subject the greatest weight was due, could find no ground in international law on which the detention of Napoleon after the peace could be justified; and so the Chancellor at first thought. But it was necessary to find some plausible ground on which the measure could be defended. Accordingly, after the interval of a fortnight, he writes a long letter to Sir William Scott, in which he endeavours, and, as we think, very unsuccessfully, to meet the difficulties which pressed upon him. His brother and Sir William Grant held, that Napoleon must either be considered as an independent sovereign or as a subject of France, and that, in either capacity, there was no law whatever by which he could be detained after the termination of hostilities. The notable discovery, however, which Mr. Twiss admires so much is, that he was to be considered, as what Lord Eldon calls, an *independent belligerent*, and in that capacity to be quietly put beyond the pale of the rules of civilized warfare. And this is the enlightened and lawyer-like mode of justifying the treatment of a man who was *de facto* sovereign of France, both in the functions of the office and the affections of the people—with whom, as first consul, the peace of Amiens was concluded, and with whom, if we recollect right, the British Government were in treaty of peace, as Emperor of the French, within a month of the battle of Waterloo.

The "*Salus omnium rerum publicarum*," on which Lord Eldon at first relied, might justify the course adopted; but if it was grounded on the special pleading in question, it rested on a very weak foundation.

But it was not as a statesman, in the proper meaning of that word, but in the far more effective character of a politician, that Lord Eldon exercised his principal influence on public affairs. As a Cabinet Councillor, his ability and address were undeniable. Incapable of great conceptions, he had great capacity for accomplishing what he did conceive. Every day experience proves that the powers of persuasion which are effective across a table, are very different from those which sway public assemblies. The former faculty seems to have been possessed by Lord Eldon in a very remarkable degree. His clear course of thought, rapid perception, and unwavering decision, gave him great ascendancy over men, of more enlarged understandings, perhaps, but of less mental vigour, and less practised intellect. Even the soaring spirit of Canning seems to have quailed before the unbending tenacity of the Chancellor. It is rather diverting to trace, in the volumes before us, the instinctive repugnance and antipathy with

which, from the first moment of their political connexion, the hard, unimaginative lawyer, shrunk from the volatile and brilliant man of wit and letters. Antagonists from the first, Scott preserved his ascendancy for more than twenty years; and probably the bitterest ingredient in the reverses of 1826 was the triumphant, though ephemeral exaltation of his opponent. In the following letter, he vents his acrimony with more freedom than usual:—

“The appointment of Lord Francis Conyngham in the Foreign Office has, by female influence, put Canning beyond the reach of anything to affect him, and will assuredly enable him to turn those out whom he does not wish to remain in. The King is in such thralldom that one has nobody to fall back upon. The person that has got * * * *, after having in conversations, I believe, uttered nothing that was kind about Canning, was one of his voters for his Cabinet office. The devil of it is, there is no consistency in any body. Again, upon ‘ne cede malis,’ it is better to go out than to be turned out!! which will assuredly be the case. God bless you. Yours affectionately,
—Vol. ii., p. 284. “ELDON.”

One cause of his practical influence, and one of the strongest testimonies to his personal weight, was the undoubted regard which King George III. entertained for him. We are not one of those who think that any unfavourable conclusion is to be drawn as to Lord Eldon's manners to Royalty, from this ascendancy which he swayed over the Court of St. James's. By many men, it could not have been obtained without professions and actions the most insincere and repugnant. But Lord Eldon's mind was cast in a mould not at all dissimilar to that of his royal master, and we give him credit for complete sympathy with the King in all his political difficulties, and very true personal regard to one from whom he had met with more familiar kindness and condescension than it often falls to the lot of a subject to receive from a sovereign.

The correspondence of George III. given in these volumes is very curious. While it proves undoubtedly the narrow scope of the King's political perceptions, and an intense apprehension of his personal dignity, it shows a very clear understanding of the most minute political intrigues, and on the whole an accurate knowledge of all public questions then in agitation. When driven from all other sympathies, when Pitt frowned upon him, and Addington, in terror, dropped the reins, he seems to have clung to his Chancellor as a familiar and congenial confederate, on whose support and devotion he could rely with certainty. Lord Eldon returned his confidence with kind-heartedness, respect, loyalty, and unwavering steadfastness; and though kings may have had servants who consulted more wisely for them, none

could have been more faithful or unchanging; and we only do him justice when we say that he won this regard by no unmanly or little arts—he was bold and intrepid in all his dealings with the Sovereign, and if he was a favourite at Court, it was because the uniform current of his honest thoughts ran in a courtly channel.

We extract the following letter from George III. to Lord Chancellor Eldon, on his promotion, as a good example of the familiar terms in which he was accustomed to address his favourite servants:—

“ ‘ Kew, April 29th, 1801, — past One, P.M.

“ ‘ On returning from walking, the King has found *his* Lord Chancellor's letter, and desires the Commission, for passing the bills now ready for his assent, may, if possible, be sent this evening to the Duke of Portland's office, from whence it will be forwarded early to-morrow morning. His Majesty is pleased at finding the Bill against Seditious Meetings got through the House of Lords yesterday with so little trouble. The King would by no means have wished that his Lord Chancellor should have omitted sitting in the Court of Chancery to-morrow, for the mere matter of form of bringing himself the Commission, as his Majesty is so fully convinced of the satisfaction the suitors must feel at that court being presided by a person of real integrity, talents, legal knowledge and good temper. He cannot but add having felt some pleasure at hearing, that the Lord Chancellor sat the other day on the Woolsack between Rosslyn* and Thurlow, who ever used to require an intermediate power to keep them from quarrelling. How soon will the shins of Pepper permit him to take the coif?

—Vol. i., p. 372.

“ ‘ GEORGE R.’ ”

But though this power was gained by no unworthiness, the way in which it was exercised is far from being so unexceptionable. It is made plain by these memoirs, that it was Lord Eldon's influence which regulated the royal mind, and ruled the deliberations of Cabinets all through the different political crises which occurred during his Chancellorship. It was he who prevented the union of Fox and Pitt in 1804—it was he who reconstituted his party in 1807—it was he who broke off the negotiations with Lord Grenville in 1812—it was he who, if he did not advise, was the instrument of the prosecution of Queen Caroline,—and on him with the greatest justice may be laid the public consciences of his two Sovereigns, of which he was not only the official, but the actual guardian, and all the credit and discredit of our public policy during the period of his power.

* Lord Loughborough had been created Earl of Rosslyn a few days before the date of this letter.

We know what a fertile field of controversy we open by these allegations, but we have detained our readers too long already to enter into any justification of them. We do not say that the means he used for these objects were direct interference with the royal inclinations, but if we except the last, the results effected in all of them were those which he avows that he personally desired, and there can be little doubt that if his personal influence had been removed the results would have been very different.

The correspondence here printed shows more clearly than had formerly appeared, the extreme anxiety which Pitt had that Fox should join him in the Cabinet in 1804. Indeed, it seems more than doubtful whether, after all, Pitt did not in his heart lean far more to Fox's extensive Continental knowledge, than to the Anti-Gallican fervour of which he was the unwilling apostle. This is proved by one of Burke's letters, contained in the late publication of his correspondence, where it appears, that so early as 1792, Pitt was in treaty for a union with Fox, with a view to the foreign relations and difficulties of the country; and Burke elsewhere inveighs, with his accustomed fervour, against a minister who did not know his own friends, and who would not prosecute with vigour a war which the force of opinion, and not his own convictions, had led him to begin.* The letters here published show not only that Pitt had done his utmost to induce the King to receive Fox as a member of the Cabinet, and that Lord Eldon was so utterly opposed to this measure that he declares he would rather have supported Fox as sole minister—but that Pitt felt the thing so warmly that he asked the Chancellor whether he had not given the King's mind a bias on this subject. The correspondence, however, bears that Pitt was satisfied that his suspicion was ill founded.

Pitt's return to power does not seem to have been very palatable to George III., if we may judge by the following royal communication to his Chancellor.—

“Queen's Palace, May 5th, 1804, 19 minutes past 6, P.M.

“The King is much pleased with *his* excellent Chancellor's note: he doubts much whether Mr. Pitt will, after weighing the contents of the paper delivered this day to him by Lord Eldon, choose to have a personal interview with his Majesty; but whether he will not rather prepare another essay, containing as many empty words and little information, as the one he had before transmitted.

“His Majesty will, with great pleasure, receive the Lord Chancellor to-morrow between ten and eleven, the time he himself has proposed.

“GEORGE R.”

—Vol. i., p. 443.

One cannot read without the deepest interest that part of the

* See Burke's Correspondence, vol. iii., p. 516, and vol. iv., p. 432.

Memoirs which relate to George III. during the period when the vigour of his thoughts was contending with the thickening gloom which so soon was destined to eclipse his faculties altogether. There is something fearfully painful in the glimpse thus given us into that agitated family circle. That tremulous flutter of the mind, oscillating between reason and bewilderment—the cloud no bigger than a man's hand to-day—spreading over the firmament to-morrow, and again breaking and letting in the excluded light—and, above all, the restless consciousness of the unhappy sufferer of the dreadful enemy that kept watch by him night and day, are very vividly portrayed in Lord Eldon's communications with the Queen and the Princess, as well as with the King himself. He felt for his royal master as his kindly nature prompted. That he acted constitutionally in permitting acts of sovereignty to be performed while the patient was actually in charge of keepers, Mr. Twiss has not satisfied us; but we cannot here enter into the controversy, and we admit that the Chancellor acted in circumstances of unparalleled difficulty and delicacy, with great courage and decision.

The only other political act of Lord Eldon to which we shall advert, is his conduct relative to Queen Caroline's trial. Not all the partiality of Mr. Twiss can give a colour of generosity to the part he took on this occasion. We speak nothing of the prosecution itself. We only know this fact,—that when the King befriended her, Eldon was her friend—her confidential adviser—the depository of her secret sorrows, and the warm defender and assertor of her innocence. When the King became her enemy, the same man is not only accessory to her prosecution, but never seems to have had one spark of regret—one pang of compunctious sorrow, that his position was so cruelly changed. On the contrary, we cannot read, with patience, the strain of cold and heartless levity with which he speaks in his private letters of one, who, whether guilty or innocent, had undoubtedly suffered great wrong, and had once looked up to him as her protector.

But these, and many other topics we must forbear to press. To discuss them would be to write the public history of the time. What we have already said has left us but too little space for considering his judicial character, on which it would have been well for his fame that his reputation had alone rested. Here indeed, our task is easier and far more pleasant. With one slight variation we might almost adopt Dryden's celebrated lines,

“ Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge
 The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge,
 In Israel's courts ne'er sat an Abethdin
 With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean,
 Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress,
 Swift of dispatch, and easy of access.”

"Swift of dispatch" even Mr. Twiss could hardly call him: but in all other respects, his integrity, knowledge, courtesy, and industry on the bench, would deserve to be commemorated even by Dryden's pen—

"Had he been content to serve the crown,
With virtues only proper to the gown,"

he would have left a name to posterity worthy of being associated with those of Hale and of Hardwicke.

His tendency to doubt, or rather the unwillingness to decide—the *sat cito, si sat bene*—unquestionably tarnished the brilliancy of his judicial reputation, and very much diminished the utility of his judgments when pronounced. Mr. Twiss's defence of him in this respect is very ably, if not altogether successfully done. It is probable that his arrears in Chancery might not have been so fruitful a subject of debate in Parliament, had his influence at Court or in the Cabinet been less. But having found ourselves compelled to speak in such strong terms of condemnation of his political conduct, we shall indulge in no carping criticisms on the honest fame which his brilliant and successful career on the bench fully and fairly earned for him.

Lord Eldon's official life ceased in 1826. He seems to have been surprised and mortified that office was not offered him in 1828. The reason, however, is very obvious. His influence was too great, and his politics were too obsolete. He was not the man with whom Peel could have reared the ingenious fabric of which the first stone was laid in 1829. He did not make one of the new ministry, and the very next year saw his former colleagues lay the axe to the root of that Protestant ascendancy, beneath whose spreading branches they and he together had so long reposed. Henceforth the old man's days were perplexed and darkened. His whole soul was in politics, and their aspect filled him with alarm and despair. One by one he saw those venerated ruins overthrown, for whose support so many vows, with tears and protestations, had been uttered from the Woolsack. As his health grew more infirm, and his limbs could not bear him to Parliament, he continued to pour out to his visitors the bewailings and forebodings of his outraged feelings: till at last he sank into the grave in 1838, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

It is not without considerable regret, that we have found ourselves insensibly led to pass so strong a censure on the public character of the subject of this very interesting memoir. We could have wished, for our own satisfaction, that he had been better or worse, and we cannot even now take our leave of him without a lurking feeling of kindness, in spite of the hardness and selfishness which manifestly marked the man. In private, Lord

Eldon seems to have been warm-hearted and generous—mindful of old friends, and always courteous and accessible. Had his public life not presented so many features of prominence, we should have willingly dwelt at some length on his private history. The partner of his fortunes survived with him, to witness and share all his distinctions, and died, in 1831, in her 77th year. He seems to have cherished for her all his early affection to the last, and to have mourned her loss most bitterly. Their family life was not altogether prosperous. Their eldest son, John, died in 1805, little more than a year after his marriage, and a very few days after the birth of the present Lord Eldon, the grandson of the Chancellor. He had also the misery to lay the head of his only remaining son in the grave, when years and infirmities were weighing heavily upon him. He died, unmarried, in 1832. His daughters were also sources of solicitude. Of his eldest daughter's marriage, the present Earl gives the following account :—

“ ‘ The Chancellor's care and vigilance in preventing elopements among the young ladies who were wards in Chancery, did not protect him against a domestic visitation of a similar description. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, after some unsuccessful attempts to obtain his consent to her marriage with Mr. George Stanley Repton, made her escape from Lord Eldon's house in Bedford Square, on the morning of the 27th of November 1817 ; and, the bridegroom having made all requisite preparation, they were married by licence at St. George's, Hanover Square. Although in this instance the lady had only followed the example of her father and mother, yet the head of the law would not allow the validity of his own precedent ; and it was not until the year 1820 that a reconciliation took place.’ ”—Vol. ii., p. 298.

His second, a favourite daughter, married the Rev. Edward Bankes, but owing to difference of temper, the marriage did not turn out happily.

On Lord Encombe, now Earl of Eldon, the only child of his eldest son, the affections of his old age seem to have been chiefly expended ; and, were there no other redeeming points in his character, it would be impossible not to feel sympathy in the constant and affectionate interest with which the grey-haired veteran watched the progress of the lad, to whom his hardly-earned title and fortunes were to descend. The following letter is long, but we give it entire, as showing that time, law, and politics had not obliterated the feelings and recollections of youth :—

“ ‘ My very dear John,

Encombe, Sept. 12th, 1819.

“ ‘ We have not yet been a week here, but I have now had time to see all that is to be seen here.

“ ‘ And, first, Grandmamma and Fan send, with me, the warmest

love to you. I hope you got Mamma's letter safe: and we shall be most happy to hear that you are well.

" ' There are a great many partridges, a great many hares, and I think a fair quantity of pheasants. The ponies, Diamond and Dancer, are quite stout, and fat as butter. Aunt Fan's little pony, Dapper, in endeavouring to open for itself a stable door, got its head between the door and the side of the door, where the lock is, and has very nearly hanged himself. He is much hurt, but seems in a fair way of recovery.

" ' The greyhounds, Messrs. Smoker, Spot, Smut, and Fly, (the two latter I shall call Mesdames), are all as they should be; so are also Messrs. Don, Carlo, Bill, and Bob, the pointers. Bill and Bob have been very good and diligent in their winter education, and I think will be towards the top of my dog college. Don is a Freshman, sent down here a few days before we came, but he is a capital performer in the field. Poor old Mat, whom you may remember, a pointer, seems quite superannuated, and I think will see no more service.

" ' Your friends at the farm, Mr. and Mrs. Parmiter and their family, are all well, and they and Mr. Willis inquire much after you. Mr. Parmiter's dog Tiger is in excellent condition, and, when taken out, finds hares and rabbits in abundance.

" ' And now for great Cæsar. He is amazing fat, looks very handsome, is more affectionate than ever, and is particularly careful in his attendance at the breakfast-room window, when the good things for the teeth and palate are there: as to the loves between him and Aunt Fanny, they are endless—such endearings, such salutations, such pettings, as no Dorsetshire or other Christian has the good fortune to be honoured with.

" ' In the course of the winter I have had a beautiful vessel built—a sailing vessel of good size—in which we went by sea yesterday, to Lulworth and back, with all sails bent, and colours flying at the mast-head and other parts of her,—a very excellent and beautiful vessel.

" ' We have had a great piece of good luck in fishing, having caught in one fishing about twenty-four mullet, whittings, &c., &c., of large size.

" ' And now, my dearest John, do you ask me why I enjoy all these things so much? It is because, as your friend Horace has it, they lull one into the '*Solicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ*.' It is because one enjoys them by contrast with meritorious labour at other times; and depend upon it, neither Encombe, nor any other place, will have any lasting charms, unless, in the period of life spent in education, a great stock of information is laid in in the mind, and a great stock of virtuous and religious feeling is implanted in the heart. That you may be diligent in acquiring both in youth, in order that you may be truly happy when you grow up to manhood, is the heartfelt wish, and will be the prayer, offered up daily to Heaven on your account, of your truly affectionate

" ' ELDON."

Of his religious and moral character we would speak gently and charitably. He had acquired, it does not appear very clearly how—a remnant probably of the days of his white surplice—a sort of Cromwellian habit of protestation—of appealing to his conscience, and calling God to witness his sincerity on all occasions, to an extent which certainly did not increase, if it did not diminish, the conviction of honesty on the minds of his audience. But we do believe he was a man very much subject to impressions of this nature, although not free from a certain power of self-delusion when interest pointed strongly in one direction, and straightforward moral principle might appear to incline in another. He seems to have had strongly before him his religious responsibility on the judgment-seat; although he was far too Pharisaical and self-satisfied with the manner in which he met and fulfilled it. On the whole, we believe him to have been a man who felt it to be his duty to walk according to his conscience and the law of God; but whose religious conceptions were as limited and narrow as his political, and who had but a darkened view of the true principles of a Christian life. In his last illness he was visited by the Bishop of Exeter; and it is only doing justice to a prelate with whom we have few tendencies in common, to speak with the warmest commendation of the earnest and thoroughly evangelical appeal which is contained in his letter:—

“‘Lord Carrington’s, Whitehall, 27th Nov. 1837.

“‘My dear Lord,

“‘I take blame to myself for having, as I fear, obtruded on you some important matters of consideration, at a time when you were not prepared to admit them; or in a manner which may have been deemed too earnest and importunate. That you pardon the intrusion, I have no doubt, and that you ascribe what may have been ill-timed, or ill-considered, to the true cause—an anxious wish to lead a highly gifted mind like yours, to those thoughts which alone can satisfy it.

“‘Before I leave this place, instead of again trespassing on you in person, I have resolved to commit to paper a few considerations which your own powerful mind will know how to improve, and which I humbly pray the Holy Spirit of God to impress, so far as they accord with His Truth, on the hearts of both of us. I contemplate in you, my dear Lord, an object of no ordinary interest. I see a man full of years and honours, honours richly earned, (ay, were they tenfold greater than they are), by a life which, protracted long beyond the ordinary age of man, has been employed, during all the period of service, in promoting, strengthening, and securing the best and most sacred interests of your country. I see in you the faithful, zealous, and most able, advocate of the connexion of true religion with the Constitution and Government of England. I see in you one who has largely benefited the generation of which you have been among the

most distinguished ornaments. Seeing and feeling this, I am sure you will pardon me, if I exhibit a little even of undue eagerness to perform to you the only service which I can hope to render—that of exciting such a mind to those reflections, by which, after serving others, it can now do the best and surest service to itself. In truth, those reflections are few and brief, but most pregnant. In short, my dear Lord, I would seek most earnestly to guard you against the danger which arises from the very qualities which we most admire in you, and from the actions for which we are most grateful to you. That danger is, lest you contemplate these matters with too much satisfaction—lest you rest upon them as the grounds of your hope of final acceptance with God. Oh! my dear Lord, the best of the sons of men must be content, or rather must be most anxious, to look out of themselves, and above themselves, for any sure hope—I will not say of justification, but of mercy. Consider the infinite holiness and purity of God, and then say whether any man was ever fit to appear at His tribunal. Consider the demands of His Law, extending to the most secret thoughts, and wishes and imaginations, of the heart, and then say, whether you, or any one, can stand before Him in your own strength, when He cometh to judgment. No: it is as sinners, as grievous sinners, we shall, we must appear; and the only plea which will be admitted for us, is the righteousness and the merits of our crucified Redeemer. If we place any reliance on our own poor doings or fancied virtues, those very virtues will be our snares, our downfall. Above all things, therefore, it is our duty, and pre-eminently the duty of the purest and best among us, to cast off all confidence in ourselves, and thankfully to embrace Christ's most precious offer on the terms on which He offers it; He will be our Saviour, only if we know and feel and humbly acknowledge, that we need His Salvation. He will be more and more our Saviour in proportion as we more and more love and rely upon Him. But surely the more we feel and deplore our own sinfulness, the more earnest will be our love, the firmer our reliance on Him who alone is mighty to save. Therefore, it is, that, in preparing ourselves to appear before Him, the less we think of what we may fondly deem our good deeds and good qualities, and the more rigidly we scrutinize our hearts, and detect and deplore our manifold sinfulness, the fitter shall we be, because the more deeply sensible of the absolute necessity and of the incalculable value of His blessed Undertaking and Suffering for us. One word only more—of ourselves we cannot come to this due sense of our own worthlessness: and the devil is always ready to tempt our weak hearts with the bait which is most taking to many among us—confidence in ourselves. It is the Holy Spirit who alone can give us that only knowledge which will be useful to us at the last—the knowledge of our own hearts, of their weakness, their wickedness—and of the way of God's salvation, pardon of the faithful and confiding penitent for His dear Son's sake. Oh! my dear Lord, may you and I be found among the truly penitent, and then we shall have our perfect consummation and bliss among the truly blessed.

“ ‘ I am, my dear Lord, with true veneration and regard, your Lordship’s most faithful servant, and affectionate brother in Christ,

“ ‘ H. EXETER.’ ”

—Vol. iii., pp. 295-297.

We now close these volumes, not without the feeling that we have done very scanty justice to the immense mass of interesting matter that they contain. Our omissions will be the more easily pardoned, if we shall have attracted any of our readers to peruse them for themselves. As a work of biography, we do not think that they will ensure any lasting reputation for their author, from the want of historic justice which they constantly display ; but as a repository of curious information, illustrative of the public history of the times, they will form a permanent and important addition to the political literature of our day.

The true utility of handing down to posterity the memory of celebrated men, is, that after times may profit or take warning by their example. Of Lord Eldon it might be truly said, as Lord Bacon said of Henry VII., that if he did not undertake the greatest things, *quicquid suscepit perfecit*. We may gather from his life how, in the face of all apparent disadvantages, honest perseverance and determined industry may, in this free country, command success and honours. But it teaches us also how totally distinct may be the power to accomplish, from the mind to conceive ; and how vain to ensure the respect or gratitude of posterity, talents, rank, and splendour become, if not joined with that true expansive nobility of soul, that has its only fruition and accomplishment, not in the trappings of place or power, but in the elevation and improvement of mankind.

ART. VIII.—I. *Report from the Secret Committee relative to the Post-Office.* (Ordered to be printed, by the House of Lords, 2d August 1844.)

II. *Report from the Secret Committee on the Post-Office, together with the Appendix.* (Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 5th August 1844.)*

THE two Reports mentioned at the head of this article prove beyond doubt, what hitherto was unknown to the public, that in this country the Secretary of State claims the power of opening all letters going through the Post-office ; that this power has been exercised ; and that, in addition to this, all the letters from or to foreign ministers accredited to the Queen of Great Britain were detained and taken to the Foreign Office, as a matter of course, before being dispatched ;—a proceeding lately discovered to be wholly illegal, and therefore discontinued. From the moment that this “Post-office espionage” came to light, the honest indignation of John Bull has been aroused to a pitch and unanimity highly creditable to the moral feeling and sound good sense of the nation. We say “unanimity,” although we are aware how all letter-openers, from first to last, (viz. Secretaries of State) have muttered something, if not in defence, at least in extenuation of the practice ; in this they have been supported by all would-be-letter-openers, (*i. e.* persons who wish to become ministers) ; by all the hangers-on of any ministry, past, present, and to come ; and by a portion of the press. The interest at first excited has not abated ; we hope it will not abate till the abuses brought to light are removed ; and it is in the hope of keeping this interest alive, as well as of procuring a radical correction of the abuses, that we are going to put before our readers the facts of the case, with some observations which we trust will not be altogether useless for the future.

On Friday the 14th of June 1844, Mr. T. Duncombe, member for Finsbury, presented a petition from four gentlemen of 47, Devonshire Street, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, alleging that their letters had been delayed and opened by the authorities at the Post-office, as they were prepared to prove before a Com-

* The *Appendix* has not yet been printed, and it is uncertain whether it ever will. Mr. Warburton, who has drawn up the Report, has not yet settled with Sir J. Graham how little information is to be laid before the public.

mittee of the House, which they prayed should be granted to them. Sir J. Graham said, that a power was given by statute to the Secretary of State to open letters passing through the Post-office; that he had given his warrant as to the letters of one of the petitioners; but he refused to state either the name of the gentleman thus honoured, or the date or number of the warrants that he had issued for the purpose. Mr. T. Egerton, a worthy sample of the noble-minded squirearchy of South Cheshire, and the Recorder of Dublin, a judge of proverbial delicacy of conscience, considering the opening and re-sealing of letters with false seals as an insignificant and matter-of-course proceeding, did all they could to prevent Mr. Duncombe from going farther; in this the hon. gentleman defeated them, with his usual tact and cleverness. The debate brought up various members, among others Mr. Labouchere—the father of the Post-office act now in force; and eventually Mr. Duncombe's motion was negatived without a division.

Although Sir J. Graham refused all information, it was well known that the correspondence which had excited his particular curiosity was that of Mr. Mazzini, a Genoese gentleman of considerable talents and extreme democratic opinions, who has lived in England universally respected for several years, and whose letters had been regularly opened for months previous to his complaining.* It was also well known that Mr. Mazzini is a political refugee, who has taken shelter in England from the persecution of his political enemies—the usurpers of his once free coun-

* Mr. Mazzini's suspicions were first excited by observing that his letters were doubly stamped—having, for instance, the stamp of 2 o'clock afternoon over that of 12 noon. Having read in an Austrian newspaper that the English authorities had undertaken to watch the proceedings of the Italian refugees in Great Britain, he was led to suppose that recourse might be had to opening his letters. His suspicions were communicated to an Italian friend, who had so high an opinion of Lord Aberdeen's private character, that he strongly dissuaded Mr. Mazzini from believing him capable of being a party to so dishonourable a transaction as that of opening letters, and acting as a spy to a foreign government. Mr. Mazzini, however, entertaining a different opinion, posted letters directed to himself and others, in the presence of witnesses, and it was found that whilst the other letters were regularly delivered, his own were delayed. He then sealed them with wax, placing the impression in a particular position, and it was found that the position of the seal in the letters for him was changed. Wafers cut in a particular form were used, and an alteration was observed in that form as to his own letters. Grains of sand were then enclosed in letters which reached safely other parties, but were found missing in the letters directed to him. It was then undoubted that his letters were opened: yet so strong was the opinion entertained of the honour of an English gentleman—who was not supposed to give this noble character up to place—that foreign ministers rather than an English one were supposed to be the parties at whose instigation some wretched postman or clerk might be induced to open letters. Now, whenever a letter is suspected of having been opened, it is no longer a foreign wretch, but an English Secretary of State that is very deservedly supposed to be the spy.

try—and who is looked upon as a leader by those Italians who, entertaining the same political opinions with himself, were anxious to free it from the iron rule of ecclesiastical as well as civil—foreign as well as native—despots. It was, then, matter of surprise how a gentleman who had lived here in a house,

Parva sed apta sibi, sed nulli obnoxia,

by his own means, which were known to be scarcely proportioned to his very simple and moderate wants, without ever being suspected of the slightest misconduct, should have been selected as the Secretary of State's pet. But the surprise was still greater, when, on the 24th of the same month, Mr. Duncombe presented a petition from another foreigner, a Pole by birth, Stoltzmann by name, who complained of his correspondence having likewise been delayed and read. Sir J. Graham would not say whether he had given a warrant or not; he boldly defied Mr. Duncombe to prove that any thing illegal had been done; generously left the refugees to the luxurious remedy of an action at law; modestly praised himself for his great delicacy in doing neither more nor less than others had done before him; and, with an *aria di bravura*, he sat down manfully singing

Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus—

at which Sir Robert Peel could not conceal his displeasure. But neither Mr. Macaulay, nor Lord Howick, nor Captain Bernal, were to be satisfied with this swaggering; the former, particularly, was uncommonly pressing, observing, that "we ought not to stoop to be the spies of foreign governments," for whose special benefit and information it seemed that "a Cumberland farmer" had taken to reading foreigners' letters. In vain did Mr. Milnes coax the Home Secretary to say whether he had been so very amiable as to repeat what he had read to any foreign minister? The right hon. gentleman turned a deaf ear to all the entreaties of his hon. friend; and his leader, Sir R. Peel, tried to shelter him under the names of Fox and Grenville, who, he said, had opened letters, although, as he must have known, never of foreigners under the circumstances of the Italian and of the Pole. The Colonial Secretary said, that such a power, to be exercised effectually, "must be exercised without responsibility," a doctrine very convenient for an inquisitive Secretary of State, but not very comfortable for the public, or very worthy of the proud name of Stanley. Mr. Wyse, by proving that the Austrian government boasted that the English ministers were helping them in putting down disturbances, and this at the very time when Mr. Mazzini's letters were read by these ministers, made these per-

sonages rather uncomfortable; and Mr. Duncombe, concluding his reply with the words, "that the Home Secretary shrinking from investigation, was proof positive of his criminality," was left in a minority of only 44, the numbers being 206 for the Ministers, and 162 for the Opposition. This was rather awkward. A majority of 44 on a question of confidence or no confidence, was poor consolation for a minister, who had been told such wholesome truths in the course of the debate. Mr. Milnes and the *New Englanders* in the House, men of no party and all conscience, from whom is to spring a new generation of knights-errant, not being yet certain whether gentlemen before the Conquest opened letters or not, left the House without voting, and went to enjoy "the cool of the evening." Sir T. Harmer, a plain conservative country gentleman, voted with the minority—his colleague, an elegant connexion of a minister, stood by the Cabinet *noir*.

Out of doors, as the phrase goes, the majority was undoubtedly against the Ministers; and the English feeling, that this was a disgraceful business, spread all over the country. Lord Radnor, on the 25th of June, having moved for a return of all the warrants granted for opening letters at the Post-office, the Duke of Wellington opposed the motion, like a man who felt ashamed of being forced to do so. Lord Brougham, with that self-devotion by which he has recently distinguished himself in support of his old political enemies, the present Ministers, boldly declared "that the case was very slender against his Right Honourable friend, the Home Secretary," and defended him for having done, in the time of profound peace, what Mr. Fox did "at the end of the American war, and at the time when the armed neutrality of the Northern powers confederated against this country's naval rights." But, on the other hand, his old friend Lord Denman—he who has never forsaken a friend or a principle, and with whose opponents only Lord Brougham now associates, votes and speaks—thought that the power of opening letters, as now claimed, would not be any longer endured by the English Parliament and English people, and could not help adding, that the use of that power under such circumstances of concealment, *was akin to FORGERY*. Lord Radnor then withdrew the motion, but promised to bring it forward in another shape soon after. This he did, on the 29th of June, when, on presenting a petition from Mr. Mazzini, praying for inquiry, he gave notice that he would move a Secret Committee to be appointed for the purpose, on the following Thursday, July 4th. A discussion arose, chiefly among the law lords, as to the power possessed by the Secretary of State under the statute, till the Duke of Wellington, who had preserved a pru-

dent silence, put an end to it by observing, that, as on Thursday the subject was to be brought on again, it was better to reserve all discussion till then.

But, on the previous Tuesday, Mr. Duncombe moved, in the House of Commons, that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into these transactions. Sir J. Graham's tone was quite another man's: *Eheu quantum mutatus ab illo* of the 14th! He had completely "turned his back on himself," as he had often done before.

"He began this business," as was observed by the *Times* of the 3d of July, "with most lofty and magnificent pretensions to all independence of inquiry. He claimed perfect irresponsibility, and refused every sort of explanation. He was supported by his colleagues, and the House, at their bidding, refused to force it from him. . . . Last night things became very much changed. . . . A Committee of investigation has now become not an insult but a weapon of defence—not an injury, but an ark of refuge to Her Majesty's Government. Only let it be secret. . . . Why could not the concession have been made at first? . . . In the beginning, the Home Secretary refused everything: now he denies nothing, except a place on the Committee to him who is most able to bring the question fairly forward, or do it justice."

For so it was. To tranquillize and satisfy the public, a *Secret* Committee only was granted by the Government; to show their innocence they took care to appoint themselves *their own judges*; and wishing the truth, and the whole truth, to come out, they refused a place in the Committee to Mr. Duncombe, the only gentleman who had made the subject the object of his inquiries, who knew the facts, how they could be proved, and by whom. The evidence was to be collected by persons who knew nothing at all about the individual facts and particular circumstances which were to be proved in detail; lest, however, persons accustomed to sift facts and get at the truth might bring their skill to bear on the inquiry, and discover what might be inconvenient, all barristers were, *eo nomine*, excluded from the Committee. Lord Sandon, Mr. W. Patten, Mr. T. Baring, Sir W. Heathcote, Sir C. Lemon, Mr. Warburton, Mr. Strutt, the O'Connor Don, and Mr. Ord were appointed to serve on it. Great credit was taken by Sir J. Graham for his impartiality in choosing his own jury, and putting on it five of his opponents, as if the public were supposed to be such idiots as not to see through so barefaced a conduct and give him credit for having added water to the milk to prevent its proving too rich. Lord John Russell, who, like the other Secretaries of State, was to give an account of the letters he had directed to be opened, could not be displeased with a Committee

like this, nor object to the precedent of a minister choosing his own judges, whenever, right or wrong, his conduct was called into question. Moreover, there is not the shadow of doubt, that the Committee was composed of honourable men—members are all honourable men, and some *right* honourable, even though they open letters—and then how could one doubt that the Government wished for a full, fair and impartial inquiry? Why, they said so: Naughty Mr. Duncombe observed, that at four o'clock, the fatal hour at which the Speaker takes the chair, there was not one member of the Government present, and the House consisted exactly of forty members, including the Speaker; but, however, the House was formed without the help of Government, and so was the Committee, all by Government arrangements. The same was done on the following day in the House of Lords, with only this difference. In proposing the Committee in the House of Commons, Sir J. Graham observed, that besides barristers, "he had carefully excluded from the list every gentleman connected with office, either at present or in time past." In the House of Lords, not only were not lawyers excluded, but the most astute of cross-examiners, Lord Brougham, was put on the Committee on the Ministerial side, whilst, on the other, the greatest Judge that in modern times has presided in the highest Court of Equity, Lord Cottenham, was named, in preference to Lord Campbell, whose powers of getting at the truth by *viva voce* examination, have never been surpassed, and who might have therefore brought out more than was comfortable for the administration. As to the exclusion of persons who had been in office, it is needless to observe how, in these two instances, the Lords departed from the principle adopted by the Commons. The Committee of the Lords consisted ultimately of Lords Somers, Bishop of London, Colchester, Colborne, Auckland, Brougham, and Cottenham.

Having gone to work, nobody knows how, the two Committees went on meeting without any one knowing why, for a fortnight, when, on the 18th of July, Mr. Duncombe informed the House, that having been called before the Post-Office Committee of the House of Commons, and asked whether he was ready to prove the charges he had made, viz., that bags of letters were sent for to the inner office of St. Martin le Grand, to select such as it was deemed proper to open; that roving commissioners were sent down into the country to open letters;* that

* The Committee admit that persons were sent down into the manufacturing districts in 1842 to open letters addressed to certain persons. Was there any person sent to Derby? If sent, at whose desire was he sent? We have no doubt the members for Derby have inquired into these circumstances. The same might be asked as to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The reader will see the importance of these questions with reference to the selection of the Committee.

the letters of foreign ministers were opened; and lastly, that his own letters had been opened,—he had answered that he was ready with his evidence, and would produce his witnesses on condition of being present at their examination; for, as he observed, the Committee were going to inquire not so much into the Post-office secrets, but into the truth of his own statements, and therefore try his veracity, when he had clearly a right to be present in self-defence, knowing what he had said and how he could prove it. He told them, moreover, that as the Committee were not conversant with the subject, they had examined heads of departments and other people, whose evidence ought to be tested, which he offered to do, as the Committee could not. He concluded by begging the Committee to move the House to allow him to be present at the examination of his own witnesses; which being refused by the Committee, he moved it himself. Out of the House of Commons so very simple a case would not have caused even a discussion. Mr. Duncombe had brought forward certain charges; the House of Commons had appointed a Committee who wished to inquire into the truth of them: Mr. Duncombe offers to bring forward his evidence as he would do before any court of law, in support of his assertions; but the Committee turn upon him, and say, “Oh, no; give us the names of your witnesses; we will ask them *in your absence what we think necessary*, and spare you the trouble.”—“No trouble at all,” says Mr. Duncombe, “I know best; you listen to the evidence and judge, but let me see that you have the proper evidence before you.” Can it be conceived, that in addition to the secrecy, and the selection of the members, the Government, if they really wished the truth and the whole truth to come out, would have closed the doors against the important evidence that Mr. Duncombe, on his own responsibility, offered to put before the Committee? What should we say of any court or person really bent upon finding out *the truth*, who should refuse evidence on such terms? The Committee’s plan was exactly that in use in every court of law in Austria, as it was in old times in France, as it was in Spain, as it was before the Inquisition. You might suggest witnesses; but their examination, if it took place, was conducted with close doors, in your absence, and under the strictest secrecy. A secret committee is neither privileged from proceeding in the way acknowledged to be requisite, in order to get at the truth, nor is it authorized to adopt a barbarous and stupid system, universally scouted before those courts and by those governments who wish to come at the truth, and adopted by those who wish to have it in their power to conceal or avoid it.

The unanimity of the Committee was as remarkable as it is humiliating; considering the room in which they sat as their

own, they dreaded intruders, and above all, one who manifestly would have helped them in finding what they probably did not wish to find. One alleges that Mr. Duncombe would thus have been made a member of the Committee without responsibility; as if barristers or parties examining witnesses are *therefore* members of the court; as if their responsibility was the same as that of the judges, or as if, not being the same, *therefore* they had none. Another—and a Whig, Mr. Ord—gives a certificate to the Government that they had furnished the Committee with the most ample information. Who ever doubted it? This *excusatio non petita* proves too much. Who told Mr. Ord that the evidence offered by Government might not be tested by that offered by Mr. Duncombe? Might not this be equally important and ample, though not at all in the power of the Government to offer? Then another Whig—The O'Connor Don—corroborates what fell from Mr. Ord, and talks of the extent to which the investigation had been carried. Very possibly to an unnecessary extent *from* the point; but does it prove that it might not be carried farther in a better direction? Or that a few facts added to it might not, like the postscript in a lady's letter, be more important than the whole of what goes before? Mr. Strutt—after due praise to himself and everybody else, except Mr. Duncombe and those who supported him—talked of the “inconvenience” of admitting the honourable member for Finsbury to the deliberations of the Committee, which that honourable member had never asked; then, says Mr. Strutt, it would be necessary to place before him the evidence already given; else how could he know what it was necessary for him to prove or disprove? Why, this is Mr. Duncombe's business: Let him conduct his case as he likes, and be responsible for it. Mr. Strutt need not make himself so very unhappy about it. Moreover, the member for Derby, as judge, could easily supply the deficiencies of the member for Finsbury, and from his knowledge of what was in evidence, put important questions to test the correctness of the charges as well as of the evidence already received. And if necessary for the discovery of truth—which we will suppose Mr. Strutt was desirous of finding, even at some *inconvenience*—why should not the evidence already collected have been placed before Mr. Duncombe? But possibly in the honourable member for Derby's opinion, the point of importance was not to get at the truth, but to keep Mr. Duncombe out of the Committee; he ought to have been there before, no doubt; but better late than never. Sir Robert Peel knew his men: He said that he (ingenious man!) as well as the Government were quite indifferent whether Mr. Duncombe was or was not present at the inquiry (oh, candid!) but “he conceived that to give permission to the

honourable member to be present at the meetings of the Committee, would imply nothing less than a reflection on the Committee; a distrust of its ability, or of its desire to institute a searching inquiry." English Judges complain daily of having to conduct a criminal case themselves, and beg of a barrister to do it, if the party have not retained one; far from thinking it a slur on their ability or impartiality, they think it requisite for getting at the truth. But Sir James Graham's committeemen were made of different stuff. The bait took. Mr. Ord and the other gentlemen, having no distrust of their own abilities, did not want Mr. Duncombe, and desiring a searching inquiry, would not consent to the member for Finsbury searching for them for what *they* could not possibly find, although *he* might, and pledged himself that he would. Need we add, that the motion of Mr. Duncombe was negatived, and the advantage of the most important evidence he offered lost? So much for a Committee, with a majority of purity men picked and packed by the Government upon it.

Having thus given the history of the transaction from which sprung the Committees, and that of the Committees themselves, we shall now proceed to give an account of their Reports, noticing what we deem remarkable in these documents, not only for what they contain, both of facts and of law, but for what they omit. The Report of the Lords' Committee is so meagre a document, so unsatisfactory, on both heads so undisguisably favourable to the Government, that we shall merely refer to it incidentally, and only as it may seem occasionally necessary on going over the Commons' Report; a document of much higher pretensions, drawn up with the assistance of antiquarians, with some statistical tables which, added to its bulk, give it the formidable appearance of a deep and most important state paper. As an instance of the little reliance to be placed on the assertions of the Lords' Committee, of the looseness of their calculations, and of their eagerness to clear the Government, the following instance will be amply sufficient. They say—

"It appears that since 1822, 182 warrants have been issued. . . . The issue of six or seven warrants upon a circulation of 220 millions of letters cannot be regarded as materially interfering with the sanctity of private correspondence."

From the details published by the Commons' Committee, it appears that the warrants issued since the beginning of 1823, are not 182 but 188; not therefore six or seven annually, but more than eight; and not for as many persons only but for more; and not for as many letters, but for a still greater number. Mr. Duncombe avers that more than fifty or sixty of Mr. Mazzini's letters have been opened. This—independent of the number of letters from and to foreign ministers, which have

been all detained or delayed—makes a much larger average than their Lordships lead people to believe by their loose and alleviating calculations. We should wish to learn from their Lordships how many lies are requisite in proportion to the number of truths that a man utters before he may be considered to cease to be a gentleman, or before the sanctity of truth may “be regarded as materially interfered with?” And after this we have the courage to find fault with Jesuitism! But there is another consideration. Supposing even one letter a-year only to be opened, the dishonesty of the principle is not mended. If a man steals a sovereign a-year, he is no less a thief because he did not steal twenty. Confidence, moreover, depends not in the actual security, but in the opinion of it. It is not because we are *all* in daily want of the *habeas corpus* that we *all* rely upon it as our protection; it is because we *all* may want it some day or other; and if a writ was to be illegally denied *once*, we should *all* have a right to complain—and would no doubt complain—of it, as *materially* interfering with the liberty of the subject, although we might not, most probably, any more want that protection each in our own person than each of us needs apprehend that his will be *the* letter opened in the course of the year. The *certainty* alone that letters are *never* opened and resealed with forged seals can give confidence to the public; so long as this *certainty* is wanting, we are liable to be made miserable by the suspicion, however unfounded in point of fact, that our secrets are pried into by a forger.

Lord Denman, when the question came before the House of Lords, took a part that left it doubtful which more to admire, the manly tone of his honest indignation, or the lofty sentiments of a constitutional judge. His Lordship, on the 29th of June, after the Committee of the House of Commons had been appointed, foreseeing what they were likely to do, said that

“He could not doubt, when the subject was brought practically before the House of Lords, or rather the Cabinet, they would perceive it to be, not a question of antiquarian histories of acts of Parliament, but a question of what ought to be law at the present moment, and of what was due to all the states of the world, and to the people of England under the circumstances of the present time.”

The Committee of the House of Commons, however, did exactly what Lord Denman deprecated; and instead of examining whether letters ought to be opened in 1844, they began by inquiring when first letters were sent by post. They say:—

“In preference to discussing the purely legal question how far the statute of Anne, in recognizing the practice, on the part of the Secretaries of State, of issuing warrants to open letters, rendered it lawful for the Secretaries of State to issue such warrants;”—and this is the whole pith and point of the matter—“your Committee propose, so far

as they have materials for that purpose, to give the history of this practice, prior and subsequent to the passing of that statute: these materials being such as ought not to be overlooked in investigating the grounds on which the exercise of such authority rests."

This inquiry was more fit for the Society of Antiquaries than for a Committee of the House of Commons as to the past, particularly *prior* to the statute of Anne; for it is not true that such materials, as they are called, can be of the slightest use in examining into the practice in our own days. The Committee were appointed to inquire "into the state of the law," not into the history of all the statutes previous to that law. Fancy a minister getting up in either House and objecting to any discussion except as to voting money, because Elizabeth and James I. directed their Parliaments "to abstain from discoursing matters of State." It is a loss of time and a deception to point out the thousands of abuses of authority which a Secretary of State might commit, and for which old precedents might be found, but which would *now* be considered intolerable and illegal. Not content with Elizabeth, the Committee stop at the Commonwealth on their way, and quote from an Act of 1657, settling the English postage, in which, among other advantages of the Post-office, it is remarked, that it is the best means "to discover and prevent many dangerous and wicked designs which have been and are daily contrived against the peace and welfare of the Commonwealth, the intelligence whereof cannot be well communicated but by letter of escript." Then they add: "It scarcely needed this evidence to prove that during the Protectorate, recourse was had to the expedient of opening letters." With a little more logic, the Committee might have perceived that the question, "whether letters were opened in point of fact," is a very different one from that, "whether letters were lawfully opened and detained." We think that the words of the Act just quoted do not prove that Parliament intended to legalize that practice. The dangerous and wicked designs against the Commonwealth were to be prevented, not by opening the letters of the contrivers of these designs, but by dispatching the intelligence of such designs, which intelligence could not be well communicated by word of mouth. This is the plain meaning of those words. How can it be said that contrivers of wicked designs cannot "well communicate the intelligence thereof but by letter of escript?" They will much better and more safely communicate *without* than by letters of escript, and then they will *not* communicate the intelligence of their designs, except they be idiots. It is the government and its agents who, in discovering such plots cannot well communicate the intelligence of them by other means than by letters, which intelligence being *safely and rapidly* carried by

the public post, under the orders of the government, is of great advantage in defeating conspirators.

The Act of Queen Anne deserves more notice for several reasons : 1st, Because it is not only subsequent to the Revolution, but of a time when constitutional liberty had made some progress : 2d, Because the Act now in force professes to be a mere consolidation of the former acts, and of that of Anne more particularly, from which the obnoxious clause about seal-breaking is derived.

By the 40th section of the 9th Anne, ch. 10, it is directed that no letter sent by post shall be opened, detained, or delayed, except in the cases therein specially set forth; among which is "an express warrant in writing under the hand of one of the Principal Secretaries of State, for every such opening, detaining, and delaying." The following section sets forth the oath of the Postmaster General, who swears not to open, detain, or delay "any letter or letters," except in certain cases therein specified; among others is "an express warrant in writing under the hand of one of the Principal Secretaries of State for that purpose." By the 36 of 1 Vict. sec. 25, the opening, detaining, or delaying of letters is forbidden, except in certain cases, among others "in obedience to an express warrant in writing under the hand of one of the Principal Secretaries of State." The same words are repeated in the declaration that every Postmaster-General is bound to make on entering on his office. The words of the statute of Anne, sec. 40, "for every such opening, detaining, or delaying" were omitted in the oath prescribed in sec. 41, as well as in the act now in force.* But Mr. Labouchere, who consolidated the Post-office acts and brought in those now in force, said on the 3d of July, in his place in the House of Commons, that the omission was not considered of importance, and the committee set out by assuming that in point of fact there is no difference between the act of Anne and that of Victoria, and that the law in the matter in question was the same in 1711 as it is in 1844. It is

* The words, "for every such opening, detaining, and delaying," prove evidently that the Legislature intended to limit the power to the utmost, to the case for instance of information given that a *certain* letter would come from a *certain* place addressed, or folded, or sealed in a *certain* manner to a *certain* person : then the Secretary of State might have given his warrant for that *one* letter and no more. And it is just because it is extremely difficult to be enabled to point out a letter in such *individual* manner that the power was given with such special restrictions, the intention being that seldom if ever the Secretary of State should have recourse to so vile an exercise of authority. All these difficulties were additional and effective guarantees to the sanctity of private correspondence. Restore these guarantees, let any letter opened according to law be resealed with an official seal and then forwarded, and we may be sure an end will be put to the infamies lately practised. The villany of forged seals has nothing to do with the law : It is purely ministerial.

remarkable, that after this admission, the Committee made no observations on the facts which they themselves disclose. It appears from their Report, that "a warrant to open and detain the letters addressed to Mr. Mazzini was issued on the 1st of March and cancelled on the 3d of June of the present year. Throughout that period, the intercepted correspondence was transmitted unread from the Home Office to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs." If the law of 1844 be the same with that of 1711, which requires a warrant "for every such opening, detaining, and delaying," it is manifest that to open all the letters of Mr. Mazzini, for more than three months, on the strength of *one* warrant, is illegal. And what was this but a *general* warrant? It was not a *special* warrant to open a certain letter which contained information of the highest importance to the State, but a general warrant to open all letters which might or might not contain such information—a warrant in fact to search among Mr. Mazzini's papers, and see whether there was anything among them that might criminate those who wrote to him, and sacrifice them to the revenge of foreign governments. For it is to be observed, that Mr. Mazzini was not even suspected of practices that could make him amenable to the English law, or that concerned England directly or indirectly. The proof of this is in the fact, "that the correspondence was transmitted unread from the Home to the Foreign Office." Had it been expected that that correspondence could have disclosed facts that rendered him amenable to the English law for compromising this country towards her allies—as, for instance, arming a ship to procure an invasion either from here or from any English possession—the correspondence would have been read at the Home Office, and the information obtained made use of to bring Mr. Mazzini to justice. Had it been expected that the letters contained information that something like this was going to be done by the parties who wrote them from other parts of the British dominions abroad, the correspondence would have been sent to the Colonial Office, that proper orders might be sent to the authorities on the spot to punish those who were expected to violate the laws of the country. Had it been believed that such a thing as an invasion of a friendly state with an armed vessel was threatened from any port under the British crown, the Admiralty would have had communication of the letters. But the opening of the letters of Mr. Mazzini had not for its object to discover any wicked design against England, nor to prevent any attack against the allies of England, nor to punish any one who should attempt it: its object was merely and purely to communicate the information obtained in such a manner to a foreign power; that is, the minister for foreign affairs of England became the *informer* of the Neapolitan government; and for this purpose the Home minister gave his warrant for opening all the letters

directed to a gentleman who had never been suspected or accused of breaking the laws of the country where he lived, trusting to the honour of its government and to the law of nations. For according to this law, a foreigner who is received, and who respects the law, has the same right to protection as a native—in the eye of generous men even more. And as no one can venture to say that the letters of Englishmen are to be opened to give information of their contents to foreign governments, still less ought those of Mr. Mazzini to be opened, to whom hospitality was granted, not certainly, we should think, with the secret intention of deceiving him.* But was it not a gross and base deception, to open letters which would never have been written had not the honour of England been relied upon, and to communicate the contents of them to foreign governments? Is there any instance on record of a government condescending to open letters addressed to foreigners to whom hospitality is shown, on which they fully trust, and this only to entrap them to consider their letters sacred? Is a government to take advantage of such confidence, that so it may be better able to act as a spy to another government? The members of the Committee are men considered by all those who know them incapable individually of any thing base or treacherous; yet not one gentleman has been found among them who has had the very moderate courage to point out the difference of this case from all others, the want of precedents for such a proceeding, and the deep disgrace that it brings on the whole nation. Would not this have been more to the purpose, more honourable, more decent, than to talk so much about the times of Elizabeth and Cromwell? We are surprised at the gross injustice rendered to our national character by foreigners, who consider us selfish, grasping, and ready to sacrifice every thing to English purposes, and for the sake of commercial advantages. But when we consider that a treaty of commerce is now negotiating with Naples, does not the suspicion naturally arise, that we stooped to act as spies to a government in order to import a few thousand pounds more of manufactures at a low duty into that country?

When individuals in this kingdom have chosen to take part with *rebels* at war with their governments in a foreign country, although it was the duty of the ministers to prevent this, although the HONOUR of England was emphatically implicated, not only by the general principles of the law of nations, which were vio-

* Le souverain ne peut accorder l'entrée de ses états pour faire tomber les étrangers dans un piège. Dès qu'il les reçoit, il s'engage à les protéger comme ses propres sujets, à les faire jouir, autant qu'il dépend de lui, d'une entière sûreté. Vattel, *Droit des gens*, I. 8, 104.

lated, but by the positive promise that was often given by the English to foreign governments, that all that could possibly and legally be done would be done, no Secretary of State ever thought himself bound to open letters the better to carry out this pledge. Thus, when the Spaniards endeavoured to subdue their revolted colonies, when the Turks were trying to overcome the Greeks, no Secretary of State thought himself called upon to open the letters of Englishmen who took the side of the rebels, and gave them advice and assistance; nor those of merchants, who were well known to furnish arms, ammunition, ships, &c.; nor those of bankers, who collected and sent money subscribed or lent; nor those of military men, who suggested plans of warfare, and enlisted men to carry them out. Has Mr. Mazzini ever been likely to give more than his advice at the utmost, and suggest plans to those who plotted against a foreign power? Has he ever been likely to send one hundred pounds, or a gun, or fifty rounds of cartridges, to his fellow-conspirators? And yet his letters are opened, and his friends delivered to the executioner, by the same government who shut their eyes to the assistance openly given to those who had rebelled against Spain and Turkey. These are matters for deep reflection.

Dat veniam corvis; vexat censura columbas.

And if this were not enough, there is a still lower depth of shame into which the government has plunged itself and the country. It is mean to open letters—it is still meaner to take advantage of the hospitality which we grant to those who are betrayed when relying on English honour; but what shall we say of what follows? On the 4th of July 1844,* the following dialogue is said to have taken place in the House of Lords:—

“The Duke of WELLINGTON said, he had been quite misunderstood, if it had been supposed that he had said the letters were to be placed at the disposal of any foreign power whatever. He had said that it was important that the Government should have the power of watching all foreign residents in this country, with reference to the disturbance of the peace of foreign countries; but he had never said anything of handing over their letters to any foreign power.

“The Marquis of NORMANBY. Have Mr. Mazzini's letters been communicated to any foreign power?

“The Duke of WELLINGTON. I have no knowledge of it.

“The Earl of ABERDEEN. I can more readily answer that question, and I can assure the noble lord that not one syllable of the correspondence has been communicated to any body whatever.”

* We have copied all the reports from the *Times*, no opponent of the present Government, and preferred for that reason.

Compare this solemn assertion* with the following extract from the Report of the Lords' Committee:—

"Mr. Mazzini's letters were stopped and opened under the warrant from the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and inspected by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, upon an apprehension that he was engaged in a correspondence having for its objects designs which might be injurious to the tranquillity of Europe. Certain parts of the information thus obtained were communicated to a foreign Government."

The Commons are still more communicative:—

"Representations had been made," they say, "to the British Government, from high sources, that plots, of which Mr. Mazzini was the centre, were carrying on upon the British territory, to excite an insurrection in Italy, and that such an insurrection, should it assume a formidable aspect, would, from peculiar political circumstances, disturb the peace of Europe. The British Government, considering the extent to which British interests were involved in the maintenance of that peace, issued, on their own judgment, but not at the suggestion of any foreign power, a warrant to open and detain Mr. Mazzini's letters. Such information, deduced from those letters, as appeared to the British Government calculated to frustrate this attempt, was communicated to a foreign power; but the information so communicated was not of a nature to compromise, and did not compromise, the safety of any individual within the reach of that foreign power; nor was it made known to that power by what means, or from what source that information had been obtained."

Let the reader reconcile the solemn assertion of the Minister for Foreign Affairs with the statements of both Committees! Assuming, moreover, the facts as represented by the Committee of the House of Commons, we say that the conduct of the Ministers is disgraceful. Plots were carrying on "upon the British territory," which *might* excite an insurrection in Italy, which insurrection *might* assume a formidable aspect, which *might* disturb the peace of Europe, which England is interested in preserving. Granted all. What did the British Government do? Knowing that these plots were carried on within the British territory, did they take measures to stop them? Did they warn the plotters that they were discovered and watched? No such thing. They allowed them to go on in full security, but *informed* "a foreign government"—of course the one that was plotted against—of what was going on. They *informed* them, for instance, that the parties were going to land at such a place, having collected the information from the

* In the *Morning Herald*, a thorough supporter of the Ministers, Lord Aberdeen is made to say: "Not a syllable of this correspondence has been submitted to any foreign power."

opening of a letter carefully resealed and forwarded. The foreign government was ready to receive the victims which our Government delivered into their hands : they were caught and executed. Is not their blood on the head of the *informers* ? Supposing, on the other hand, that the plotters had succeeded, and the insurrection had assumed a formidable aspect, and the peace of Europe had been broken, and British interests had suffered, whose fault was it but those ministers', who preferred turning informers to a foreign government, to stopping infatuated men from running to certain death, which those Ministers had abetted in preparing ? It was not the peace of Europe that they wanted to preserve, but the blood of their victims that English Ministers wanted to spill ! Oh ! shame upon England ! Even this conduct, which renders informers the horror of mankind, has been passed unnoticed by the Committee, who, in their anxiety to praise and shelter and cheer informers in their sanguinary calling, tell us that the " information so communicated was not of a nature to compromise, and did not compromise, the safety of any individual within the reach of that foreign power." This is a revolting quibble. The Ministers had no information to give about persons THEN in the power of the foreign government, but they had, and did communicate information which concerned people whom they knew were going to put themselves under the power of the government to whom the information was given, whom they might have prevented, but did not prevent, from getting into the power of that government, where they were expected by the help of our *informers*, and slaughtered. The Committee at last, in their anxiety to screen informers, actually go so far as to state, that the information thus given did not, in point of fact, compromise the safety of any individual within the reach of that foreign power. First of all, let us repeat, it did compromise the safety of parties who at a subsequent period happened to be, and it was known for certain would be, within the reach of that government ; and moreover how can the Committee know that the information in question did NOT produce certain effects ? The evidence they have collected may justify them in saying what the positive effects of that information were—in asserting positively that no names of persons or places were communicated ; but to say that *no* person was compromised, is saying what they cannot possibly know, and what they cannot possibly have in evidence, unless they have a certain knowledge of the peculiar and individual reasons which induced the Government of Naples to molest, imprison, condemn, and execute THOUSANDS of persons, and so on with respect to the other governments of Italy ; for the information given by our Ministers respecting a man not

within the reach of Naples, is kindly forwarded to the Pope, for instance, by the Neapolitan Government, if the victims which our Ministers have designated, be within the reach of the Government of His Holiness. And who tells the Committee that more victims, now out of the hands of "the friendly government," unaware of their having been designated, although even their names may have been concealed, may not be "compromised" the moment they set foot on the land of the "friendly government?" It is, moreover, proper to add, that, paradoxical as it may seem, to communicate any information to such governments, withholding names, will cause even greater misery than if the names were given; for, in this case, no one but the parties specially named might be liable to suffer, whereas the withholding of names renders liable to be suspected, proscribed, and even murdered, persons entirely innocent, and for whom it is impossible to clear themselves, as the crimes which are imputed to them on the information of the spy—that is, the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—are as carefully concealed from them as is the name of the secret informer by whom they are cruelly sacrificed. These are the results of the conduct praised and applauded by members of the House of Commons.

We have no doubt with respect to two assertions of the Committee, 1st, That the warrant for opening Mr. Mazzini's letters was not issued at the suggestion of any foreign power. We believe that there is no instance of such a request from one gentleman to another either in diplomacy or otherwise; that no foreign minister could have dreamt hitherto that such a request would have been complied with by an English gentleman; and lastly, that, had the request been made, an English gentleman of the old school would have ordered out of his presence any one who had dared to insult him so far as to suppose him capable of such baseness. Modern noblemen might be above such squeamishness, if we are to judge from what has *transpired*, and it is evident the Committee think so; still we doubt it. But we don't see that for being spontaneous and of native growth, the thought of opening letters to inform others of their contents, is less vile and loathsome. Whatever the Committee may think of it, we don't see that Great Britain has much reason to boast of the nationality of this idea. We also believe, secondly, that the informers did not make known by what means or from what source they derived the information. We are free to confess, that we think the informer himself must have felt ashamed of the means and source of his information; and if we were to put in the witness-box a spy, no matter how lost to all shame and sense of honour, we think that if he were forced to say that his information was derived from slyly opening a letter, trusted to him to carry,

for money—even such a wretch would blush, and his voice falter, in confessing such ignominy.

The Committee continue their Report in the following words:—

“ A warrant to open and detain all letters addressed to Mr. Worcell and to Mr. Stoltzmann, was issued on the 17th of April 1844, and cancelled on the 20th of June. A warrant to open and detain all letters addressed to Mr. Grodicki at Paris, and to another foreign gentleman, was issued on the 3d of June 1844, and cancelled on the 13th of the same month. The last two warrants rested on grounds connected with the personal safety of a foreign sovereign, intrusted to the protection of England. It appears to your Committee, that under circumstances so peculiar, even a slight suspicion of danger would justify a minister in taking extraordinary measures of precaution. The Committee have not learned that there appeared in the letters that were detained any thing to criminate the gentlemen whom the Committee have very reluctantly named.”

When one reads such abominable doctrines, avowed and defended by a Committee of the House of Commons, one would despair of English liberty and English fairness, were it not for the recollection that the Committee was composed of the nominees of Sir James Graham. We appeal from them to the honest English gentlemen, proud of the old laws and manliness of their country, but not boasting of their philosophy and theoretical notions of liberty. Observe, first of all, the reluctance with which the Committee admit that there was no ground for opening the letters of gentlemen whom they regret to have mentioned—and whom they need not have mentioned any more than they did “ another foreign gentleman,” of whom they speak. They do not say honestly and fearlessly, “ there was nothing criminal in the letters thus detained,” but they say, they “ have not learned that there was.” Do they mean to say that they *might* have learned it if they had inquired? Was it not their duty to inquire? And if they did inquire, as they no doubt did, and found that the gentlemen named were innocent and calumniated, why use such a shabby phrase, that “ they have not learned ” what they now know it was impossible to learn, being false and baseless? * In the next

* Although the Committee avoid rendering this justice to Mr. Mazzini, we think it right to state that nothing was found in his letters that could justify an English minister in opening them. His friends from the Adriatic informed him that they intended to attempt a revolution on the Neapolitan coast: our Government communicated the information to that of Naples, and led the writers to the scaffold, but so far from Mr. Mazzini having any part in this plan, he did all he could to prevent his friends from attempting to carry it into execution. Mr. Mazzini was ready to prove this as well as the falsity of the calumnies industriously circulated by a person who might be supposed to be of authority, to prejudice the Committee

place, let us consider the consequences of the principles so coolly advanced by the Committee. The two warrants (for four persons and an indefinite number of letters,) rested on grounds connected with the personal safety of a foreign sovereign, intrusted to the protection of England, and *therefore* even a slight suspicion authorizes a minister to take extraordinary precautions! We, on the contrary contend, that the greater the crime the stronger must be the suspicion, before you believe it likely that it should be committed. I can easily suspect one who follows me likely to pick my pocket, but except on much stronger grounds I never suspect him of intending to murder me. What would it be said if I were to give him into custody as a would-be murderer, because my personal safety is concerned? Would my slight suspicion be enough to authorize me to take so extraordinary a precaution? And if it does not authorize me when I have a slight suspicion about my own life, (which, in my opinion, whatever be the Committee's, is worth as much as that of the Czar,) why should it authorize a minister in being *eccentric* when the Emperor of Russia is concerned? A minister, moreover, may take as many extraordinary measures as he pleases, provided he takes *moral* and *legal* ones. The Committee ought to have recollected that the persons whose letters were wantonly opened, as well as the letters themselves, were under the protection of the law of England as much as the Emperor; and that the insult and affront of opening their letters, thereby implying that they were suspected capable of committing a murder, ought not to be put on honourable men, poor, and exiles, and persecuted though they be, *on slight suspicion*, as the Committee have the hardihood to say. Let Messrs. Warburton and Strutt put themselves in the case of these unfortunate foreigners; let them think what would be their feelings if they knew that *on slight suspicion* a Minister had supposed them capable of committing murder? And do they, these champions of liberty, think that the poor and unknown foreigner is to have a different measure dealt out to him? Is this English justice? Instead of palliating such iniquities, the Committee would have done better if they had minded the facts a little more. The warrant against the two gentlemen, Worcell and Stoltzmann, was issued on the 17th of April, and cancelled on the 20th of June 1844; that warrant is one of the two issued on grounds connected with the personal safety of a sovereign whom every body well knows to be the Emperor of Russia. Now this sovereign intrusted himself to the protection of England, from the evening of the

against his private character: he asked to be examined: but this might have produced some "inconvenience," according to Mr. Strutt's felicitous expression, therefore Mr. Mazzini was first put off, and then not examined at all.

1st of June, when he arrived at Woolwich, to that of the 10th of the same month, when he sailed from the same place, after having been a nine days' wonder. The warrant was in force not only long before the public knew of his coming, but a considerable time after he was gone. After this we are justified in not giving absolute credence to the Report, or the evidence on which it rests.

We are satisfied that when the Committee approved of the sentence, that the peculiarity of circumstances—that is, the circumstance of his Russian Majesty being under the protection of English laws—justifies a minister in taking extraordinary measures of precaution even on slight suspicions, they did not see what a wide door they opened to most serious abuses. And this is the consequence of departing from just and moral grounds. The expediency principle of the Committee is not new. In the worst times, in the most despotic governments, under the *régime* of the worst criminal law, one of the axioms received was:—"In atrocissimis leviores conjecturæ sufficiunt, et licet jura transgredi." The Committee did nothing but put into their English a barbarous saying, now looked upon with horror in all countries and by all legislators. Torture, as is well known, was declared by the judges in the famous case of Felton, not to be allowed by the law of England, yet it is as well known that it was repeatedly used both before and after the same opinion had been expressed by Coke in his second Institute, who himself was at least once a party to ordering the rack. On the same principle that the Committee have now the hardihood to proclaim in the face of civilized Europe, *in atrocissimis leviores conjecturæ sufficiunt, et licet jura transgredi*, men of high rank were found in old times, who had recourse to torture in cases of crimes of great enormity, as for instance high-treason, as an "engine of state," to borrow Blackstone's words, and for the very purpose for which Sir J. Graham had letters opened, "for discovery and not for evidence," as Bacon says.* If the Committee be consistent, they must be ready to admit that if letters were to be found proving any person, one of many who have, for instance, encompassed the death of the sovereign, (either of England, or of Russia when in England, according to the Committee,) the Government had a right to go farther, and seizing the writer of the letters, put

* "In the highest cases of treason, torture is used for discovery and not for evidence," says Bacon, quoted by HALLAM, *Constit. Hist.* chap. viii., p. 460, note †, 4to. edit. See also HEYWOOD, *Vindication of Fox's History*, p. 398, *et seq.* *ARCHÆOLOGIA*, tom. x., p. 143. The distinction drawn by Bacon has not wanted followers; and it has been said that as letters were opened to discover the guilty, not to prove the guilt, there was no great harm. It is not worth while answering such arguments as these; they are worthy of the cause.

him to the rack "for discovery of his accomplices, not for evidence," as a *little* Bacon might say in our day, echoing the great one of old.

We have hitherto avoided the question how far the power of issuing any warrant at all is legal, as we wished to show how the Committee have performed their duty, before coming to show how they have not. Among other omissions, they have omitted to state, that *no* law authorizes, or ever did authorize, a Secretary of State to issue a warrant. What is found is this: that if the Secretary of State issues his warrant, then and by that authority only, and no other (the case in which the law itself authorizes being excepted,) in England, or by that of the Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland,* the Postmaster-General is authorized to open letters. The law, therefore, is to prevent the Postmaster-General opening letters under any authority except this one, and consequently intended to make letters sacred. But if the Secretary of State takes on himself the responsibility of ordering expressly a certain letter to be opened, then the Postmaster is warranted in so doing, but it does not follow that the Secretary of State is warranted in giving the order. A Secretary of State may take on himself to order a person to be arrested, but because his warrant protects those who obey his orders, it does not follow that if he causes an innocent man to be arrested, he is not liable to an action. So it is with respect to opening letters. In the cases of Messrs. Mazzini, Stoltzmann, and other foreigners, it is manifest that nothing was found which could justify the Secretary of State, for none of them was prosecuted, as they would and ought to have been, if not innocent. But, then, it is almost impossible to prove that a letter has been opened, so as to make the Postmaster-General responsible, in which case he would have to produce his warrant, and he who signed it would be called to account. Thus, Sir James Graham, relying on the almost certainty of not being found out, could safely refer to the tribunals of the country, men of limited means, whom he had affronted and oppressed. By refusing to account to the House first, and then by appointing the Committee who were to investigate on public and constitutional grounds

* The 23-24 of Geo. III., ch. 17, sec. 30 (Irish,) says that the warrant must be "an express warrant in writing, under the hand and seal of the Lord-Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom." Mr. Wynn, whenever was Secretary of State, signed warrants in England for 1807, according to the Report of the House of Commons' Committee; and, in Ireland, persons who were neither Lord-Lieutenants or chief governors repeatedly signed such warrants, as proved by the same authority. The power "progressed downward" from the Lord-Lieutenant to the Secretary, and from him to the secretary's secretary in 1836. The antiquarian committeemen did not notice this trifle. Had they found it in the time of Cromwell, or Elizabeth, or William the Conqueror, they would, no doubt, have brought it forward as proof of the *legality* of the deed in those early times.

the charges that were brought before them, and which it was impossible to prove before a court of law, he has secured to himself, and the colleagues with whom he acted, a complete impunity, as he thinks. There is a public opinion in England that he cannot escape from, which may adequately punish him, and deter others from following his example.

The Committee who have been so careful in pointing out an early case in which a warrant was granted "on grounds which would now be considered highly objectionable," obviously for the purpose of showing how much better the modern practice is, have omitted to call the attention of the House to a remarkable clause in that warrant. It is signed by Lord Dartmouth, and dated the 20th of September 1712; directed to the Postmaster-General. It concludes as follows:—"You are to comply with it, (the warrant) AS FAR AS IS CONSISTENT WITH LAW, and the duty of your office." This is the first warrant under the Act of Anne; and the Secretary of State of the time, who must have known what the Legislature meant, far from thinking himself authorized to direct letters to be opened by that law, leaves it to the Postmaster-General to judge to what extent the law sanctioned such practices. In the same spirit of fairness did the Committee draw up the paragraph respecting the opening of the letters of Bishop Atterbury. They forgot to mention the peculiar circumstances under which that strong measure was resorted to for so strictly English purposes; and when they state that there was not "any question raised as to the legality of the warrants," they state what is no doubt literally true, although the impression they mean to convey, viz. that no one doubted the validity of the warrants, is utterly untrue. The facts are these. Three letters were said to have been written by the Bishop, which were opened at the Post-office, read, copied, and the copies brought forward against the Bishop before the Committee of the Lords on the bill of pains and penalties. Peter Thouvois was examined touching the copies of these three letters, and attested that they were true copies. The Bishop then asked this Thouvois, who was in the service of the Post-office, "If he had any express warrant, under the hand of one of the Principal Secretaries of State, for opening the said letters?" The question was objected to, and the following resolution carried:—"That it is the opinion of this House that it is inconsistent with the public safety, as well as unnecessary for the prisoner's defence, to suffer any further inquiry to be made, upon this occasion, into the warrants which have been granted by the Secretaries of State, for the stopping and opening of letters which should come or go by post, or into the methods that have been taken by the proper officers at the Post-office, in obedience to such warrants." By this monstrous deci-

sion, the fact that there were warrants, as well as their legality, was *assumed*, although the question to ascertain that fact was not answered; and the whole discussion as to the validity being stopped, it was impossible for the Bishop to raise that question. Far from being satisfied, Atterbury, in his defence, mentioned the stopping the clerks of the Post-office from answering, as one of the many hardships under which he laboured.*

But we should never end were we to go on pointing out the incorrect statements, as well as the clever omissions which deserve to be pointed out in this impartial document, and we shall therefore pass to another important point. The Report runs as follows :

"It does not appear to your Committee necessary to follow the warrant from the time of its reception at the Post-office, to that of its execution. The letters which have been detained and opened are, unless retained by special order, as sometimes happens in criminal cases, closed and resealed, without affixing any mark to indicate that they have been so detained and opened, and are forwarded by post according to their respective superscriptions."

And further on, speaking of the examination of certain bags addressed to particular places, they say :

"This examination has no connexion whatever with the opening of letters under warrant, and it is not the method practised when letters are retained and opened by authority of the Secretary of State."

These are two of the most exquisite bits of the whole Report. Mr. Duncombe had offered to prove that the letter-bags of certain towns or divisions were taken to the inner office, when letters were taken out and opened. The proofs, as we have seen, were virtually refused by the Committee, who, however, do not think it necessary to inquire how the authorities proceeded in executing the warrant, and then add, that the examining certain letter-bags "has no connexion whatever with the opening of letters under warrant." Does this mean that it *has* with the opening of letters *not* under warrant? And if the warrant is found to be properly and legally issued and executed, when there are doubts as to both, was it not highly necessary for the Committee to inquire into the fact, and tranquillize the public mind by showing that the thing was done legally, or to take proper measures for putting an end to illegalities, if any occurred? It is plain, by their saying what was *not* the method practised when letters are opened by authority of the Secretary of State, that the Committee know which is *the* method ;

* It is, moreover, absurd to quote as a precedent of *law and justice*, what was done to pass a bill of pains and penalties. If, on such an occasion, the validity of the warrants for opening letters had been considered indisputable, that would not have proved them to be so in law.

and it is but fair to presume that as they shrink from telling the House what it was, they felt it was too revolting an abomination to bring to light. In the process of this mysterious practice there is one part which is still more disgusting, degrading, and base than what we have been hitherto dwelling upon, and that is the careful resealing of the letters when opened and read, executed with such skill as to baffle discovery. It was this that made Lord Radnor state plainly and honestly, that this was "a system of falsehood, treachery, and forgery;" and before him Lord Denman had, with equal honesty, alluded to the system of concealment in using the power claimed by the Secretary of State, and the "something very like forgery" by which it was carried on. Had no member of the Committee enough of English blood in his veins to feel it curdle at these proceedings, and wish to brand them with infamy? Is it not a falsehood to deliver a letter pretending it to be untouched, when it has in fact been opened? Is it not treachery to open a letter trusted to the honour of the State, in the full confidence that it would be held sacred? Is it not forgery to imitate a seal so cunningly as to render it impossible to discover that it has been broken? Did the gentlemen on the Committee approve of these unholy practices? If they condemned them, why not do so openly? Would they give them the sanction of their silence? Silence! No; they did worse; they did their best to conceal them, and therefore to perpetuate them. Words fail us to express what we feel at such words as the following: "The letters were closed and resealed without affixing any mark to indicate that they have been detained and opened." Now, observe: This merely implies that persons were not *positively* made aware that their letters had been opened, but leaves one to infer that no care was taken to conceal that fact; whereas the truth is, that the greatest possible care was and is taken *particularly by resealing the letter WITH A FORGED SEAL, so well executed as to render discovery impossible*. If even they did not disapprove of the practice of forging seals—and that is a matter of taste for their own consideration—surely the Committee ought not to have expressed themselves in terms calculated to convey an impression which was utterly false.

We shall now quote another passage from the Report, deserving great attention, both as to the facts and as to the principles that are involved in it. It is as follows:

"On the subject of the foreign department at the General Post-office, the secrecy of foreign correspondence, your Committee are assured, is kept inviolate. Certain warrants, bearing respectively the signature of the Right Hon. C. J. Fox, when Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in 1782, and of his successor the Marquis of Carmarthen, were laid before your Committee, which, being of a very comprehen-

sive nature, have, in conjunction with other information, induced your Committee to believe that diplomatic correspondence, when posted in the ordinary course, incurred in this country and in other great States of Europe, nearly equal risk of inspection. How long similar warrants continued, and when they were finally recalled, your Committee have no information; nor did they think it their duty to report as to any practice which may have existed in reference to this part of the subject. Of this they are satisfied that no such warrants or practices now exist; and that public as well as private correspondence, foreign as well as domestic, passing through the office in regular course, now enjoys complete security, subject only to the contingency of a Secretary of State's warrant, directed for special reasons against a particular letter or letters."

On this we may as well observe, that the warrant against all the letters to two gentlemen in one warrant, like the case of Worcell and Stoltzmann, or Grodicki and another, is not "a warrant against a particular letter or letters." This crooked paragraph,* the wish of the Committee to avoid the subject, the sort of palliation indirectly invoked by dragging in unnecessarily the other great states of Europe, and making out that we were better than they are,—all these circumstances are satisfactory proof that there is something very bad indeed, that the Committee wish to screen and sanctify. Let us compare with this the following plain, short, and pithy concluding paragraph of the Report of the Lords' Committee :

"It appears to have been for a long period of time, and under many successive administrations, an established practice that the foreign correspondence of foreign ministers, passing through the General Post-office, should be sent to a department of the Foreign Office before the forwarding of such correspondence according to its address. The Postmaster-General having had his attention called to the fact that there was no sufficient authority for this practice, has, since June, discontinued it altogether."

So then the correspondence which Ministers of the good friends and allies of our gracious Sovereign posted, was not only *nearly* as unsafe as in other great States, but *regularly* and *constantly* sent out of its course, for no very worthy purpose, (and that must certainly be pretty nearly as often as they did the same in those wicked foreign great States alluded to)—a practice which seems

* We don't charge the Committee with having drawn up the paragraph in an unintelligible manner of *malice prepense*. We believe it is owing to their downright want of clearness of perception, awkwardness of position in having to screen what their conscience made them ashamed of, and deficient knowledge of their own language. The following specimen of correct and clear expression of ideas speaks for itself: "The successors of Sir Robert Walpole issued warrants for stopping and opening letters of a very general and unlimited character." What would the Committee think if the warrants instead of the letters had been of a very general and unlimited character !

to have been discontinued ages ago, according to the vague, and, as usual, ambiguous phrases of the Commons, but which appears to have been discontinued only since last June, as the Lords report—the very month, as it happens by a most singular, and no doubt fortuitous coincidence, when Mr. Mazzini presented his petition through Mr. Duncombe. We think one might safely bet, since betting is one of the lordly means of ascertaining the truth, that the discontinuation of this naughty practice is not of a date earlier than the middle of that month. But whilst the Committee of the Commons reluctantly admitted that only the diplomatic correspondence going through the Post-office was *nearly* as unsafe in England (where it was opened whenever it could be got hold of) as in the other great States of Europe, Lord Haddington—the first Lord of the Admiralty—on the 25th of June, in his place in Parliament, laid down as a principle, that the essence of government consisted in the power of opening, and of course resealing, letters in an imperceptible manner. His Lordship said, that this power “must necessarily exist in every country having any government at all;” so that in future, when we mean to ascertain whether a country is governed, or in a state of barbarism and anarchy, we have only to ask; “Have the Ministers (for we can suppose Ministers and a barbarous country co-existing,) the power of opening letters; and do they know how to reseat them so cleverly as not to be found out?” If the answer be in the negative, we may, according to Lord Haddington’s axiom, set down that country as having no government at all. Is it not marvellous? We always thought the first ingredient in a good government was virtue; and now we find that this consists in cunningly opening, and still more cunningly resealing letters going through the post.

We have no difficulty in admitting the fact, that in most states of Europe—great and small—probably in *all* not long ago—diplomatic as well as private correspondence was violated. So in many countries—and not long since in many more—men are thrown into prison *ad libitum*; kept there without knowing why; obliged to criminate themselves, by answering questions put to them for that express purpose; deprived of means of defence, their papers searched, and materials to condemn them most cunningly drawn out of them, &c. But is this an argument in favour of such practices, or a proof that they are authorized by law, or that such Governments are good? Is it not the boast and pride of this country that such proceedings cannot take place here? Does not the difference between a free and a despotic Government consist principally in this, that the laws are omnipotent in the one, and the will of man above them in the other? The law of nations takes diplomatic correspondence under its protection;

and wherever a free Government exists, the sanctity of private correspondence going through the Post-office is the subject of special enactments. Is an English Minister to appeal to what is done in foreign despotic countries, as a justification for his setting public as well as municipal law at defiance? Or ought he not, if he is to appeal to foreign customs, to argue from what is done in free countries? Is it fair for a Committee of the House of Commons to quote what is done in open defiance of public law? But probably they did not know it, and being in the humour of finding right whatever was done, they did not inquire; it is however remarkable, that before June last no one from the Foreign Office told the Postmaster-General that he was wrong in sending to that department the letters of foreign ministers, some of whom (we are assured by one of them,) had all along suspected this practice, whilst others had no idea of it, but relied on the principle that "it is an offence against the civil laws, and is a crime to intercept the letters of a private person, because the public safety is disturbed thereby; but there is no intercepting those of an ambassador, without violating the law of nations. Nobody ever doubted that the security which is due to public persons, extends itself also to their letters."* Vattel, the great authority of our statesmen, does not hesitate in laying down the same principles,† which must therefore have been well known to every person who had a hand in this disgraceful business. M. Guizot having declared that the correspondence going through the French post-office was held sacred in fact and in law, for public as well as for private persons, an attempt has been made to show that *in fact* such was not the case; for a dispatch from one of our ministers abroad being just then on its way to Lord Aberdeen, it was opened on its passing through Paris, and a copy of it taken, which copy the members of the Committees were shown. Taking all this to be true, it proves only that M. Guizot knowing that the *law* was at variance with the *fact*, had courage enough to answer so as not to criminate himself; but does it in the least justify the doings of our Foreign Office? If proof is brought that pockets are picked in Paris, although it be denied by the French police, are our ministers justified in appealing to the French practice as a precedent for giving any scoundrel they please a warrant to pick pockets in England?

The law in all civilized countries is and has always been, that

* WICQUEFORT. *The Ambassador*, lib. i., c. 18. He relates some curious cases which occurred in England, bearing on this subject, which have escaped the antiquaries of the House of Commons.

† Lib. iv., ch. 9, § 123.

to open a letter is a criminal action, as Wicquefort says. Good, just and moral governments never authorize the perpetration of a crime. Even long before the introduction of Post-offices, whoever opened and *resealed* a letter was punished, and he who showed it still more. Honourable men recoiled from procuring and still more taking advantage of information obtained in so treacherous a manner.* In France, in the worst times, no advantage was allowed to be taken by judges of a letter come at in an indirect and improper manner. A person accused of simony was proved guilty by a letter written to the attorney of the prosecutor, before the proceedings had begun. But the Parliament of Tholouse thought it dangerous to allow the production of a letter not directed to the party who wished to make use of it. In the case of the abduction of Miss Turner by Mr. E. G. Wakefield and others, the prosecutor had become possessed, no one knew how, of letters either written by, or addressed to, some of the parties accused. The letters were produced, and in a country where the accused is not allowed to be questioned or to criminate himself, these letters were read in evidence, although possessed by those who produced them by means which could not bear the

* Cum enim qui instrumenta apud se deposita prodidit Lege Cornelia teneatur id idem de epistola prodita respondendum videtur. . . . Improbum hoc admissum esse etiam accusatores nonnulli judicavere qui cum possent ejusmodi instrumentis scelere proditis accusationem instruere noluissent. MATTHÆI, *ad Lib.* xlviii. Dig. tit. 7. *De Falso*. Is not a letter trusted to the post as sacred a deposit as can be conceived ! We are glad to have it in our power to substitute for the instances of Roman honour, which the author adduces, one of an Englishman—the late Lord St. Vincent. When in the bay of Cadiz with disaffected crews, letters arrived from the as yet unsubdued mutineers at the Nore, urging his seamen to resistance. It was suggested that the delivery of the letters should be withheld. “Certainly not,” was the great Admiral’s reply, “let every letter be immediately delivered ; I dare to say the commander-in-chief will know how to support his own authority.”—TUCKER. *Memoirs of Earl St. Vincent*, vol. i., p. 300. The following anecdote deserves likewise transcribing, to the honour of English statesmen of bygone times :—“One morning a man came to him (Pulteney) offering his service, that he could open any letter folded in any form, could take a copy of the letter, and make it up again in such a manner, that the writer of the letter himself could not distinguish whether the seal had been touched, or how the letter had been opened. The man withdrew into another room, a short letter was written, was folded up in the most artful manner, was sealed with a finely cut coat of arms, and then sent to the man in the room adjoining. In a quarter of an hour the man returned with the letter and the copy of the letter, and neither Mr. Pulteney, nor a friend who had been sitting with him at the time, could discover the least traces of the letter’s having been opened. The man therefore hoped that his honour would employ him, or recommend him to some other person. He replied, that he regretted that there existed such a dangerous enemy to society ; so far from employing or recommending him, he would punish him if he had it in his power. ‘Go your ways,’ said he, ‘and seek your reward elsewhere.’ The man was soon after taken into the Secretary of State’s office.”—NEWTON, *Life and Anecdotes*, prefixed to his Works, p. 76.

light.* We think that the Parliament of Tholouse has the advantage; and we mention these cases to show that we are not, in all instances as we assume so complacently, the most high-minded people in the world. In 1790 and 1791, the Constituent Assembly of France† proclaimed the inviolability of letters, and forbade their being opened under any pretence whatever; a severe punishment was provided against persons guilty of having broken the seal of a letter, by the Criminal Code of the 25th of September 1791, when this was done by order of a minister.‡ This was confirmed by the 638th art. of the Code, 3d Brum. an. iv., with a very important addition,§ which was, however, suppressed in Bonaparte's time—for even he was not bold enough to avow and defend such a vile practice—by the art. 187 of the Penal Code of 1810, in which the punishment for seal-breakers was greatly diminished, avowedly in order that the guilty should not escape.|| Such is the law in France at the present moment, and M. Guizot tells us, on his own responsibility, that it is executed. Some persons may laugh at the circular addressed in 1815 to the authorities, by Carnot—as was done by the supporters of the Ministers in the House of Commons when Mr. Roebuck translated it for their benefit—but we look upon this important document as a great homage rendered to public honour, and beg to submit it to our readers.¶ In the United States, by a statute passed in 1825, (ch. 275, ¶ 21,) every person employed in the Post-office, without exception, is forbidden from opening, detaining, or delaying a letter, under a severe punishment; and the

* GUYOT. *Repertoire de Jurisprudence*. Art. *Lettres*. *The Trial of E. G. Wakefield*. Published by Murray in 1826. 12mo.

† Dec. 10th August 1790, and 10th July 1791.

‡ Part 2d., tit. 1st., § 3, art. 3.

|| Il n'est porté par le présent article aucune atteinte à la surveillance que le gouvernement peut exercer sur les lettres venant des pays étrangers ou destinées pour ces mêmes pays.

§ L'on a, dans cette matière, cherché plutôt une peine efficace qu'une peine sévère . . . Il importe de les réprimer (les abus d'autorité); mais avec modération, si l'on veut que ce soit avec succès.—BERLIER, *Exposé des Motifs*, &c.

¶ Je suis informé, Monsieur le préfet, que, dans plusieurs parties de l'empire, le secret des correspondances a été violé par des agens de l'administration. Qui peut avoir autorisé de pareilles mesures! Leurs auteurs diront-ils qu'ils ont voulu servir le gouvernement et chercher sa pensée? Porter de pareils procédés dans l'administration, ce n'est point servir l'Empereur, c'est calomnier sa Majesté. Elle ne demande point, elle rejette les hommages d'un dévouement désavoué par les lois. Or les lois ne se sont-elles pas accordées depuis 1789 à prononcer que le secret des lettres est inviolable! Tous nos malheurs, aux diverses époques de la révolution, sont venus de la violation des principes, il est temps d'y rentrer. Vous voudrez donc bien, Monsieur le préfet, faire poursuivre d'après toute la rigueur des lois ces infractions d'un des droits les plus sacrés de l'homme en société. La pensée d'un citoyen français doit être libre comme sa personne même.

Agrez, Monsieur le préfet, l'assurance de ma parfaite considération.—CARNOT.

point has been considered so very important in Belgium, that the nation have deemed it necessary to proclaim the inviolability of letters, without exception, as one of their constitutional rights.* In Lord Haddington's opinion, these are proofs that there is no government at all in France, the United States, and Belgium; we think, however, that, in this respect, those countries are better off than we are with our Board of Mercuries in Downing Street and at the Post-office.

Yet, it is on the ground of its necessity for good government that Lord Haddington exclaims—

“Was it to be conceived that a Secretary of State, in a matter of importance—in a matter, as he believed, involving danger to the State, to the Crown, or to the Country, and becoming the subject of a correspondence—should not have the power of checking the anticipated evil, and preventing the threatened public misfortune, by causing the opening of letters that were passing through the Post-office?”

Lord Denman, in the same debate, expressed a different, and, as we humbly conceive, more English opinion :—

“I do not,” said that noble Lord, “I do not consider this a question of expediency or in expediency, but a question of right or wrong. I do no more believe it necessary to show that it was wrong for this power to exist, in the person of one individual, than I should think it necessary to contend that it was wrong to pick a pocket.”

The question, then, is one of right or wrong; and now we should like to ask Lord Haddington, how he can reconcile it to his conscience as an honest man, to put the case as one of opening letters only to prevent and check an evil of magnitude, whilst the case under discussion was not one of such magnitude, and whilst the pith of the complaint was still more than that of opening letters, that of resealing them and forwarding them to parties who were thus deceived by treachery and forgery? Does Lord Haddington think these honourable, christian, and gentlemanlike ways of governing? Is he prepared to contend that the sanctity of the end justifies the dishonesty of the means? Let Lord Haddington suppose that a Secretary of State should think it right, to prevent and check an anticipated public evil of great importance, to order a man to be arrested, would he be justified in causing it to be done by stealth, and by unknown hands, placing the man in a secret or private prison; refusing him any information as to why or wherefore, or by whose orders he was arrested; and finally letting him out in as mysterious a manner—taking from him, as far as possible, all means of obtaining redress for

* *Constitution Belge*, art. 22.

such treatment? The Secretary of State is informed, that if he stops and reads the letters of a person, he may find him engaged in a treasonable plot. He misses one of the letters, but he is told that the person who has received it carries it about in his pocket, and that it may be of importance to read it; yet the Right Honourable thinks it "a matter of importance" not to have the person who wrote it made aware that he is watched. Forthwith he sends for some pick-pocket, whom he has known at an election, and charges him delicately to abstract the letter from the pocket in which it is kept, and bring it to him. The thing is done, and the letter read; but, not to excite suspicion, it is required that it should be as *delicately* returned as it was abstracted. This is also done. And, as it would be desirable to see some other letters kept in a drawer by him who received them, a valet is bribed to let the Right Honourable see them: the drawer is locked, but the valet knows the key, and can manage to take an impression of it; which being done, the Right Honourable gets a key made, the valet uses it, shows the letters and replaces them, *toties quoties*. Is this defensible? What is the difference between forging a key and forging a seal? What makes the opening and resealing letters a holy action, seems to be the circumstance of its being done whilst they were trusted to the HONOUR of the Government—a slender guarantee no doubt, as times go—the Government being paid for carrying the letters *safely*, and fining you if you send them by other means than the Post-office. But, it is said, that the law is for opening letters, and that people ought to have known it. The Government and its agents have done all they could to create an impression that no letter was ever opened by any authority whatever, except in cases of misdirection, want of payment, or refusal to receive it. This is not one of the least revolting features in this business. In 1833, Mr. Wallace, M.P. for Greenock, moved for the following return, which we copy verbatim, capitals and all, from the Parliamentary papers for 1834, among which it is found, having been ordered by the House to be printed on the 10th of February 1834. It runs thus:—

"POST-OFFICE. OPENING LETTERS. A return of all and every INSTRUCTION, BYE-LAW, or AUTHORITY, under which POSTMASTERS are instructed, or authorized, or have assumed a right to open up, unfold, apply strong lamp-lights to, or use any of these, or any other means whatever, for ascertaining, or reading what may be contained, in words or in figures, in any letter of any size or description, being fastened with a wafer, or with wax, or even if totally unfastened by either."

To which the following return was made:—

"General Post-office, 31 August 1833. No such instruction has been issued from the General Post-office. Every person in the Post-office is required to take the oath prescribed by the Act of the 9th Queen Anne, c. 10, That he will not open, detain, or delay any letter which shall come into his hands by reason of his employment in the Post-office. Whenever it is noticed that a letter has been put into the Post-office unfastened, it is invariably sealed with the official seal for security. *F. Freeling, Secretary.*"

Now, mark the straight-forwardness and honesty of the answer: "No instruction has been issued *from the General Post office.*" Now the motion was as to all and every instruction or AUTHORITY—and a warrant is an authority—by which *Post-masters* in general—which must have included the *General Post-master*, as the word *general* does not make him cease to be the London Postmaster—are authorized, not only from the General Post-office, to which the answer cunningly limits itself, but from any body whatever—to open letters. Then the oath is alluded to in such a manner as to make one believe that under no circumstances, and without any exception whatever, are the sworn officers allowed to open, detain, or delay any letters, whereas the oath contains the exceptions often recited in the course of this article; but which were suppressed, because, if mentioned, it would have been necessary to state how, and when, and why letters had been opened, which would have been inconsistent with the sweeping answer: "No instruction from the Post-office," by which the return begins. Let us now observe that in 1833, four warrants were issued for opening letters, and within the three years immediately preceding not less than thirty-six—that is on an average one every month—of which the Secretary must have been as well informed as of his own existence.

If the accommodating doctrine of Lord Haddington and of other moral statesmen of his school be received, we do not see why the Postmaster-General does not still send the dispatches of foreign ministers to the Foreign Office, as usual. May it not be most important to know for certain what is the real import of certain negotiations which there is good ground for believing are carrying on between France and America, for instance, and which are thought deeply to involve the honour and safety of England? Was it to be conceived, his Lordship would ask, that a Secretary of State, in a matter of such importance, should not have the power of opening letters passing through the Post-office? I could never understand, he would add, why this power should not extend to letters of parties who might find it convenient to carry on their correspondence under the security of the English Post-office. Then we all know that "*salus reipublicæ suprema*

lex." Ministerial members know it as well as Lord Haddington, who ought to go a little farther. Suppose a French cabinet-messenger passes through England with dispatches, in which there is every reason to believe a secret treaty is enclosed, of vital importance to England. Is it to be conceived, that because France does not trust to our Post-office in a matter of such importance, the Secretary of State should not seize the messengers, and open his dispatches. Well; but what would the world say? Ought these official acts to be publicly known? Mr. Milnes said, with great justice, and an official feeling that must have charmed all those who went out *al fresco* with him, "These matters should be shrouded in the full secrecy of the executive . . . and the exposure of these very private matters was very much to be deprecated." Well, then, let the messenger be robbed on the high road, or the ship that takes him out piratically seized and plundered . . . and, if he resist . . . Lord Haddington would shrink from the consequences of his false principles. We happen to know that the minister of a great power caused the courier of a foreign minister to be thus robbed in 1823, and in time of great risk for his country. No life was then lost; but, in 1799, the French plenipotentiaries, Debry, Bonnier, and Roberjot, coming from the Congress of Rastadt, were waylaid and murdered. It is now well known that this was in consequence of an infamous endeavour on the part of Austria to possess herself of their dispatches, which was resisted, and which ended in their murder.*

But away with these demoralizing and narrow views. A great statesman does not stoop to miserable resources, worthy of base and mean souls. It is self evident, that to open secretly a letter, and to reseal it afterwards, so that it be impossible to perceive that it has been opened, is falsehood and treachery. Now, *falsehood* and *treachery* are NEVER allowed, and can never be useful means of government. Quite the reverse. *Id Utile Quod Honestum*. It is the reverse of useful to break such great and vital principles for gaining the paltry advantage of some

* This is the most charitable construction, as no positive proof of the order to assassinate them was given. Austria accused the French plenipotentiaries of having compromised her with the German empire, by communicating to the other negociators the secret articles agreed with Napoleon about Mayence. Ces articles secrets prouvaient que, pour avoir Palmanova dans le Frioul, le cabinet Autrichien avoit livré Mayence et trahi d'un manière indigne les intérêts de l'Empire. Ce Cabinet étoit fort irrité et vouloit tirer vengeance de nos ministres. Il vouloit de plus se saisir de leurs papiers, pour connaître quels étoient ceux des Princes Germaniques, qui, dans le moment, traitaient individuellement avec la république Française. Il conçut donc la pensée de faire arrêter nos ministres, à leur retour en France, pour les dépouiller, les outrager, peut-être même les assassiner. On n'a jamais su cependant si l'ordre de les assassiner avoit été donné d'une manière positive. THIRIAS, *Révol. Française*, Tom. vi. ch. 6.

information, and sacrifice them to a despicable expediency. It might be expedient, and, in the loose language of unprincipled and narrow-minded statesmen, it would be called useful and important to lead a man to accuse himself*—to admit a wife to give evidence against her husband†—to force a confession as to accomplices,‡ &c. ; but a man of honour and enlarged views will think that it is really useful and important not to cheat a man into accusing himself—not to destroy that fullest unbounded confidence which ought to subsist between man and wife; not use force to extort the truth; and that to break through such principles, is a great evil to society. No good can come of evil, and no end can justify such means. And as no apparent temporary advantage can ever, under any circumstances, admit assassination, so it ought not to admit falsehood and treachery, of which assassination is but one—although the worst—form. ||

* Or to confess in the hope of being pardoned. This was admitted as fair and honest by the Inquisition. *Pæna, Comment. ad Eymerici Directorium Inquis.* Part 3d, Comment 23, Num. 106: An fides data reo de impunitate præstanda si veritatem fateatur servari debeat duse sunt extremæ opiniones: Una est Geminiani et plurium aliorum asserentium iudicem, non obstante præfata impunitatis promissione, posse reum condemnare: Primum quia cautelis uti licet ad veritatem indagandam: Præterea quia hic dolus bonus est et ad publicam pertinet utilitatem ut, intellecta veritate, rei condemnentur ne delicta remaneant impunita. Tum quia male promissis fides servanda non est; constat autem hanc promissionem de impunitate delinquentium contra publicam esse utilitatem. Item quia non refert quomodo veritas habeatur dummodo habeatur. These are the very reasons advanced by letter-openers and seal-forgers *pro bono publico*.

† This also was admitted by the Inquisition. After having laid down that husband and wife cannot, by law, be admitted to give evidence for or against each other, *Carena* adds: Attamen in causis fidei, ob ejus favorem, omnes in testes admittuntur, et sic uxor contra virum et e contra. *De officio Inquisit.*, par. 3, lib. 4.

‡ This was one of the reasons adduced in support of torture, even in England.

|| We thought this a truism; but those who admit the doctrine of expediency, and thus depart from the unchangeable and unyielding principles of truth and morals, must go, and have occasionally gone, so far as to defend assassination itself on the plea of importance, of the great harm coming to the world by the impunity of a great criminal—the same pleas, in fact, urged by Lord Haddington about letters, seals, &c. When a wretch offered to Fox to assassinate Napoleon, that great and good man immediately informed the intended victim. Gentz, long known as the *redacteur* of all the manifestoes, &c. against Buonaparte, whom he hated, has not hesitated in writing the following apology of the would-be murderer: “Un émigré Français, qui ne s’est jamais soumis au nouvel ordre de choses, qui n’a jamais reconnu Bonaparte, qui ne lui a jamais prêté hommage, qui l’a constamment regardé comme usurpateur, assassin, ou complice et héritier des assassins de son Roi légitime, comme ennemi de la nation Française, et obstacle au repos de l’univers, peut former, sans être un scélérat, le projet de tuer cet homme. Il a le droit de ne voir en lui qu’un ennemi déclaré perpétuel et implacable, contre lequel, placé au-dessus de toutes les lois et de toutes les punitions ordinaires, chaque genre d’attaque est juste, légitime et permis. GENTZ, *Mémoires et Lettres inédites*, p. 108. Those who defend the treachery of letter opening and re-sealing, on the pleas often mentioned, of safety of the country, paramount national interests, &c. must abide the consequences of their premises, and approve of Gentz’s morality. This scoundrel was the most intimate friend of the very intimate friend

Lord Haddington ought not to have forgotten that the interests and the honour of England cannot be advanced by an action which no one can doubt is very dishonourable. Those who are so very much afraid that the country will be ruined if a minister be not allowed to open and reseal letters at pleasure and without being accountable, ought to bear in mind, that in those cases when the Secretary of State is really aware that a certain letter will bring positive proofs of a great crime, the guilty will not be screened by a law forbidding the opening and resealing of letters, nor will the Minister hesitate in taking such steps as the case may require. An ambassador's letters, his house, and, still more, his person, are sacred ; but every government has the power of seizing the letters, entering the house, and arresting an ambassador, who abuses his character to conspire against the life of the sovereign, for instance, to whom he is credited.* But if a Secretary of State rashly searches the house of a foreign minister, carries away his papers, &c. when it turns out that there were no grounds for such proceedings, then it is highly blameable, and ample reparation is due to the party in whose prejudice so flagrant a breach of the law of nations is committed. In the same manner, under the pressure of peculiar circumstances, and under the same responsibility, a minister may detain a letter—then it is that the *salus rei publicæ suprema lex* is applicable. This, however, must not be done by stealth, cunningly, falsely, but manfully, boldly, with the courage which a paramount duty inspires, so that if a Minister has actually done an act which turns out to be of importance for the preservation of the country, he may publicly take pride and credit for his decision ; whilst, if he has broken the law, he may be fairly liable to account for it, and made to stand by his deed in the face of the nation, and not have the means of escaping responsibility by having recourse to forgery.

In concluding their Report, the Committee of the Commons more particularly affect to discuss what is to be done in future. They say one thing, and “on the other hand” another, followed by a third, to which “another hand” succeeds, and so on they *ambidexterously* conclude nothing. It is a scandal that a difference of opinion should have occurred among gentlemen as to the *utility* of what is immoral and perfidious. But as they have not scrupled to balance the great principles of honour against

of our foreign secretary, Prince Metternich, whose principles, both political and moral, we are sorry to see the noble Lord has adopted.

* Vattel, *Droit des Gens*, iv. 7, 8, 96, et seq. Cellamare's letters were opened, his house searched, and he arrested, although his crime went only so far as an attempt to deprive of the Regency the Duke of Orleans, who had possession of it during the minority of Louis XV., to whom Cellamare was accredited, and whose life or rights were not threatened for one instant.

some fancied advantages that might come from acting dishonestly, we shall easily show the utter fallacy of their immoral and short-sighted policy. Bourrienne relates in his *Mémoires* (tom. 3, ch. 18,) that Napoleon at the Isle of Elba said, "Il en est de la poste comme de la police : on n'attrappe que les sots;" and Napoleon must have known something about it. The same Bourrienne (tom. 5, ch. 12,) tells us that the "Cabinet noir" had existed from the time of Louis XV., (St. Simon in his *Mémoires* shows that it existed before, and he gives ample proofs that it was not idle.) He declares that, as it was known to exist, none but fools were caught by it. Clever fellows did not send by post letters that would compromise them, but scoundrels who wished to injure an enemy profited by it. And this is a view of the case that was as deserving of the attention of the Committee as their antiquities. It depends on any villain to compromise an honest man. Suppose it had been known that Captain Stoltzmann's letters were opened, Any one—the very confidant of the Government, in consequence of whose information the letters were opened—might have written, or caused to be written, such letters to the Captain as to confirm the suspicion that he was a member of some secret band of assassins, and induce the Government to adopt harsh proceedings against an innocent man, of whose guilt the Ministers might have been morally certain, trusting to the dangerous information collected in such an unworthy manner. The same plan is well known to have been sometimes adopted by foreign ministers, who wrote on purpose to mislead those who read their letters. Napoleon, who had had the best sources of information, told O'Meara that he was well aware that the foreign ministers' letters were opened in London; and he avowed that this was done in Paris too. But even he felt ashamed of this proceeding, and hastens to add: "This arrangement was not an invention of mine. It was first begun by Louis XIV., and some of the agents, originally employed by him, filled in my time situations which had been transmitted to them by their fathers."*

* *Voice from St. Helena*, ii., 290. It has been said that in England, too, the grand-children of those employed by William III. continue to this day in their dishonourable trade of opening letters and forging seals. If so, they have this in common with the Paris executioner, whose ancestors have filled, for several generations in succession, the office which he now fills. We doubt, however, the truth of this assertion. The Committee of the House of Commons allude facetiously to the *rudeness* of the Secret Committee of 1742, appointed to inquire into ten years of the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. That *rudeness* was more useful to the nation than all the *civility* of the modern Committee, including their antiquarian lore and philosophy, are ever likely to be; and the indignant surprise of those old gentlemen at the discovery of the Post-office forgeries, forms a strong contrast to the placid smile of approval of our modern stoics. They said, that "the establishment in this office seemed so extraordinary to the Committee, that they

The demoralizing effects of this system are so self-evident, that it is needless pointing them out. This would be a good reason, if no other existed, for annihilating a system which, like a loathsome disease, contaminates and corrupts every thing with which it comes into contact. Of course Ministers will object to parting with this power. It is in the nature of such Ministers to support abuses. Their late colleague, Sir H. Hardinge, said he hoped he should not live to see the day when soldiers should walk about without a bayonet, and he evidently thought the empire would fall if that dreadful event should come to pass. Would the Ministers have been able to prevent the ruin of the nation had they been restrained from delivering up some scores of unfortunate Italians to the mercies of the King of Naples? And how could they have done it, if they had not opened Mr. Massini's letters? Yet we venture to hope, that as the security of Great Britain has not been impaired by soldiers walking about without bayonets, so her honour will not be diminished if her Ministers be forbidden to forge seals, and turn informers. We have given sufficient instances of the numberless devices of all sorts, direct and concealed, under the forms of simulation and dissimulation, now by the employment of vague expressions, now by the gentle sliding over of important facts—in all possible ways, indeed, which have been found necessary to support this abominable system. We have seen a return to an order of the House of Commons, shamelessly denying that letters were ever opened; a Secretary of State denying having communicated what it has been proved he had; Committees of Parliament trying to shelter a Minister by denying that any person *then* in the power of a foreign government had been sacrificed, when they knew that the parties that *were* sacrificed fell into the hands of those who were

added the particulars as contained in the examination of the secretary to the Postmaster-General." From these particulars, it results that Mr. Willes, the chief decipherer, received £1000 for himself and son; the second decipherer, Mr. Corbiere, received £800; Mr. Lampe, third decipherer, £500; Mr. Zolman, fourth decipherer, £200; Mr. Lefevre, chief clerk, £650; Messrs. Bode, Thouvois, Clark, and Hemmitt, clerks, £300 each; besides sundry underlings. The whole establishment then cost more than £4500 a-year, ten times as much as it cost in 1718. It is remarkable, 1st. That Willes's hopeful son was employed along with his papa. 2d. That many of these worthies, like Corbiere, Thouvois, Lefevre, and Bode, were either foreigners, or of a foreign race, so that this noble craft appears to have been imported. Willes, however, we regret to confess, was an Englishman, and, what is more, a divine and Dean of Lincoln. The *rudeness* of the Committee rendered his situation untenable; and, for his merits, in 1743 he was made Bishop of St. David's, and, in the same year transferred to Bath and Wells, which he held for more than twenty years. Corbiere had some sinecure given to him, and died in 1743. The "decipherers" then disappeared from the list of dignitaries at the Secretary of State's Office; but the mystery of their craft continued in request to this day. Shall no member get a return of the present establishment and its members, that they may be held up to the admiration and gratitude of Great Britain?

informed by that Minister where to wait for them; we have seen these Committees mis-state numbers and dates, as well as use indefinite expressions, or *forget* to notice striking facts. And was all this for a great, national, important object—as might dazzle the understanding or blunt the moral sense of patriotic Committeemen? Oh, no: all this to support a Government who volunteered its services as a SPY to the King of Naples, and to enable it to continue with impunity, amidst the execration of the civilized world, an ignoble and abhorred vocation, which hitherto money alone has forced on baseness.

Note to the article on Sir Humphry Davy.—At p. 73, it is said, ‘that the specific gravity of the whole globe is supposed to be less than that of even the rocks:’ it should have been added, ‘when calculated for the same distance from the centre.’ The whole globe is more than twice as dense as the rocks without this correction, for the different distances of the different concentric planes from the centre of the world.

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ART. I.—*A System of Mineralogy, comprising the most Recent Discoveries.* With numerous Woodcuts and Copper-Plates. By JAMES DANA, A.M. Second Edition. New York and London. 1844. Pp. 633.

THE laws which control the inorganic kingdom and regulate the constitution of mineral species, have been too frequently overlooked by our nomenclators and system-builders; while others have inconsiderately adopted the notion, that, although in the species of animals and plants

“ God
Pervades, adjusts, and agitates the whole ;”

yet in earth and stones, the proofs of method, design, and fitness, are too obscure to be discerned. How strikingly illustrative of this view of the case is the example of Dr. Paley, when, in the first chapter of his “*Natural Theology*,” he presents to his readers the “state of the argument !” “In crossing a heath,” he says, “suppose I pitched my foot against a stone, and were asked how the stone came to be there; I might possibly answer, that for any thing I knew to the contrary, it had lain there for ever; nor would it perhaps be very easy to show the absurdity of this answer. But suppose I had found a watch upon the ground, and it should be inquired how the watch happened to be in that place; I should hardly think of the answer which I had before given—that for any thing I knew, the watch might have always been there. Yet, why should not this answer serve for the watch as well as for the stone? Why is it not as admissible in the second

case as in the first? For this reason, and for no other, viz. that, when we come to inspect the watch, we perceive (what we could not discover in the stone,) that its several parts are framed and put together for a purpose, *e. g.* that they are so formed and adjusted as to produce motion, and that motion so regulated as to point out the hour of the day; that if the different parts had been differently shaped from what they are, of a different size from what they are, or placed after any other manner, or in any other order, than that in which they are placed, either no motion at all would have been carried on in the machine, or none which would have answered the use that is now served by it." Dr. Paley having practised a deception upon himself, attempts by a similar process to entrap his readers. The watch is referred to an individual already acquainted with the merits of the instrument, and who can suitably descant on the number and adaptation of its parts, while the stone is presented to one ignorant of every thing concerning it but the injury which it inflicted on his toes. In such circumstances the results are not comparable. Had the watch been given for inspection to one as ignorant of its construction as of the stone, what would have been the determination? Could the mere juxtaposition of the different parts have been comprehended? Or is it in the least degree probable, that the isochronism of the mere motions of the hands with those of the heavenly bodies, would have been either suspected or observed? On the other hand, had the stone been presented to an intelligent mineralogist, instead of a clown, and let us suppose it a piece of quartz (although not so favourable to our purpose as granite or limestone) as a mineral of ordinary occurrence; what language would it have spoken? Its rounded or angular form would have intimated the remoteness or proximity of its birth-place. The ingredients in its composition, silicon and oxygen, could not have formed the materials suitable for the construction of the mass, unless every two grains and three-quarters of the former had united with one grain of the latter. But with such materials, there are certain forces, which, operating according to a uniform rule, do fabricate masses, always of the same density, hardness, brittleness, and elasticity, and these masses capable of being serviceable to man in different stages of his civilization—the aggregations of silica constituting the arrow-head, the stone axe, and the gun-flint, or, when united with an alkali, furnishing us with masses of glass. Viewing all these circumstances in connexion, it would be impossible to avoid the conclusion as equally applicable to the stone, at which Paley arrived in reference exclusively to the watch—"that there must have existed, at some time, and at some place or other, an artificer or artificers, who formed it for the purpose

which we find it actually to answer; who comprehended its construction and designed its use."

This unfortunate stumble at the threshold, renders the reasoning in the first chapter of a very valuable work extremely defective and illogical, and gives but too obvious an indication of a state of mind far from prepared for rating highly, or employing successfully, the rich stores so admirably suited to the subject, which the details of somatology are calculated to furnish.

We fear there are many who have failed, like the respected Divine above referred to, in finding "sermons in stones," simply because they have never examined the subject, or have conducted their studies in a wrong direction. Under this impression, we trust that the general reader, on rising from the perusal of the following remarks, will feel his views of inorganic masses somewhat enlarged, and be fully persuaded that every stone has its laws of construction.

" Shall feeble man
Think it beneath his proud philosophy
To call for thy assistance; and pretend
To frame a world, who cannot frame a clod?"

The term MINERALOGY is now generally employed to designate a branch of natural science, co-ordinate with zoology and phytology, and destined to include the various productions of the inorganic kingdom, whether these occur in the states of airs, liquids, or solids. As a science, its first principles can scarcely be regarded as established, and the SYSTEMS which have been presented to the public, as the results of experience, and for the guidance of the student, are defective in the extreme. Nor is the origin of this unsatisfactory state of things to be viewed as of difficult detection, or irremediable. The mineralogist seems to have imitated modes of arrangement and nomenclature which, however well suited to facilitate the progress of zoology and phytology, are, from the difference of circumstances, inapplicable to the inorganic kingdom. When a naturalist enters upon the examination of a new species of animal or plant, he fearlessly proceeds under the conviction that it derived its origin from a *parent*, or parents, having a similar form, construction, and habits, as itself, and subjected to the influence of the same laws of geographical and physical distribution. The individuals of the species become developed by *growth*, reach a period of maturity, and then exhibit symptoms of decay, followed by *death*. Previous to this catastrophe the embryo of a being of similar character has been prepared, and placed in circum-

stances favourable for its future increase. Thus, in the organized kingdom, do we witness *incessant change*, and can contemplate the living organisms in their different phases, while "one generation passeth away and another generation cometh." Besides, the naturalist, under the guidance of observation alone, can determine, in general, the necessary data for his processes of classification, and proceed unaided to the methodical distribution of species. His labours are greatly assisted by finding, from very extended experience, that similar external forms and actions correspond with similar internal organizations.

In the mineral kingdom there are no arrangements, in the present economy of nature, which can be considered as analogous or even comparable with those striking features of species among animals and plants. We have no traces of any thing resembling parentage, growth, maturity, decay, or death; nothing analogous to the physical and geographical distribution of species, and still less can we trace any thing corresponding with the universally existing, but extremely various modes of reproduction. In short, the disagreement in the characters of the organized and inorganic kingdoms, is just the difference between the *living* and the *dead*, and hence any attempt at an arrangement of the two groups upon one and the same plan must necessarily prove a failure. But while the philosophical inquirer, in his attempt to give a methodical distribution to mineral species, to assign to the different groups their characteristic qualities, and to establish his rules of nomenclature, must cease to imitate the example of the zoologist and botanist, he has perhaps little else to regret than his own simplicity in having followed too long in their wake. The moment he declares his independence, and ceases to ape the customs of aliens, the highest expectations may be entertained respecting the future triumphs of the science.

Before proceeding farther we may state, that the physiologist of the organized kingdom, in attempting, by the aid of the scalpel and the microscope, to explore the rudimentary state of animals and plants, speedily finds himself involved in the apparently inscrutable mysteries of embryology. The physiologist of the mineral kingdom, on the other hand, has reached what may be termed the "*primordia rerum*," and can in very many cases prescribe those conditions on which the formation of mineral species depends. But mineralogists in general, and those of the British school in particular, have not laid the foundation of their methods on a sufficiently elementary basis—have not followed the arrangements which have been observed in the operations of nature—and have not succeeded in the production of a system founded on fixed principles, universal and applicable. That these

statements may be rendered sufficiently obvious, and the claims of the philosophy of the science fairly advanced, let us now proceed to inquire in what manner a System of Mineralogy ought to be framed; and for this purpose we shall chiefly confine our remarks to the illustration of two fundamental points. What, then, are the *materials* out of which mineral species can be constructed? and what are the processes to which these materials are subjected in order to their constituting mineral species or mineral masses?

Entering now on our more immediate duty, and attempting to determine what are the materials out of which mineral species can be constructed, we may observe, that this part of the process resembles, in many respects, the operations of a builder of a house. He first brings together stones, mortar, wood, slates, and other requisite articles, and then he subjects these materials to a particular arrangement, and exhibits to us the proof of his skill in a beautiful and convenient mansion. To the first part of this process—the *determination of the materials necessary*, let us now advert.

It would accord with the principles of the ancient philosophy, and at the same time be consistent with fact, were we to regard the *materials* now under consideration, as constituted of fire, air, earth, and water. But modern experimental philosophy, having illustrated by various processes the characteristic properties of the various kinds of matter accessible to our research, has made us acquainted with fifty-five substances, termed ELEMENTS, and which in their different states of simplicity and combination, of gas, liquid, and solid, constitute, not only the materials of the mineral masses of the crust of the earth, to an unknown depth, but likewise all the organisms of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The following table exhibits the names of these elements and their combining equivalents, (to which we shall shortly refer,) chiefly in accordance with the one given by Geiger and Liebig, in their *Handbuch der Chemie*, (Heidelberg, 1843,) and without recognizing the doubtful ones of *didymium*, *erbium* and *terbium*, or being as yet certain respecting the position of *cerium* and *lanthanum* :—

TABLE OF ELEMENTARY BODIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ATOMIC WEIGHTS.

1. Hydrogen, . . .	0·125	29. Potassium, . . .	4·899
2. Carbon, . . .	0·764	30. Selenium, . . .	4·202
3. Lithium, . . .	0·803	31. Strontium, . . .	5·473
4. Oxygen, . . .	1·000	32. Cerium, . . .	
5. Boron, . . .	1·362	33. Lanthanum, . . .	
6. Magnesium, . . .	1·583	34. Molybdenum, . . .	5·985
7. Aluminium, . . .	1·712	35. Rhodium, . . .	6·514
8. Nitrogen, . . .	1·770	36. Palladium, . . .	6·659
9. Phosphorus, . . .	1·961	37. Cadmium, . . .	6·967
10. Sulphur, . . .	2·012	38. Tin, . . .	7·353
11. Chlorine, . . .	2·213	39. Thorium, . . .	7·449
12. Fluorine, . . .	2·338	40. Iodine, . . .	7·897
13. Calcium, . . .	2·560	41. Tellurium, . . .	8·017
14. Silicon, . . .	2·773	42. Antimony, . . .	8·064
15. Sodium, . . .	2·909	43. Barium, . . .	8·568
16. Titanium, . . .	3·036	44. Vanadium, . . .	8·569
17. Glucinum, . . .	3·312	45. Bismuth, . . .	8·869
18. Iron, . . .	3·392	46. Columbium, . . .	11·537
19. Manganese, . . .	3·459	47. Tungsten, . . .	11·830
20. Chromium, . . .	3·518	48. Platina, . . .	12·335
21. Cobalt, . . .	3·690	49. Iridium, . . .	12·335
22. Nickel, . . .	3·697	50. Gold, . . .	12·430
23. Copper, . . .	3·957	51. Osmium, . . .	12·445
24. Yttrium, . . .	4·025	52. Mercury, . . .	12·658
25. Zinc, . . .	4·032	53. Lead, . . .	12·945
26. Zirconium, . . .	4·202	54. Silver, . . .	13·516
27. Arsenic, . . .	4·700	55. Uranium, . . .	27·113
28. Bromine, . . .	4·891		

These fifty-five elements are regarded as simple substances, or consisting of one kind of ponderable matter—an opinion reposing on the fact, that they have hitherto resisted all attempts at decomposition, or resolution into two or more constituents. These elements in their simplest forms, are considered as minute particles, points, or atoms, each, according to its elementary nature, endowed with specific properties. So minute, indeed, are the parts of these elements in their ultimate state of division, in which condition they are usually termed *atoms*, as to elude all our powers of inspection, even when aided by the most powerful microscopes. Who can see the particles of gold in a solution of that metal in *aqua regia*, or those of common salt when dissolved in water? That respected veteran of science, the celebrated Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow, has estimated the bulk of an ultimate particle or atom of lead as less

than $\frac{518.566}{1000}$ th of a cubic inch, and concluded that its weight cannot exceed the $\frac{518.566}{1000}$ th of a grain! Many considerations, to which it is unnecessary in this place particularly to refer, render it probable that the atoms of the elements differ from one another, more or less, in form, size, and weight, although in the same element they be identical.

A moment's reflection will convince us, that with these elements no more than fifty-five different kinds of substances could be produced, unless mixture or combination shall take place. We might have possessed masses of zinc and copper arising from the aggregation of the atoms of the respective elements, but *brass*, which is an alloy of the two elements, could not have existed. Carbon and iron might have furnished us, the one with the diamond, the other with malleable iron; but, unless capable of uniting, we would have been destitute of cast-iron and steel. In like manner, chlorine and sodium might have existed, but not common salt; also carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, but neither ether, alcohol, nor vinegar. If then, instead of the individuals of a species being composed exclusively of one element, it has been so arranged by the Supreme Disposer of the dead and the living, that two elements can combine, according to a rule, and give rise to a third body, with characters essentially different from those which have united to compose it; or, if after two elements have combined to form a particular kind of matter, this compound could unite in like manner with another element, and thus form a new species or substance, it is evident, that there may exist by this process of permutation, an innumerable number of different sorts of matter, or materials suitable for the construction of masses, applicable to a vastly greater variety of purposes than if the construction of the masses had been limited to the fifty-five elementary bodies. Still keeping in view the preparation of *materials* merely, for the construction of mineral masses, let us now advert to the changes which take place in order to furnish the materials, and the laws which regulate these wonderful *combinations*.

If we take 2.213 grains of chlorine, the number annexed to it in the table, and 2.909 grains of sodium, or any other quantities of the same ingredients in similar proportions, and place them in favourable circumstances, they will combine and form 5.122 grains of chloride of sodium or *common salt*, a substance totally distinct from the supporter of combustion, chlorine, and the metallic sodium, the two elements which have been employed; nor can common salt be formed or exist, unless the elements be united in such proportions. If we take 2.213 grains of chlorine as before, and 4.899 grains of potassium, and place them so as to enter into combination, chloride of potassium will be the result,

as different from its components as we know common salt to be. Here, then, *unequal* weights of sodium and potassium are required, in order to saturate or neutralize the *same* weight of chlorine, causing it to change its properties as they yield up their own. The saturating powers of sodium and potassium, in reference to chlorine, are always as the numbers in the table, or as 2·909 to 4·899. But these relative saturating or *equivalent* powers, in reference to chlorine, are likewise preserved in their union with any other element. Thus, by the union of 2·909 grains of sodium with 1 grain of oxygen, soda is formed; nor can soda exist but with such a constitution. In like manner, 4·899 grains of potassium uniting with 1 grain of oxygen, give birth to potash. In both cases, the specific properties of the sodium, potassium, and oxygen, disappear, and the resulting salts of soda and potash exhibit their characteristic peculiarities. It may therefore be concluded, that when two elementary substances combine to form a third kind of matter, they must unite in a certain proportion, according to their kinds, and the same matter can only be produced by the union of the same ingredients, in the same definite proportions. But the same ingredients may combine in different proportions. In such a case, however, the resultant is a distinct kind of matter. Thus, 0·764 of carbon can unite with one of oxygen to form *carbonic oxide*; and the same quantity of carbon can unite with twice the quantity of oxygen, but, then, instead of carbonic oxide, we have *carbonic acid* as the produce. In this, and other examples, the highest combining quantities are always multiples of the lowest number; unless in those cases in which, as a matter of convenience, and to avoid referring to half atoms, it is supposed that two atoms of one body unite with three atoms of another. We may add, that these compound materials observe the same law of definite and multiple proportions, in combining with other substances. Thus, an atom or equivalent of soda, equal in weight to the sum of the weights of the combining elements, viz., $2·909 + 1 = 3·909$, can unite with an equivalent of carbonic acid, the weight of which is also equal to the sum of the weights of its combining elements, viz., $0·764 + 2 = 2·764$, and the resultant is *carbonate of soda*. If the quantity of carbonic acid be doubled, we have a new compound formed, with peculiar properties, viz., *bicarbonate of soda*.

We may now advert to the character of the foregoing table as comprising, within a small compass, the results of a vast amount of profound thought and masterly experiment. Wenzel, Bergman, Richter, and Huggins, paved the way for those splendid generalizations which Dalton achieved, and which Wollaston, Thomson, Berzelius, Guy Lussac, Dumas, and others, have illustrated and confirmed. A number of ultimate facts have thus been as-

certained, and the saturating equivalents determined in numerical value, in such a manner, that the great laws of combination now stand forth, the honour of the science of chemistry, and the safe guide of experimental research. But the numbers in the table do more than furnish us with a knowledge of the combining equivalents of the simple substances. They indicate, in the plainest manner, that there is no regular *gradation* in the numbers expressive of the combining values, but, on the other hand, a succession of abrupt transitions, from one number to another, from hydrogen at the one extremity, to uranium at the other, the saturating power throughout being inversely as the equivalent number. In compounds, the multiple proportions which prevail, exhibit still more abrupt transitions, and furnish us with a demonstration, that the *Law of Continuity* of Leibnitz, however applicable to created beings in their relations to time and space, has no place in the workings of the attraction of combination, and that the dogma of Linne, "*Natura opifex rerum, saltus non facit*," is, like the "*Chain of Being*" of Bonnet, little else than a poet's dream.

In now reviewing the leading features of the ATTRACTION OF COMBINATION, we have two kinds or classes of materials presented to our notice—the fifty-five elementary or simple substances, and the numerous binary, ternary, or even more composite bodies, formed by their unions, *according to fixed laws*. In order to effect the purposes of combination, two different kinds of matters are required, and these may either be elements, or definite compounds, having the requisite affinities. Hence, this kind of attraction is essentially *heterogeneous*. When it has once taken place, a resultant, with properties different from its components, presents itself, as if a new kind of matter had been created. Indeed, a change of property is a peculiar mark of chemical combination, as well as the circumstance of resolution into the constituting materials being impracticable by mechanical means. Whenever definite combination has taken place, the peculiar function of this kind of attraction ceases; its purpose has been accomplished, and a vast variety of *materials* prepared, destined to be subjected to various processes of aggregation, and applied, in the economy of nature and the service of man, to innumerable purposes, for which the mere elementary bodies are not adapted.

We have now reached a condition in which we are, to some extent, prepared to answer the question—*What is a chemical species?* The preceding remarks lead us to the conclusion, that all the fifty-five elementary substances are *chemical species*, and that all the unions of these with one another, in their equivalent proportions, are equally entitled to the appellation. It matters not in what *state* a chemical species may occur, as its rank is not

thereby changed. The element sulphur is a species, and the same species, whether in the solid, liquid, or vaporous state. In like manner, the union of one atom or equivalent of hydrogen with one atom of oxygen, forms the protoxide of hydrogen, which is a species, and the same species, whether it presents itself as ice, water, vapour, or in that state of greater density in which it occurs in some compounds, as hydrate of lime, or hydrous alum, and when diffused through sulphuric acid. For, however different the laws of its masses may be, in the solid, liquid, and gaseous states, the laws of its atoms change not.

In the various operations of chemical unions to which we have been referring, nothing has appeared beyond the mere *preparation of materials*, in great numbers, and with various and definite properties. Let us now attend to the *building operations* to which these materials are subjected, that we may comprehend the *mineral masses* or *mineral species* which constitute the results.

We have already stated that the function of the attraction of combination has ceased, when union, neutrality, or saturation has been produced among two or more distinct elements, agreeably to the laws above referred to; and hence we can satisfactorily assign to the attraction of combination its true position in the economy of nature. Other forces, however, exist and are ready to operate on the materials thus produced, which have been termed the Attractions of Cohesion and Adhesion. When a number of *chemical particles*, or individuals of a chemical species, as we may denominate those compounded by the attraction of combination, are placed in favourable circumstances, they begin to aggregate according to a *fixed rule*. The circumstances which favour this result are liberty of motion, and such as solution, fusion, or sublimation furnish. The particles, under the influence equivalent to a *polar force*, take up a fixed position, at determinate distances from one another, having always the same number of particles, occupying the same space, and thus not being in contact, are balanced by the antagonist forces of attraction and repulsion. If this attraction of cohesion be not restrained by disturbing causes, it builds up a solid mass, having a specific internal arrangement and a specific external form. The size of the mass is influenced by a variety of circumstances, without any other corresponding differences. Thus we may have individuals or crystals of quartz, less than a pin's head, or reaching to the bulk of three feet in diameter, and the weight of nearly nine hundred pounds. The individuals, thus constructed, exhibit a certain degree of density, hardness, elasticity, and other properties of solid masses, resisting with a determinate force, all attempts to crush, break, twist, or pull them asunder. This kind of attraction differs from that of combination, in being essentially homogeneous. It can build up

a crystal of sulphur from a number of similar particles of that elementary substance, or a crystal of Galena from a number of chemical particles of sulphuret of lead, in both cases, the force acting exclusively on one kind of material. Cohesion differs also in not changing the properties of the materials employed, for as is the particle, so is the mass. Besides, the whole aggregation is destructible by mechanical means.

It thus appears that the force of COHESION, according to the materials employed, regulates structure and form, and manufactures *mineral species*. All the individuals of the same species are found to consist of the same ingredients, combined in the same proportions, and, when perfect, possessed of the same structure and form.

In the course of those arrangements which thus take place, under the influence of the attraction of cohesion, disturbing forces operate so powerfully and so frequently, as to produce *mineral masses*, or aggregations of imperfectly formed individuals, in much greater abundance than single and perfect crystals. Thus, if we attend to the structure and form of a crystal of the mineral species, *Calcareous Spar*, and then examine a piece of granular marble, we find that each grain of the latter has a structure identical with that of the spar, but the external form has not been assumed. Each grain has been a centre of crystallization around which the force of cohesion has operated, to a certain extent, in giving *structure*, but has been prevented from giving *form*. The individuals, however, are of sufficient size to be visible to the eye, and to be capable of having their structure demonstrated by mechanical processes. But in common limestone, and still more so in chalk and marl, substances of similar composition with calcareous spar and marble, the individuals are too minute for the detection of the unaided eye. But even in the least coherent of these masses, the microscope helps us to perceive that aggregation has taken place to some extent, although far from having attained the limit of its function. In like manner, if, after making ourselves acquainted with the structure and forms of the mineral species, quartz, felspar, and mica, we proceed to examine a piece of granite which is an aggregate of individuals of these species, we can readily detect all of them by their structures, or the properties resulting therefrom, without finding the trace of a regular external form. Now, in order to construct a mineral mass of this description, we have not only to keep in view the attraction of combination, in providing materials, and the attraction of cohesion exerted in forming the separate individuals of the quartz, felspar, and mica species, but the attraction of ADHESION in binding together into a durable mass, all the individuals of the three species. This kind

of attraction is frequently confounded with that of cohesion, although possessing attributes sufficiently distinctive.

In ordinary language, we seldom preserve any distinction between separate individuals of a species, and an aggregate of individuals constituting a mass, when a single species is under consideration; and seldom is language sufficiently precise, even when the individuals of several species are concerned. Were we, for example, to try the power of an individual or crystal of quartz, to resist crushing or pulling, we would have opposed to us the force of *cohesion*, but if we subjected to similar strains a piece of granular quartz or sandstone, the opposing force would chiefly consist of *adhesion*, or the power by which the grains or individuals were held together. In like manner, when considering the resistance of granite to destructive strains, we are not dealing with cohesion, unless indirectly as it built up the mica, the quartz, and the felspar from their respective particles; but we are opposed by adhesion, not the power which arranged the structures of the individuals, but that which, acting by *surfaces*, brought these individuals nearly into contact, and retains them in their position.

When here referring to the action of *surfaces*, we may briefly advert to that modification of the attraction of adhesion, to which Berzelius has given the name of *catalysis*. Many solids have been observed to have the power of attracting to the surfaces, gaseous, or vaporous bodies, and exerting upon them such a force of condensation as to occasion their decomposition or chemical union with surrounding agents. Thus, spongy platina can so act on hydrogen as to bring it into an incandescent state, and thereby effect its junction with the oxygen of the atmosphere to form vapour. In like manner, a cubic inch of charcoal can condense into its substance about ninety cubic inches of ammoniacal gas, and the same solid can withdraw the oxide of lead from its solution in caustic potash, the nitrate of silver from caustic ammonia, and lime from lime water. In the mineral kingdom, it is probable that catalytic action may have aggregated on the surface of a fissure, a number of chemical particles of the same or different kinds of matter, which the slow action of the corpuscular force above referred to may have subsequently manufactured into crystals. The power of charcoal to remove colouring matter from liquids has been long known, and extensively employed in the arts, and more recently the same property has been found to reside in the contents of amygdaloidal rocks. By means of this material, the colouring matter of *moss water* may be removed—a circumstance first observed by Robert Thom, Esq., of Ascog, Rothsay, and successfully applied by him in the process of filtration for domestic purposes. These facts may contribute towards an ex-

planation of that extended distribution of bituminous matter through many rocks and mineral species, which some of the views entertained respecting the manner of their formation would not have led us to expect. The power which liquids possess of absorbing gases, without chemical combination resulting, may here be regarded as an analogous phenomenon. Water, for instance, can absorb about a twentieth of its bulk of atmospheric air, transfer it to the depths of seas and lakes, by the process of diffusion, for the respiration of animals; while in another direction it is conveyed, for various catalytic and analytic purposes, through the crust of the earth during the progress of rain water to form springs.

Having thus taken notice of the elements from which minerals are constituted—the processes performed so as to multiply materials,—the building up of individuals with a definite structure and form, and the other operations of aggregation exhibited in the inorganic kingdom, we shall now advert to those methods which authors of works on mineralogy have employed to unfold the history of MINERAL SPECIES. Without entering into any minuteness of detail, we may regard treatises on mineralogy as intended either to aid the student in the *discrimination* of species, or to exhibit their *arrangement* according to those affinities which exercise the greatest amount of influence. By attempting the union of these two objects, or by not keeping in view their essentially distinctive characters, many systems of mineralogy exhibit a confusion and the want of a pervading principle, to such a degree, as to create an aversion to the science instead of encouraging its cultivation.

The first successful attempt to aid the student in the *discrimination of species*, in this country, appeared in the *Manual of Mineralogy of Aiken*, (1814.) In this work, the separating and distinctive characters are steadily kept in view, and the student, with a specimen under examination, could proceed to pass by those species to which it could not belong, until he arrived at the one to which it should be referred. In the previous publications of Woodward, Da Costa, Kirwan, Schmeisser, and Jameson, the discrimination of species could only be effected by the laborious process of comparing the specimen with the description of four or five hundred minerals, until a probability was reached that the inquirer had found the name he was in search of. The characters of the genera or families, were of so vague and indefinite a sort, that the student never could feel assured that he was in the right road, and while trying to determine the species was frequently in doubts respecting even the genus. In illustration of this vagueness of the marks of leading groups, let us look at the characters of the siliceous genus, which we have taken at random from

Schmeisser's *Mineralogy*, an excellent book in its day, noting in *italics* the meaningless or doubtful terms:—"The substances which are included under this genus, *and particularly in the first part*, exhibit *mostly* a vitreous appearance, possess a high degree of hardness, and *for the most part* a great degree of transparency; they are *scarcely* affected by any other acid than the fluoric. They are *generally* composed of siliceous, argillaceous, and a *little* calcareous earth, and oxyde of iron; they *seldom* contain oxyde of other metals, or baryt earth. *Most* of them strike fire with steel. The first part includes *chiefly* the stones which are classed with the gems, and which are *almost* all electric, though in different degrees." The student, in perusing such discriminating characters, could not avoid becoming distrustful of his safety, amidst such a formidable array of modifying terms, as mostly, scarcely, generally, or chiefly, and such like. But, in justice to this author, we must add, that he has recorded many judicious and useful remarks in his "Method for examining Minerals," with which he concludes his work. By the judicious employment of external characters along with physical and chemical properties, Mr. Aiken's labours, however, must have aided, in no ordinary degree, the progress of the student, and rendered him comparatively independent of teachers and collectors.

The rapid progress of chemistry, about this period, and the more careful discrimination of species, in that science, could not fail to aid, powerfully, those who were anxiously endeavouring to extend the limits of mineralogical science, and consequently those who were devoting themselves to the acquisition of a knowledge of its boundaries. Accordingly, we find the powerful mind of a Berzelius having its energies directed to the means of discriminating mineral species by the aid of the blow-pipe. While, more recently, Professor Kobell of Munich has laid the student under the greatest obligations by the publication of his "*Tafeln zur Bestimmung der Mineralien*," an English translation of which appeared three-years ago in Griffin's scientific miscellany, under the title "Instructions for the Discrimination of Minerals, by Simple Chemical Experiments." We dismiss, however, the subject of the means to be employed in learning the name of a mineral in order to reach all that is known of its history, by remarking, that the process is distinct in its very nature from the methodical distribution of species, and ought to be cultivated and studied as a useful, nay, indispensable, instrument, but still as nothing beyond an auxiliary towards the higher object of classification.

In the organized kingdoms of nature we meet with certain forms and corresponding actions, which aid us in the arrangement of the species into divisions, families, classes, orders, and

genera, or into groups of primary and secondary rank. Thus among animals, we have the great divisions of Vertebrate and Invertebrate, and these capable of subdivision by the help of external characters which are co-ordinate with modifications of internal structure. Again, in the vegetable kingdom, we have the great divisions of Vascular and Cellular, and the subordinate groups of exogens, endogens, and acrogens. It is nevertheless true, that we do not find the various parts of animals and plants undergoing their developments at a co-ordinate rate, nor when we find one organ in a plant or animal, very imperfect and greatly reduced in structure and function, can we venture to infer that the other organs will be found equally modified. By considering this irregularity, or want of co-ordinate development, it has been maintained, and on good grounds, that, by the light of anatomy and physiology, there should, in addition to the single one, founded on the general subordination of characters, be as many other systems as there are organs admitting of classifications, by exhibiting various shades of difference. But without entering on this rather abstruse subject, we may rest satisfied with stating, that, by the help of an acquaintance with the living principle, the classification of organisms can be effected so satisfactorily, that the zoologist and botanist can boast of the value of their systems of methodical distribution, in a manner which it would be dangerous for the mineralogist to imitate. But let us inquire to what extent minerals may be classified, and what are those principles which ought to guide us in the execution of the task.

The author of the "*System of Mineralogy*," the title of which is placed at the head of this article, appears to be so fully convinced of the necessity of furnishing the student of mineralogy with helps from *all quarters*, that he has given within a moderate compass, not one, but several *systems*, and has occupied a broader basis, than is exhibited in any treatise on the subject of which our language can boast.

When the materials of a mineral species have been prepared by the attraction of combination, and placed in circumstances favourable to the operations of the attraction of cohesion, a solid bounded by plane surfaces, meeting at definite angles, or a *crystal*, is the result. But the character of the crystal depends on the materials out of which it has been constituted, so that, in general, a knowledge of the materials enables us to predicate respecting the crystal, while the specific character of the crystal gives satisfactory indications of its constitution. Mr. Dana, under the influence of these truths, and viewing crystals as *perfect* individuals of the mineral kingdom, proceeds, in the first place, to the elucidation of the CRYSTALLOGRAPHIC SYSTEM OF

MINERALOGY, by entering into many useful details of a truly interesting subject.

Mr. Dana's attention is in the first place occupied with crystallography, as introductory to the more interesting branches of the subject, which he has treated of under the respective heads of Crystallogeny, and Practical Crystallography. He defines a crystal to be "an inorganic solid, bounded by plain surfaces symmetrically arranged, and possessing a homogeneous structure." This perfect symmetry in the disposition of the planes, is the foundation of the universal law of "corresponding faces, in crystals of the same mineral, giving, on measurement, the same angle of inclination." In consequence of this regularity of form, it was early imagined that the shape of the rudimentary particles, employed in the building of a crystal, must regulate the final outline exhibited, and a phraseology was speedily introduced which had a reference to such a notion. If the *primary* form did not mean the shape of the chemical particles, before cohesion had operated upon them, it expressed that of a minute mass after aggregation had proceeded a short way in the building process. This view is justified by the general occurrence of "the same mineral presenting uniformly the same primary form as the basis of its crystallization, and when crystallized, exhibiting this primary, or some secondary to it." Hence "the primary form of a mineral is invariable in its interfacial angles, and in the interfacial angles of corresponding secondary planes." Our author enumerates fourteen primary forms, which are either prisms, octohedrons, or dodecahedrons, and by contemplating the lines which are considered as the axes of these forms, he distributes them into six *systems of crystallization*, unnecessarily, however, in our opinion, changing the terms of Mohs, which had been rendered tolerably familiar to the English reader by the labours of Haidinger and Jameson.

Our author having described the primary forms, and the secondary modifications of crystals, and having stated the leading facts of isomorphism and dimorphism, adds a very interesting chapter on the irregularities of crystals, the materials of which have been chiefly derived from the writings of Naumann. These descriptive statements, together with some additional remarks on the determination of primary forms and compound crystalline structures, bring us to that portion of his work which he has termed *crystallogeny*. Here, after giving an account of the notions entertained by Haüy and Wollaston, (omitting, however, all reference to the early speculations of Hooke,) respecting the rudimentary particles or molecules of crystals, he proceeds to observe, that "the ordinary attraction of cohesion has been considered adequate to produce the union of molecules in the construction of crystals. This

attraction acts, however, in every direction, from the centre of the particle, and, as it will cause an addition of particles in no fixed direction, must invariably produce a spherical solid. Proof of this fact is observed in every drop of water or globule of mercury, whose sphericity results from this kind of attraction. To form solids, bounded by a definite number of surfaces, there must be a definite number of directions for the exertion of the attraction. If attraction is exerted in but one direction, the particles will unite only in this direction, and by their union will form only a single line of spheres; exertion in two directions will, in a similar manner, produce a figure of two dimensions only, that is, a plane; in three directions, a figure of three dimensions, or a solid bounded by six faces, as the cubic. For the construction of a prism it is therefore necessary that the mutual attraction of the particles be exerted in their fixed directions in each molecule. These fixed directions may be denominated axes, and their extremities poles, the one *north*, the other *south*. In each instance, the axes connect the centres of the faces of the prism, for action in these directions only can produce solids similar to the prism. The attraction within a molecule is not supposed to be confined to the extremities of the axes; on the contrary, every portion of the surface exerts attraction. But the attraction is strongest at the poles and weakest at points equidistant between them." We have quoted these remarks, not on account of any novelty of fact or illustration, but for the purpose of pointing out the indistinctness of the conceptions entertained regarding the forces of aggregation. If we attend to the fact, that in solids the particles attract at certain points, then these attractions produce on the particles their fixedness of position; while in liquids attraction prevails equally at all points of the particles, and hence sphericity is the only proof of equilibrium. If the aggregating force, which we have previously recognized as adhesion, be dealing with grains or rudimentary crystals, then an amorphous solid, destitute of regular structure, will be the result. Indeed, mere increase by the contact of surfaces, whether of similar or dissimilar kind of matter, is the final action of adhesion, as the formation of a crystal is that of cohesion. It is not, however, to be concealed that there is a sort of transition from the fixedness of homogeneous particles by cohesion on the one hand, and the mobility of liquid masses on the other, by means of malleable and viscid bodies.

Much light has been thrown on the rudimentary character of the chemical particles employed by cohesion in the construction of crystals, by the discovery that certain substances may replace one another in the constitution of crystals, without producing a change in the form. But it is seldom that the identity is complete, even in the so-called isomorphous crystals, so that the term

plesiomorphous (nearly of the same shape) is generally substituted. In considering these bodies, we may assume that the *bulks* of the chemical particles are equal, or render it probable that they are so by observing the similarity of results when we divide the atomic weight of each by its specific gravity. But other qualities must be similar. They may be supposed to possess the same forms, otherwise they could not be symmetrically built up. The axes likewise would require to be similar in their arrangement; and, although connected with different sorts of matter, or chemical particles, to have attractive and repulsive forces similar in kind and in degree. How far the consideration that these aggregations may be viewed as *mixtures*, and, failing this, how far plesiomorphism serves to remove the difficulties connected with the above startling assumptions, need not occupy us at present. Dimorphism, or the property of similar ingredients exhibiting two distinct crystalline forms, has served in no ordinary degree to perplex the crystallographer. This case occurs with simple and compound bodies, as sulphur and carbonate of lime. The experiments hitherto performed seem to justify the conclusion that this twofold arrangement of the same kind of particles is dependent on the temperature at which the aggregation has taken place. Thus, sulphur exhibits two forms, when crystallized from fusion and from solution, and bicarbonate of lime, evaporated with a low and a higher temperature, will be found to yield calcareous spar and arragonite. In this latter case, two minerals are obtained, which not only differ in their crystallizations, but in their hardness and density, while agreeing in chemical constitution.

Our author, after offering some remarks on "practical crystallogeny," a portion of his subject which should have been presented for the consideration of the reader in an earlier part of the treatise, proceeds to notice the "physical properties of minerals," dedicating the first chapter to "characters depending on light." Here, however, we find little beyond commonplace notices as to colour, lustre, diaphaneity, and refraction. This last branch of the subject occupies little more than a page, in which there is not even a reference to those important laws, developed by the industry and sagacity of Sir David Brewster, and which have contributed so much to the extension of our knowledge of the intimate structure of crystallized bodies.

Our author having discussed what may be considered preliminary matter, furnishes us with three *systems* of mineralogy, two of which, the crystallographic and non-crystallographic, he terms *artificial systems*, and the third a *natural* method. In our opinion, these terms are both transposed and misapplied; and in particular, we may remark, that the one which is termed the

natural method is so thoroughly artificial, that we feel some degree of surprise at the claims which have been advanced in its favour.

The crystallographic system depending on crystalline forms, is distributed into the six classes of primary forms to which we have already alluded. These are groups of *natural* forms, which, in consequence, give, in many cases, satisfactory indications of related structures, and specific actions on light and heat. But this method is not followed out as it should have been, considering the importance which is attached to this high department of the science. Thus in the first class, denominated MONOMETRICA, our author includes the three primary forms; the cube, the octahedron, and the dodecahedron. But his subdivisions or sections, instead of being occupied with these forms, depend on the *lustre* being metallic or unmetallic. These forms may, indeed, be considered as lost sight of, and the species occupy their places in the sections depending on their relative degrees of hardness. By adding notices of specific gravity, colour, &c. our author has attempted, in a peculiar manner, to manufacture a system of "Determinative Mineralogy," which we fear will not prove particularly useful to the student. Had he, in the first instance, given a "Table of the Primary Forms of Minerals, arranged according to their Classes," similar to the one in the "Crystallography" of Brooke, a *natural* system would have been established, and we may add a useful one. And if, in the same arranged form, tables of *hardness* and *density* had been presented to the reader, two other *natural* methods of classification would have been given, perhaps of co-ordinate importance. But we object to the crystallographic system, as a *natural* method, in the highest sense of the term, because it does not bring together, in many cases, species which have numerous intimate relations, while it places in proximity, species which have few points of resemblance. Thus, by the crystallographic method, the fine mineral analcime, which claims a cube for its primary, is far removed from mosotype or natrolite, which possesses the form of a right rhombic prism, while common salt, the chloride of sodium, must range in the same group with native copper. These incongruities seem to be unavoidable in all attempts at a *single* natural method, and might be in a great measure overlooked, did not other objections present themselves of no ordinary magnitude. Mineral species seldom occur crystallized, when compared with their commonness in the amorphous state; and even when they have assumed their regular form, they but too frequently include considerable quantities of foreign matter, unless when of a small size, and produced under very favourable circumstances. Of the crystallographic system, our author declares—

“ Excepting the purpose for which it is instituted—the determination of the names (!) of minerals—it subserves no important end to the mineralogist; on the contrary, it brings together species the most unlike, and separates those most closely allied.”

The system of “ Determinative Mineralogy,” founded on the crystallization of minerals, is followed by another *discriminative* system, independent of crystallization. We have here three classes, with a few subordinate divisions, but little calculated to assist the solitary student in his labours. In proof of this rather severe remark, we may state, that the second class in which the *gravity* is above 1·8, and the minerals are tasteless, we have two sections—1. Lustre unmetallic; 2. Lustre metallic. The first section is subdivided into those minerals which have a streak-white or grayish-white, and such as have the streak coloured; adding, in reference to the last characteristic, “ a few of the species have present, in their different varieties, sometimes a white, and in others a coloured streak, and consequently may be found in each of these subsections.” Now, in the subdivision with the “ streak white or grayish-white,” we have 235 minerals without subordinate grouping, and yet this is termed *discriminative mineralogy*! It is true, that by the help of the separate tables of hardness, density, and characters before the blowpipe, the student may stumble on, and perhaps reach his object, while he cannot feel any great obligations to those who, professing to direct him in his course, have given him few mile-stones to tell him how far he has advanced, or how much of the journey is yet before him. Our author, after giving us these two discriminative systems, condemns them indirectly in the following sensible remarks—

“ That trial should first be made with a file, or the point of a knife; the determination of the specific gravity should follow, if an instrument is at hand; next a drop of a dilute acid, or a strong acid, to ascertain whether a jelly may be formed; then the blowpipe, without and with reagents. By these simple means, and the use of the tables given in the preceding pages, after thoroughly studying the elements of the science, there will be found little difficulty in arriving at the names of the species. Crystallography affords very essential aid, and the importance of attending to its principles, and working them out with models and actual crystals, cannot be too strongly urged upon the student.”

We have passed over a good deal of useful information respecting the usual methods of taking the densities of minerals, and determining their character by a blowpipe, because possessing no peculiar interest, that we may notice, at some length, what may be considered as constituting the essential part of the work, and which bears the title of “ Descriptive Mineralogy,” having pre-

fixed to it "A tabular view of the natural classification of minerals." The author evidently labours under the delusion, so very common among a certain class of zoologists and botanists, that there is but *one natural method*, and to comprehend but very indistinctly what a *natural system* really means, even although the following remarks are presented to the reader :—

"The natural system is a transcript of nature, and consists of those family groupings into which the species naturally fall. In making out such a classification, instead of conforming the whole to certain assumed principles, the various affinities of the species are first ascertained, by studying out all their peculiarities and resemblances, and from these the principles of the system are deduced. There should be no forced unions to suit preconceived ideas, but only such associations as nature herself suggests."

Now, let us see "those family groupings into which the species naturally fall." The three primary classes are characterized as follows :—

"Class I. Gravity under 3·8. Fluid or soluble. No bituminous odour. Taste of solid individuals, acid alkaline or saline.—Class II. Gravity above 1·8. Insoluble.—Class III. Gravity under 1·8. Resinous or carbonaceous. Combustible."

It would be a useless expenditure of words, to prove that this so-called natural method is essentially *artificial*, for a single glance at the characters of the classes will suffice. Nor, if the inferior divisions of the system be inspected, will the "family groupings" be found possessed of higher pretensions. Thus, we have sulphuretted hydrogen and azote placed together! Both, indeed, are *gaseous* and colourless, and both are found in mineral waters; but no one will be bold enough to assert that "the various affinities of the species" have been kept in view, when we find the one a compound, the other elementary. Besides, the one "burns with a pale bluish flame," the other "extinguishes a lighted candle introduced into it, and is destructive to life,—(and this recorded as a distinctive character;)" the density of the one is 1·1912, of the other ·9757; the one "in odour and taste similar to putrescent eggs," the other "inodorous and tasteless."

There can be no doubt that there are certain minerals which present in their general appearance what may be termed a family likeness, and have on that account received a family name. Such is the group of minerals known familiarly as *Spars*. Let us imagine fragments of crystals of the four following minerals to be laid before us, viz. : carbonate of lime, sulphate of barytes, albite, and chloride of sodium. Natural History, occupied with *appearances*, would pronounce these minerals as having an obvious

affinity. But in this *natural* method they are found in different orders, and even in different classes; and these orders so vaguely characterized, that it is impossible to say where a mineral should be placed. Let us compare the order Barytinea of our author, which includes the sulphate of barytes, with that of chalcinea containing the albite.

"Ord. 11. Barytinea. Hardness = 2—6 Gravity = 3—8.1. Lustre unmetallic. Ord. V. Chalcinea. Hardness = 2—7. Gravity = 2.6—4. Lustre unmetallic. Streak uncoloured."

These orders are characterized by the aid of *physical characters*, but they are such as furnish very imperfect indications of affinities, if they can be said to aid us at all in the matter. But while the *system* is radically defective, the descriptions are very carefully drawn up and abound in crystallographic details, illustrated by figures derived from several sources. We take as an example, and at random, his account of Vanadinite, (or as the author Latinises—*cronalus vanadiferus*,) or vanadate of lead.

"VANADINITE.

"*Primary form*, a hexagonal prism—occurs mostly in implanted globules or incrustations.

"H. = 2.75. gr. = 6.6623 — 7.23. *Lustre* of surface of fracture resinous. *Streak* white or yellowish. *Color*, light brownish, yellow, straw-yellow, reddish-brown. Subtranslucent—opaque. *Fracture* even, or flat conchoidal, brittle.

"Composition, according to Berzelius, chloride of lead 25.33, vanadate of lead 74, hydrous oxide of lead 0.67, (Mexican variety.) Dr. R. D. Thomson obtained chlorine 2.446, lead 7.063, protoxide of lead 66.326, vanadic acid 23.436, peroxide of iron and silica 0.163, = 99.434.

"Before the blowpipe, in a pair of forceps, it fuses, and retains its yellow colour on cooling; if kept some time in fusion, however, it changes into a steel gray porous mass, which, upon charcoal, yields globules of metallic lead. On charcoal it fuses with much frothing into a bead, resembling the original assay. It forms green solutions with the sulphuric and muriatic acids, and a beautiful yellow solution with nitric acid."

"Obs. This mineral was first discovered at Zimpan in Mexico, by Del Rio. It has since been obtained among some of the old workings at Wanlockhead, Dumfriesshire, where it occurs in small globular masses, sprinkled over calamine, or forming thin coatings on the surface of that mineral, and also in hexagonal crystals."

"T. Damour has described a '*Zinciferous and cupriferous vanadate of lead*,' (Ann. des M. xi. 161. 1837,) which is probably a mechanical mixture of this species with the oxides of zinc and copper. It contains 6.345 of the former, and 2960 of the latter."

We do not consider Mr. Dana as peculiarly culpable, for having

adopted this natural method, unsatisfactory though it be, in its principles and arrangements, because the blame of forming it rests elsewhere. The commanding influence which Linnæus exercised in all the departments of Natural History, gave to his attempts to construct a *Mineral System*, an authority which prevailed for many years. He distributed (1770) the subjects of the inorganic kingdom into three classes—*Petræ*, *Mineræ*, et *Fossilia*. Wallerius (1747) had succeeded in improving some of the previously published *systems* of the illustrious Swede, who unfortunately refused to adopt them. Neither did he follow the greatly superior system of Woltersdorf, (1748,) in which minerals are divided into *Terræ*, *Lapides*, *Salia*, *Bitumina*, *Semimetalla*, et *Metalla*. For many years, these rude methods of "family grouping" from external characters, were more or less tamely submitted to. Dr. Walker, the illustrious predecessor of the present occupant of the Chair of Natural History in Edinburgh, at last took a larger view of the subject, and in his classes *Fossilium*, (1787,) instituted, under the three Linnæan divisions, nineteen classes depending on characters derived from appearance, structure, and composition. Had not particular circumstances prevented this careful observer from publishing his descriptions of species, the science of Mineralogy would have occupied amongst us, by his means, a more distinguished place than it at present can boast of. In the systems of Kirwan and Schmeisser, greater attention, in the grouping, was paid to the chemical constitution of minerals, and an approximation made towards the acknowledgment of the truth that chemical and mineral species are identical.

The labours of Black, Lavoisier, and Priestley, led to a reform in chemical science, and the more careful discrimination of chemical species; and as many of these species occur in nature, the progress of chemistry, accelerated at a corresponding rate, the true knowledge of minerals. This became speedily apparent by the approximation to a chemical method in the systems of Brogniart, Karsten, Haüy, and even Werner. In this country, the system of the Friburgh mineralogist was promulgated by his admiring pupil, Professor Jameson, but who, in the second edition of his "*System of Mineralogy*," was obviously forsaking the natural history method of his master and leaning more decidedly to a chemical method. Mohs, the illustrious successor of Werner, directed the energies of an acute mind to the framing of a new *natural method*. This system, Mr. Haidinger very successfully introduced to the notice of the English reader, and Professor Jameson, unfortunately, as we think for the interests of science, and his own reputation, instead of embracing fully a chemical system, renounced the approximation merits of the system of Werner, and gave his powerful influence to the promulgation of

the system of his successor. This method is a strange compound of discriminative and systematical mineralogy, and which Mr. Dana has thought proper to embrace. We trust, however, in the next edition of his work, to see the "Chemical Method" occupying its proper place—a system on which we shall now offer a few remarks.

If we pass over the benefits which the science of mineralogy derived from the reference to species in works on chemistry, we may consider the attempt of Berzelius to establish a "System of Chemical Mineralogy" as the first great movement in a definite direction. He assumed the identity of chemical and mineralogical species. He likewise assumed that the different elementary bodies possessed an inherent electrical state, being either positive or negative. Under the influence of these views, he made the order of arrangement to depend on the electro-chemical properties of the elements, proceeding from the most electro-negative oxygen, to the most electro-positive potassium. Each element in this system forms a separate family, including all its combinations with other bodies which are electro-negative with respect to it. These families are divided into orders according to the different electro-negative bodies with which the electro-positive may become combined. The elements themselves are formed into three classes—oxygen, simple combustibles, and metals.

We have, in this system of Berzelius, a *reason* assigned why one species occupies the first place in the system, another the last, and why the other species occupy their respective definite positions. This single character, unknown in previous systems, is certainly a very strong recommendation in its favour, and would justify us in adhering to it, even in opposition to tolerably strong objections which might be urged against some of its details. But the foundation of the system is insecure. The electro-chemical state of a body depends on the circumstances in which it is placed, and cannot be regarded as an inherent or natural quality; although it may be granted that every body has a greater tendency, in ordinary circumstances, to assume one kind of electricity rather than another. Thus sulphur, in separating from oxygen, is in an electro-positive state, but when separating from hydrogen it is electro-negative. When tin and copper are placed in acid solutions, the former is positive, the latter negative. But if the same metals be immersed in a solution of ammonia, the copper will be positive, and the tin negative. If copper and lead be put into strong nitric acid, the copper will be positive, but if the acid be in a diluted state, then the lead will be positive. In these two cases the facility of decomposition determines the electrical state of the electrodes, not any inherent electric energy. In the cases of decomposition, there are many circumstances which intimate that the electrical

relations of bodies are subject to striking variations, or that they are influenced by agents in such a manner as to be sometimes positive and sometimes negative. Thus, if we pass a current of hydrogen over heated oxide of iron, the oxygen is withdrawn from the metal, and water is generated; but if watery vapour be passed over heated iron, the oxygen unites with the metal, and the hydrogen is set free. Again, if we pour an excess of nitric acid on chloride of sodium, and heat the mixture, nitrate of soda will be produced; and if we reverse the process, by pouring an excess of hydrochloric acid on the nitrate of soda, chloride of sodium will be the result. It is impossible, therefore, from the *variableness* of the electrical condition of bodies to admit, as a leading principle in chemical mineralogy, the more or less electro-negative or electro-positive states of the elementary bodies, however useful the distinction may be in studying the composition of species. We may even observe, that our ordinary tables of Affinities are nothing more than tables of Decomposition, and cannot be viewed as invariable equivalent attractions.

The chemical system of mineralogy proposed by Dr. Thomson is unlike the one on which we have been animadverting, because there is no recognized principle, assigning the different elementary bodies the order of their precedence, however valuable the individual descriptions may be. He arranges minerals into three classes:—1. Acid bases. 2. Alkaline bases. 3. Neutral bases.

“The first class comprehends those bodies which become acids when combined with oxygen; the second, those which become alkalies when united to the same substances; and the third, those bodies which are never found in nature united to oxygen, but only united to other bases, whether acid or alkaline.”

This classification having respect to *acids* and *bases*, is one in a great measure arbitrary, and in its subdivisions into genera, according to the elementary bodies, whether they act the part of acids or alkalies, there is no rule observed, either having respect to electrical energies or chemical equivalents.

Mr. Dana, in the work before us, likewise furnishes the reader with a chemical classification of minerals, in which he has the following classes:—1. Gases and liquids.—2. Acids.—3. Compounds of the alkalies and earths with the sapid acids.—4. Earthy minerals.—5. Metals and metallic ores.—6. Sulphur.—7. Resins and coal. There is here, as in Dr. Thomson's arrangement, the absence of any fixed principle regulating the position of the elements in the system. But, in justice, we must add, that in giving the constitution of minerals by the aid of symbols, he has contributed much useful information not generally accessible to the English reader. He acknowledges himself as greatly indebted to the labours of Rammelsberg for the supply of materials. This

author, in his "*Handwörterbuch des Chemischen theils der Mineralogie*," Berlin, 1841, and "*Erstes Supplement*," ib. 1843, has collected a great amount of valuable information, from many sources, illustrative of the chemical history of mineral species. Instead of giving to his materials a methodical distribution, he has preferred the alphabetical order, as the most convenient for his purpose, giving, however, at the close of the volume, a very interesting "*Übersicht der Formeln der Silicate*." In this, he classifies all the minerals having SILICA in their composition, giving to them a distribution dependent on the number of bases and the atoms of oxygen in their composition, while he employs the twofold subdivision of anhydrous and hydrous minerals—a plan which Kobell adopted in his *Grunzüge der Mineralogie*, Nürnberg, 1838.

We might have referred to many other treatises on chemical mineralogy, which abound with defects similar to those we have ventured to point out; such are, however, either destitute of a regulating principle, or a discriminative has been mistaken for a methodical arrangement. But by this time the reader is perhaps prepared to ask, is it practicable to frame a system having a fixed principle, so applicable as to enable us to assign to each mineral species its particular place? A little reflection will convince us, that, if we assume mineral and chemical species to be identical, then the arrangement of the species, according to the numbers and atomic weights of the elements of which they consist, would fulfil every desirable condition. We may at the same time notice in passing, that the quantity of electricity connected with any elementary matter is as truly indicated by the table of atomic weights as the saturating power, electro-chemical equivalents coinciding with ordinary chemical equivalents.

Taking, then, the chemical equivalents, or atomic weights, as the regulating principle of the system, the CLASSES should be as numerous as the elementary bodies themselves, thus amounting to fifty-five, placing hydrogen in the first class and uranium in the last. The *orders* in such a system would require to be as numerous in each class as the different elements which unite with the element of the class, and which precede it in the table of equivalents. A few examples will render the leading features of such a system sufficiently intelligible. In the first class, there can be but one order; in the last class, there may be fifty-four, if combinations to the extent of all the elements had existed. But, in the first class, while there is but one order, so there is but one species—the element HYDROGEN, which, uncombined, does not perhaps exist as a mineral species. In the second class, CARBON, two orders will occur—the first containing the pure element, forming the mineral species, *Dia-*

mond—the second order will be formed by the union of the element of the class with the element of the preceding class, so that the elements of this order are carbon and hydrogen, and the species, Dicarburet of Hydrogen or Marsh Gas, Naphtha, Sheererite, Idrialin, Hartite, Mineral Caoutchouc, and several other ill-characterized resinous bodies. As another illustration, let us take the sixteenth class, TITANIUM. The first order, or the simple elementary body, has not been found in the mineral kingdom; and as it does not combine with the three elementary bodies at the head of table, its union with oxygen constitutes the first order, which contains the species Rutile, Anatase, and perhaps Brookite. The second order consists of Titanium and fluorine, with one species, the Difluoride of Titanium or Warwickite. The third order, embracing calcium with oxygen, contains Perovskite; while a fourth order, having calcium, silicon, and oxygen, furnishes the mineral species Sphene.

As another example of such a chemical system, let us take the last element in the table.

“ CLASS LV. URANIUM.

“ Order 1. Uranium, with oxygen.

“ *Species*. Protoxide of uranium, or Pitch-blende.

“ Order 2. Uranium, phosphorus, oxygen, and hydrogen.

“ *Species*. Hydrated phosphat of peroxide of uranium. Var. 1. uranite, or calcareo-phosphat. Var. 2. Chalcocite or cupreo-phosphate.

“ Order 3. Uranium, sulphur, and oxygen.

“ *Species* 1. Sulphate of Protoxide of uranium. 2. Sulphat of peroxide of uranium.

“ Order 4. Uranium, columbium, and oxygen.

“ *Species*. Columbate of the protoxide of uranium, or Urano-tantalite.”

It may be objected to a system founded on such characters, that the positions of the elementary bodies in the table may be changed by the progress of discovery, or more accurate experimenting, and consequently that the classes and orders would experience corresponding changes. This result would certainly take place, but the process of shifting which would be required, being of a very mechanical kind, the transpositions could be easily effected, while the position of a new species would at once be apparent.

The difficulties attending isomorphism, or rather the substitution of one element for another, are not greater, if we make the atomic weight the basis of our system, than if we adopted the electro-chemical method, by positive and negative characters—while Isomerism would offer no obstacle whatever. But the full consideration of the bearings of these views would

require more space than we can command, a circumstance which likewise precludes us from noticing the characters of mixtures—those stumbling-blocks in the way to trustworthy analytical results.

In conclusion, we may add, that our author has communicated much interesting information respecting the mineral riches of America, where many species occur in a finely crystallized state, and where the individual crystals frequently attain truly gigantic magnitudes.

ART. II.—*The History of the British Empire in India*. By EDWARD THORNTON, Esq., Author of “*India, its State and Prospects*,” &c., &c. 5 Vols. London, 1843.

THIS work, independently of considerable merit in its execution, has peculiar claims to consideration, arising out of the position of its author, and the authority conferred upon his labours by the circumstances that have attended their publication. Mr. Thornton, we believe, holds an office of responsibility in the India House; and that his work has given satisfaction to his superiors in that quarter, may be inferred from the fact of copies having been circulated, by their orders, among the members of the proprietary body, and others with whom they are connected. The history, compiled in great measure from official materials, may be regarded as of almost an official character, containing an exposition of the views and principles of those by whom the affairs of our Eastern empire are now, and we trust, may long continue to be administered. Viewed in this light, Mr. Thornton's reflections upon the various measures of past governments are entitled to the most serious attention, and we shall, in our remarks upon his work, pass lightly over the merely narrative portion of his history, in order to leave ourselves more space for commenting upon those passages in which the author, in delivering his own judgment upon the conduct of those by whom India has hitherto been governed, lets us into the secret of what is likely to be the ruling opinion with regard to its future administration.

The history opens with a very compendious sketch of the events immediately preceding the rise of our power in the East. We can hardly complain of this brevity, amply atoned for as it is, by the diffuse minuteness of what follows; but one evil consequence of the historian's eagerness to get at the more interesting portion of his labours, is, that he cannot spare time to ascertain the real state of

India at a period antecedent to that disordered interval following the decline of the Mogul Empire, with which our own Government is so often placed in perhaps too flattering contrast. We are well aware of the difficulty of ascertaining what was the prior condition of the country, nor do we think that Mr. Thornton is to blame for not entering upon an inquiry, for which, like ourselves, he is perhaps but slenderly qualified; but we do think he is not entitled to reason as he does, throughout his subsequent remarks, upon an assumption, that the troubled interval above noticed, may be taken as a fair specimen of the highest attainable excellence of an Indian government of indigenous growth. Mr. Thornton must be aware that there are better proofs than mere traditionary legends (though these are not without their weight) of a state of former prosperity in some parts even of that portion of India coming under the direct governance of the Moghul, yet he makes a cursory and incredulous allusion (at page 26, vol. i.) to the reputed security that prevailed under Shere Shah, while the long reign of Akber, during the second half of the sixteenth century, of proverbial celebrity among the people of India, is passed over with almost contemptuous brevity.

It is bad for nations, as for individuals, to adopt a low standard of comparison for the sake of testing their own merits, and it is for this reason, that we deprecate, at the outset, the adoption, in this instance, of perhaps the very lowest that could be found; for the annals of the East have preserved no record of any much more distracted period than that marked by the invasion of Nadir Shah, the extinction of the Moghul, and the rise of the Mahratta power.

The well-known events of what may be called the heroic era of our country's career in the East, that which witnessed the achievements of Clive and of Lawrence, are clearly and ably detailed by Mr. Thornton, yet his narrative here, as well as in the ensuing period of Hastings' government, suffers from the inevitable recollection of those splendid biographical articles which have recently appeared in a contemporary journal. To these exquisite essays, we would refer any of our readers who may be scared by the bulk of the work before us, for a luminous sketch of the history of British India up to the commencement of the government of the Marquis Cornwallis, from which point it is, that we propose to give our own closer attention to our author's speculations and remarks. In following this course, we are not actuated by a mere desire of abridging our labour. It is immaterial whether or not a correct judgment obtain as to the acts of Clive and Hastings, for they stood in a position never again likely to be occupied by any British functionary in any quarter of the globe. But it is otherwise with their successors, for the opinion pronounced upon

them may be taken as a fair index of the line of conduct likely in future to command the approbation of those of whose sentiments our author may be regarded as the organ.

The first peculiarity that rivets our attention in looking more closely into the volumes before us, is the extreme, and almost exclusively military tone of the work; the second, the uniformly disparaging mention made in the course of it, of every Governor who either evinced an aversion to war, or a disposition to square his administration in conformity with the declared views, or in obedience to the express mandates of the very body under whose patronage this history has been composed, by one writing apparently under their immediate eye, and evidently courting their approbation. These peculiarities are less striking in the earlier part of the work, because, as it is only through war successfully waged, that a power can rise, it is natural to find the historian's attention, at the outset, devoted to military operations and exploits, and because, during the thirty years that intervened between the battle of Plassey and the commencement of Cornwallis's government, amidst the difficulties and dangers of a nascent empire, no systematic plan of administration can be said to have been pursued; but with the government above alluded to, a new order of things commenced. After one of the fiercest struggles by which the British Parliament has ever been agitated, a struggle upon an Indian point, and yet rendered memorable by the gigantic talents of those who "countered there on adverse parts," and by the influence since exercised over the destinies of Great Britain by the party whose triumph was then achieved, a plan for the future administration of our Indian Empire was for the first time settled upon what promised, and has been found to be a firm and stable basis. Of this plan, the following compendious passage gives the outline, and describes the merits with clearness and discrimination.

"The evils of the old system were attested by experience. Those which would have resulted from a change which should have annihilated the powers of the Company, and transferred the entire administration of India to a government office, may readily be imagined. By dividing the power between the responsible advisers of the Crown, and a body totally unconnected with political party, both classes of evils are to a great extent avoided. The patronage of India, which all constitutional authorities have thought it would be dangerous to place with the Crown, is deposited in the hands of a body over whom the Crown and its Ministers can exercise scarcely any influence. With those who, thus free from political bias, administer this patronage, rests the power also of communicating with the local governments, and of originating the orders and instructions transmitted for their guidance; but such orders requiring the approbation of a branch of

the executive government of the Crown to give them effect, nothing at variance with the rights of the sovereign, with the general interests of the empire, or with the general policy of the ministry, for the time being, can be carried into effect. Personal claims or complaints having to pass the ordeal of two inquiries, conducted under two different and independent authorities, will be far more likely to be decided with justice, than if they were subjected only to one. The discussion called forth by such a system, is another advantage, which would be lost under any other differing from it essentially. The system might probably be improved in some minute points, but the principle which is at its foundation is admirable.

"It has been alleged that it is cumbersome and anomalous. All systems of check are to a certain extent cumbersome, but we submit to this inconvenience for the sake of security. The other objection scarcely deserves refutation. Government is a practical matter, and if its objects be attained, it is of little importance whether or not the machinery be regular and symmetrical."—Vol. ii., p. 352.

The Marquis of Cornwallis was not only the first Governor-General appointed under the system so justly eulogized, but he was also the first Governor-General selected from among the nobles and statesmen of England, and carrying with him to the work of his new station all that weight which high birth and exalted rank confer. From this period the Governor-General ceases to be a servant of the Company, in the exclusive sense in which those who previously filled that office were so, and must henceforth be regarded as a high functionary acting on behalf of the British Nation, under power emanating from the supreme source of authority, though deflected by passing through the medium of the body which the wisdom of the legislature had deemed it expedient to interpose, to save our vast dependent empire from being swayed by every change that might occur in the parent country.

In narrating the progress of a Governor-General so selected, and commencing his career under such circumstances, we should have hoped for something more than a mere catalogue of treaties and battles, a sort of cento from the Gazettes and Annual Registers, with but a few pages devoted to those measures of internal administration, by which the welfare of a large portion of our Indian possessions continues to this hour to be affected. It is an extraordinary proof of the author's military predilections, that, in his whole work, spread out as it is over 2,673 pages, exclusive of appendices, the longest passage continuously devoted to matters of a civil nature, bearing upon the immediate interests of the people of India, is one of thirty-two pages, beginning at page 515, vol. ii.

We know how much more easy as well as agreeable it is to

tell of well-fought fields and conquered provinces, than to trace out the operation of laws and systems, and show how they have, in practice, told upon the happiness and welfare of a little-cared for race. There is not indeed a newspaper editor who would not find his labours, even in England, wonderfully lightened by the breaking out of a war, to make his columns fill themselves with bloody news and glorious victories; and he who writes or speaks of India, must perhaps season his subject-matter with much of a stirring nature, if he wishes to command a moment's attention. Still we cannot think that a historian, the more especially when he happens to be the peaceful functionary of what ought to be a peaceful body, can be held to acquit himself of his self-imposed duty, when he sinks all the more important, though less exciting topics, to dwell upon those alone which are ever sure to command sympathy; namely, praise of conquest, and the tale of strife. For ourselves, we confess, that we weary of this continued rattle of musketry, running through five portly volumes, and only suspended to leave space for some detail of political interludes, interspersed with sneers at all advocates of peace and moderation.

As might be expected from what we have stated of the general tone of the work, the government of Lord Cornwallis finds little favour in the eyes of this author. Even in describing the first advance to Seringapatam, in May 1791, a movement undertaken under such a deficiency of the means of transport, as might have appeared to justify some cessation of active exertion, and leading to a series of arduous operations, in the course of which the personal gallantry of the Governor-General was as conspicuous as his moderation in the hour of triumph, the author prefaces his narrative by asserting, of Lord Cornwallis, that "the love of enterprise scarce entered into his character."—Vol. ii., p. 422.

There may be some truth in this reflection, if, by the love of enterprise, is meant that craving for the excitement of danger, which is oftener to be found in conjunction with high talents, than with high principle, and is built upon those feelings of pride which we are taught to regard as the most pernicious of all the corrupting tendencies of our nature. But if, by love of enterprise, it be meant to express a contempt of danger in the discharge of duty, then the very sequel of the passage above cited, furnishes the most complete refutation of the author's own reflection, and shows Lord Cornwallis as enterprising, when necessary, as if he had been eager in courting opportunities of bringing every discussion arising with a native state, to the arbitrement of the sword.

In February, of the ensuing year 1792, we find Cornwallis

again before Seringapatam, directing an attack on the enemy's position, the apparent temerity of which, seeing that "it was to be performed by infantry alone, without guns, filled the allies with astonishment."—Vol. ii., p. 465.

The whole description of this gallant operation is well worthy of our reader's perusal; but as our own immediate concern is with the character of the Governor-General, we can only afford space for the following account of the perilous position into which his love of something—for which Mr. Thornton must find a name, since he will not permit us to call it "enterprise"—on that occasion led him.

"The rear division of the central column, which was under the immediate command of Lord Cornwallis, was formed near the Sultan's redoubt, and there it waited in anxious expectation of being joined by General Medows. He came not; but at a moment when a reinforcement was most desirable, the troops under Captain Hunter, who had just recrossed the river from the Sultan's garden, made their appearance. They had scarcely time to replace their ammunition (their cartridges having been damaged by the water) before a large body of troops, forming part of Tippoo's centre and left, having recovered from their panic, advanced to attack the force under Lord Cornwallis. The attack was vigorously made, and bravely resisted. The fire of the enemy was well returned, and on a nearer approach, they were met and driven back by the bayonet. Their numbers, however, were overwhelming; and, in the confidence that from this cause victory must finally be theirs, they repeatedly renewed the attack, and were as often repulsed. The danger to which the small force with the Governor-General was exposed, increased his anxiety for the arrival of the aid which he had so long expected; and he is reported to have said, 'If General Medows be above ground, this will bring him.' General Medows was above ground, but he did not arrive in time to render any assistance to the Commander-in-Chief. The repetition of the enemy's attacks continued for nearly two hours, when they finally withdrew. To secure his troops from being surrounded, Lord Cornwallis then moved to Carigaut Hill, at the foot of which he was met by the division of General Medows."—Vol. ii., p. 471.

It is evident from these passages, that the imputed absence of a "love of enterprise" will not account for the moderation displayed by the Governor-General in stopping short of the conquest of Seringapatam, or for that "weak anxiety for peace," by which it is contended the preliminaries were so hurried as to reduce the English "either to assert a claim in which their right was, to say the least, suspicious, or to abandon a meritorious supporter, the Raja of Coorg, to the mercy of the Tyrant of Mysore."—P. 502. "Weak," as he was, the Governor-General sternly insisted on the obnoxious article in favour of our ally

of Coorg being complied with, and by his prompt preparations to renew the contest, soon reduced his haughty opponent to submission, and the peace was finally concluded on the 18th March 1792.

By the terms of this peace, the English obtained cessions, adding greatly to the strength and compactness of their territory, while their allies, the Mahrattas and the Nizam, each gained considerably, and Tippoo was left with a power so reduced, as in the judgment of the Governor-General to deprive him of the ability to do mischief.

The conduct of Lord Cornwallis on this occasion, is of course condemned by Mr. Thornton, who can only account for it by supposing the Governor-General to have been actuated by "deference to the prevailing prejudices in England," and the then

"fashionable doctrine of moderation, a doctrine not only sanctioned by the suffrage of public opinion, but solemnly incorporated into the provisions of the law."—P. 507.

But whatever the motive, the moderation displayed is severely censured, and it is maintained that the Governor-General did not obtain such terms as to "put it out of Tippoo's power to disturb the peace of India."—P. 506. Had Mr. T. asserted, that the terms did not abate Tippoo's *wish* to disturb the peace of India, we should entirely agree with him; but, as to his *power*, it was never put to the test, for, upon the first manifestation of the *wish*, the *power*, as we shall see in the sequel, was promptly taken from him. But, is it not possible, that Lord Cornwallis may have seen the evident leaning of our Empire towards extension and over-rapid growth; its tendency towards that eminence beyond which lies the descent, and have thought, that to retard a progress, the consequences of which could not be foreseen, was rendering to his country a more essential service than he could have done by accelerating its advance on a career of conquest? Is it not evident, from Lord Cornwallis' own assertion, that sparing Seringapatam "would render the final settlement with the allies more easy."—P. 506—that he foresaw what actually did happen—that the fall of Tippoo would soon be followed by a rupture with the Mahrattas? If, by what he did obtain from Tippoo, he shewed himself superior to the popular belief in England, that our Indian Empire might remain stationary "without gaining or losing an inch of territory, or an atom of power."—P. 507. Is it not fair to ascribe his moderation to a similar superiority to the antagonist prejudice of those who account the extension of our

sway an unqualified blessing, and conquest on our part a sacred duty? On the whole, though disposed to believe, looking to what has since occurred, that it had been better to have gone through with the operations against Seringapatam when once the siege was begun, we do not feel sufficient confidence in our own opinion, even when backed by that of Mr. Thornton, to concur in the censure pronounced by him upon one of the most conscientious men who ever held sway in the East, because, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, he thought fit to evince as much self-denial in regard to the glory, as he is shewn (page 510) to have done with regard to the more solid benefits derivable from his own successful measures.

Having brought the war with Tippoo, "the great event of Lord Cornwallis' administration," to a close, Mr. Thornton stops firing for a few pages, to give a sketch of that nobleman's internal arrangements; but ashamed apparently of turning aside from loftier and more congenial topics, apologizes for noticing "what may appear to possess little either of interest or instruction."—P. 547. Notwithstanding this disparaging estimate of his own labours, Mr. Thornton's sketch is not badly executed. His account of the previous state of Bengal, though opening with an assertion of far too general application, is substantially correct, as regards that particular province, during the dark period immediately preceding the dawn of the British rule.

"In *all* native states abuse is the rule, not the exception; and Bengal under its latter Nabobs might be taken as a type of the worst ordered. During the period of transition, when the old authority was rapidly falling into decay, and gathering round it the ordinary concomitants of weakness, contempt, and opposition, while that which was supplanting it had as yet neither the physical power nor the moral respect which are the growth of time—when no one precisely knew with whom any particular portion of authority resided, nor in what manner the rights and duties of government were apportioned, between the tottering, sinking musnud of an indolent, effeminate, powerless prince, and the council chamber of the stranger merchants whom the course of events had so wonderfully associated with the destinies of Hindostan—when all was unsettled, indefinable, and precarious, the native policy, which prescribes that each man should secure to himself as large a portion as he can of the objects of human desire, without regard to the means employed, or the personal claims of others, received an extraordinary measure of acceleration and strength."—Vol. ii., p. 516.

While such was the condition of the country, the means at the command of the Governor-General are fairly described in the following passage:—

"The amount of power was altogether unequal to the labour performed—the number of European functionaries was too small—in many cases their acquaintance with Indian character too limited, to allow of their doing much good, while the native agents were often, it is to be feared, too corrupt to effect anything but evil."—P. 547.

Mr. Thornton winds up this part of his subject with a just reflection upon those who forget

"That it is impossible, by a stroke of the pen, to change the character of a people, or to render either useful or popular, institutions not framed with due regard to national habits, or peculiarities."—P. 549.

It is impossible to deny that Lord Cornwallis is in some degree obnoxious to the censure passed in this passage upon "European innovators;" yet when the scantiness of the means at his command is considered, we may not perhaps be entitled to wonder so much at what was amiss in his scheme of government, as at the failure which has attended almost every subsequent departure from the principles upon which it was founded. Those principles were so essentially just and sound, that their influence sufficed to correct in a great measure the errors in the details of the system at the root of which they lay. The separation of the departments of judicial and fiscal administration, and the creation in the former of a body of public servants, to whom the people might look, as peculiarly devoted to their service and to their protection, this was the main and master-principle of the Cornwallis system, and one for abandoning which succeeding governments have been praised by some, but never by those whose praise alone, in such a case, is of any value: namely, the landholders and the people of Bengal.

One great error, however, there was, though it escapes the observation of our author, which did more than anything else to vitiate the whole plan into which it entered. We allude to the measure of sales of land as a means of realizing revenue. Humanity dictated this expedient as a substitute for the modes resorted to by preceding rulers, to obtain payment even of what was most justly due to the State. The native landholders accounted it a point of honour to yield to nothing but compulsion, and therefore all that the British Government had to consider, was what description of compulsion to adopt. Their predecessors had coerced the *persons* of the defaulters, but spared the estate—they, seeking to be more lenient, left the person free, but subjected the *land itself* to a process involving hundreds and thousands in the evils consequent upon the defalcation of a single individual. The expedient was so totally novel, that those

affected by it were slow in arriving at a distinct conception of what was meant by the threat of a sale, as the penalty of a backwardness in paying. Thus old families were crushed, and whole tracts of country passed suddenly into the hands of strangers, persons having no sympathies with the people, to deter them from trampling upon subordinate rights, by them regarded as intercepting the calculated profits of a speculation.

It certainly takes from Lord Cornwallis' credit, that he should not have in some degree anticipated this effect of one of the most important of his measures; but it seems unjust to bear too hard upon his memory, for not foreseeing that which his successors, with all the benefit of experience, have failed to devise any means to correct.

The fact is, that in this as in many other instances, our governors were fain to legislate in deference to European rather than to Asiatic feelings, and in seeking to avoid what might shock the former, failed to perceive how rudely they were dealing with the latter.

"The limited acquaintance with the Indian character," noticed by Mr. Thornton, in a passage above cited, "may in some measure account for the ignorance of the constitution of India," a constitution far older than that of England, displayed in this one measure of Lord Cornwallis' government; but not for the disregard evinced for the well known remark of one of the shrewdest of European statesmen, that the death of the head of a family will be much sooner forgiven than the confiscation of the estate.

The succeeding, as we must admit, too peaceful administration of Lord Teignmouth, is, as was to be expected, painted in most sombre colours, and serves as a gloomy background to the brilliant picture, given in the third volume, of the government of the Marquis of Wellesley. The Marquis is, in fact, the hero to whose praise the whole work is dedicated. Standing in the centre of Mr. Thornton's historical group, he is made to cast all his predecessors into the shade, while his successors only shine by a reflected light borrowed from his brightness. We are, of course, in common with the rest of mankind, fully conscious of the great talents of this distinguished statesman, but even in the department of war and politics, to which he seems to have chiefly bent his mind while in India, the difficulties encountered by him were hardly equal to what Clive and Hastings, at an earlier period, surmounted; whilst, in all the more homely branches of internal administration, we apprehend that he has been surpassed by almost every one of his successors. Assuming Mr. Thornton's estimate of the dangers surrounding the British in India, at the period of Lord Wellesley's arrival in that coun-

try, to be substantially correct, it must be remembered with what advantages he entered upon the task of subduing them. He was supported by the most powerful ministry that had ever ruled in England—he found in India an obsequious council, a full treasury, a well-trained army—and the only deficiency which he had to supply at the outset was that of the will to make use of the means at his command. Is it fair to rate the achievements of one so armed and so supported, above those of Warren Hastings, with few or feeble friends in England, a hostile council, an exhausted treasury, and an army ruled rather by the ascendancy of his genius, than by the influence of his position?

But we think it admits of a doubt, whether the actual dangers to be encountered at the later, can be compared with those of the earlier period. Tippoo, crippled in means and deficient in capacity, was but a puny antagonist in comparison with his father, the self-raised, and therefore of course, able and energetic Hyder Ally. Perron, and the other money-making Frenchmen, opposed to Lord Wellesley on shore, were very inferior persons to Bussy; while at sea, the battle of the Nile, at the very commencement of that nobleman's government, paralyzed the French power, which, in the days of Warren Hastings, maintained, under Suffrein, very nearly an equality with our own. It would be very difficult, in comparing the accidents of the lives of these two great men, to find any situation in the career of Lord Wellesley, so trying as that of Hastings, on the occasion described by Mr. Thornton in the following passage:—

“In carrying on the review of Hastings's conduct, through the remarkable transactions in Benares, it is pleasing to be able to pass from one portion of it, which certainly reflects no honour on him, to another where it would be a breach of justice to withhold the meed of praise. For a time, Hastings was in imminent danger, and no man under such circumstances could have displayed greater intrepidity. His attention was never diverted from public business to personal safety; and, surrounded by sources of alarm, he continued, as far as was practicable, to carry on the correspondence of Government, not only with regard to the affairs of Benares, but to distant objects—to the negotiations with the Mahrattas, and other important affairs. He could not fail to be anxious, even on public grounds, to be relieved from his perilous position; but the consciousness of it neither distracted his thoughts, nor impaired his judgment.

“When at Chunarghur, in hourly expectation of an attack from the enemy, he seems to have discharged his duties with as much coolness and self-possession as if he had been in the council-room at Calcutta. This trait of character has been thought to merit some especial notice, inasmuch as Hastings had not enjoyed the advantage of a military education. Much of the calmness displayed by military men,

under circumstances calculated to excite or distract the mind, is, without doubt, to be attributed to the effects of habit and discipline. Hastings seems to have inherited from nature this valuable gift, and at no part of his life did he manifest it more eminently than when surrounded by the difficulties in which his visit to Benares had involved him." —Vol. ii., p. 310.

We are no blind admirers of Warren Hastings, and readily concede, that the only one among his successors who can stand a comparison with him in regard to talents, was his superior in point of moral qualifications; but we must at the same time maintain, that the circumstances under which the one *preserved*, were much more trying than those under which the other *extended* the British empire in India.

We cannot accompany Mr. Thornton in detail through the history of his favourite administration, yet we must try to find space for a few remarks on the leading events of that brilliant period.

Objecting, as we do, to the severity of the censure pronounced upon Lord Cornwallis, for the terms granted to Tippoo in March 1792, we may yet consistently agree with our author in praising the resolution of Lord Wellesley, under the altered circumstances of the whole world in 1799, to reduce the power of so ruthless and implacable a foe. Had the general peace which prevailed at the former epoch continued, the British Government might have smiled at all the petty plottings and abortive intrigues in which the wounded pride of the humbled despot sought relief; but the world-embracing war that grew out of the French Revolution, changed the whole aspect of affairs, and gave to seeming trifles a real importance and a weight. Nothing could be essentially more ridiculous than the embassy to the Isle of France, Monsieur Malartic's, to us most convenient, proclamation, and the organization of a Jacobin Club, with Citizen Tippoo at its head, in Seringapatam, (Vol. iii., p. 12.) But though, in fact, these acts of Tippoo, while they proved his wish, proved also his want of immediate power to disturb the peace of India, there can be no question as to the policy of turning them to account, in order to justify a step then become so necessary to our security as the extinction of a native state, necessarily hostile to us at heart, and so placed as to be within reach of assistance from that formidable foe, with whom we were then commencing what has been, by a recent French writer, called "*une guerre en duel*."

The preparatory measure of the preceding year, whereby the great error of Lord Wellesley's predecessor, in tolerating the invasion of the territory of one ally by another was repaired, is also deserving of every commendation. The facts are briefly these: —The Nizam, nominally a satrap of the Emperor of Delhi, and

virtually the ruler of the Deccan, a southern province of which Hyderabad is the capital, had acted in alliance with us and the Mahrattas against Tippoo. A treaty concluded before the war, bound the three powers to protect each other against that potentate; but when, after peace was made, the Mahrattas quarrelled with and attacked the Nizam, Lord Teignmouth, upon a quibbling construction of the treaty, refused all aid to the party assailed.

The Nizam, incensed at this ultra-pacific policy, as it is justly designated by Mr. Thornton, (vol. ii., p. 554,) dispensed with the services of two English battalions employed within his territories, and supplied their place by a body of regular native infantry, under the command of French officers. This army had increased to the formidable strength of 14,000 infantry, with a park of forty pieces of ordnance, and a well-trained body of artillerymen; when, in the month of October 1798, it was dispersed, without bloodshed, by a bold and well-timed movement of a British force, in support of a resolution in favour of a British alliance, to which the Nizam and his minister were brought round by the address and firmness of the Resident Captain Kirkpatrick. (Vol. iii., p. 31.)

While we admire the decision and wisdom of this measure, as well as of the expedition against Tippoo which followed, we cannot but be struck with the little talent displayed by the French officers, both at Hyderabad and Seringapatam. The former seem to have allowed themselves to be stript of their power and influence, without, in as far as we can discern, either a perception of the coming danger, or a real effort to avert it; the latter appear to have made no use of whatever influence they did possess, to dissuade their fellow-citizen, Tippoo, from adopting the unwise course of shutting himself up in his capital, to set his throne and life upon the hazard of a siege. Had they undertaken to aid any one of his chieftains, whom he could trust, to hold Seringapatam, and counselled Tippoo himself to keep the field with his cavalry and endeavour to harass the British army, and intercept its supplies, the result might have been different; for we think we have read, though Mr. Thornton does not mention the circumstance, that hardly a day's provisions remained in camp when the place was stormed and taken.

The next great measure was the direct assumption of the government of the Carnatic, a measure much discussed at the time, and ably defended by our author. (Vol. iii., p. 124.) It is sufficient for us to say, that the power of the Nabobs of the Carnatic had been so perverted to evil, their inability to remedy which was proved by long experience, that there could be no question as to our right as the paramount power, to exonerate them from

the charge of the territory brought, through our instrumentality at a previous period, under their rule.

The cessions exacted from Oude in Upper Hindostan towards the end of 1801, come next under consideration. On the death of Asoph-ool-Dewlah in the year 1797, his reputed son, Vizier Allee, succeeded to the throne, but he, on proofs of spurious birth, had been removed by Lord Teignmouth in favour of Saadut Allee, the brother of the last reigning chief. Vizier Allee was removed to Benares, but being there too near the scene of his recent greatness, it was communicated to him through Mr. Cherry, the chief authority on the spot, that he must prepare to remove to Calcutta. To this removal he at first expressed reluctance, but afterwards, to disguise his designs, affected to be reconciled. Revenge on any terms, and at all hazards, appears to have been known to be his object, and of the risk which he, from his having taken a prominent official part in Vizier Allee's deposition, ran in holding unguarded intercourse with one in such a mood, Mr. Cherry had been repeatedly warned. On the evening preceding a day on which Vizier Allee was engaged to breakfast with Mr. Cherry, the latter is said to have been urged by a faithful Hindoo servant to command upon the occasion the presence of a guard of honour, to serve in case of danger as a protection. This counsel was rejected through that spirit of noble, but sometimes rash confidence, which often induces our countrymen in the East to incur unnecessary perils. Vizier Allee came to breakfast, the conversation is said soon to have assumed a tone to awaken suspicion. Mr. Cherry rose to retire, but was dragged back and murdered on the spot. There is a story current that an upper servant of the Mahomedan faith was in league with the assassins, and had dissuaded his master from adopting the precaution recommended by the Hindoo domestic. Another young Hindoo of the Rajpoot caste, also in Mr. Cherry's service, and much attached to him, is said on witnessing his fate to have rushed upon the supposed traitor, and exclaiming, "you are the cause of this, and shall not survive my master," to have stabbed him to the heart, being himself of course immediately despatched by the rest of the gang. They then rushed out, and were proceeding to the house of Mr. Davis, the magistrate of Benares, when they met an English gentleman of the name of Graham, passing in a palankeen. The bearers who were carrying the palankeen closed the curtains, and told the gang that it contained a native lady. They insisted on seeing whether the lady were a native or a European, and on discovering Mr. Graham, put him to death, and passed on to attack Mr. Davis. That gentleman was prepared for their reception. He had placed his wife and family at the top of a spiral staircase, and prepared himself for resistance with

the only weapon at hand,—a spear such as is used in wild boar hunting, when he discovered that one of his children, an infant, had been left below. He had only time to run down, snatch up the child, and ascend with it to the top of the staircase, when Vizier Allee and his followers entered the house. The staircase was fortunately so narrow that only one person could ascend at once, while its spiral form prevented any one from taking aim from below.

Here did “this intrepid man,” as he is justly called by Mr. Thornton, stoutly maintain his ground, and afford time to the other English inhabitants to escape. One of the latter happened to have a race horse of remarkable speed in his stable, and thus mounted he carried the intelligence of what had happened to the nearest military station. There he fortunately found the cavalry coming off morning parade, so that no time was lost in moving to the rescue of Mr. Davis, which was happily effected before any mischief was done beyond the death of a native female servant, who is said to have raised her head for a moment to look over the parapet at the top of the house, and to have been shot in so doing. Vizier Allee escaped at the time, but was afterwards surrendered by the native Prince with whom he had taken refuge, on condition of his life being spared, and was confined during the remainder of his days in Fort-William. There were several men of property, inhabitants of Benares, suspected of being concerned in this affair, who fled at the same time with Vizier Allee. Many years afterwards some of them returned, and having either been tried and acquitted, or else not brought to trial from want of proof, commenced suits in the civil court to recover sums from persons with whom, in preparing to take their part in the plot, they had deposited the amount. This last incident furnishes the most striking proof not only of the spirit of mildness in which our rule, albeit one of conquest, is maintained, but also of the confidence felt by our subjects in our good faith and adherence to the restraints imposed upon our government, in matters affecting life and person, by its own laws.

There may be found a better narrative than ours of this occurrence at page 165 of vol. iii. of Mr. Thornton's work, but we have told what we know in our own words, that we might the more easily introduce one or two little items derived from other sources, which, we think, may prove interesting to our readers. We now return to the consideration of the cessions exacted from the Nabob of Oude. The best justification of this exaction is to be found in its being absolutely necessary for the assertion of our only tenable position in India, that, namely, of the paramount and controlling power, to bring under our own direct sway the greater portion of those provinces along the upper Ganges,

which contain the finest military population, and all the elements of political and military power. It may be safely asserted, that the empire of India must be with those who hold those provinces, and as the Nabob of Oude only held them as the Vizier or Minister of the Emperor, it became necessary either to abandon our pretensions, to stand in the place of the latter, or to insist, as we did, on a surrender to us of some portion of what the former had unduly acquired during the decline of the Moghul dynasty.

This ground could not of course be assumed at the time; but now that disguise is no longer required, we think this frank mode of stating the case to be far preferable to Mr. Thornton's ingenious pleading about the duty of relieving the people from bad government, and the bad faith exhibited by the Nabob in fulfilling the terms of former treaties. Of the bad government plea, we shall have occasion to speak by and bye; as regards the bad faith of the Nabob, it is only necessary to turn to the note at the foot of page 198, vol. ii., to find how facts are strained, to make good this charge.

The imputed bad faith is said to have been evinced in the non-payment of the instalments of the subsidy, on which point the note above cited runs thus :—

“ But it is further to be observed, that the Vizier seems to have strained his claim for the credit of punctuality quite as far as circumstances warranted. Though *no actual default* had occurred, there had been considerable hesitation in making payment, as appears from a passage in a letter from the Governor-General to Mr. Lumsden, Colonel Scott's predecessor. ‘ I wish,’ said his Lordship, ‘ the Nabob could see that it would be a more dignified course to pay his subsidy without giving me the trouble of importuning him. He regularly falls into arrear, and *as regularly* pays up the arrear whenever he learns from me that it has attracted my notice. Would it not be more for his honour and *for my ease*, if he would not wait for my application, but pay punctually as the subsidy becomes due?’ ”

So that after all the bad faith for which he was to forfeit a part of his dominion, consisted in his provokingly requiring to be dunned, and that, too, by the Governor-General, before he would pay.

The offence was grievous, but surely the penalty was of disproportionate severity.

The last and most momentous measure of Lord Wellesley's government, the great Mahratta war, is well described by Mr. Thornton, but not without an over-admixture of his habitual asperity towards our opponents. The truth is, that the war was one in which neither party were much to blame. The Mahrattas and the English found themselves confronted with each other on ground where it was impossible that both could stand. The for-

mer having Delhi and the Emperor in their hands, held that position in Upper India, to which the latter felt that they must attain, to give security to what they already possessed. There could not be two paramount powers, and no moderation on either side could long have averted a collision between those whose ambition had one common aim. But there was also an immediate danger to be provided against, of magnitude sufficient to justify our Government in bringing matters to a crisis with the Mahrattas, though not in loading them, as our author does, with reproach. Alarmed at what they saw, and still more, in the words of one of the most sagacious of their number, at what they did not see, of our strength and resources, the native Princes naturally courted the alliance of our great European rival, and thus it was, that the Mahratta chief Scindia had encouraged the growth within his territory, and on the most vulnerable part of the British frontier, of an almost independent French state. The founder of this new power was De Boigne, a native of Savoy, who, having entered the service of Scindia, raised for him a disciplined army of sixteen battalions of infantry, with a train of eighty pieces of cannon, and retired some years before the time we are treating of, with an enormous fortune to Chamberi, where his tomb now forms one of the sights of the town. His successor was Perron, a French soldier of fortune, under whom the territory assigned by Scindia for the support of his disciplined troops began to assume the form and consistency of a substantive state. Though Napoleon, considering his Oriental cravings, had hitherto turned the opportunities afforded him by the reception of French adventurers at Native courts to but little account, it was not to be expected that he could long remain blind to the advantages derivable from the existence of such a power as that of Perron established in the country between the Ganges and the Jumna, in the very situation of all others the best fitted, if improved, to give him the command of all the resources of the richest and most warlike provinces of Upper India. The timely demolition of that state was therefore essential to our safety, and on the principle of self-preservation, we were warranted in seeking to accomplish such an object, even through the means of a war with those who had given us no other provocation. Internal dissensions among the Mahrattas themselves, over whom four great chiefs at that period exercised divided sway, opened the door to our interference in their affairs. These four were the Peshwa, Holkar, Scindia, and the Raja of Berar, the three last standing in feudal subordination to the first, who nevertheless was the weakest potentate in the confederacy.

A contest between Holkar on the one side, and Scindia and the Peshwa united on the other, ended on the 25th October

1802, in the complete triumph of the former. The Peshwa, separating himself from his ally, fled to Bassein, a town on the coast, not far from Bombay. Here he signed a treaty of a tenor, we may conclude, not very grateful to his feelings, since we are told by Mr. Thornton, that it was nearly to the effect of what the Governor-General had long sought to conclude, though his unremitting efforts to bring it about had been baffled by the Peshwa's "proficiency in all the arts of evasive and dishonest policy."—Vol. iii., p. 275.

The main article, providing for a subsidiary force of six thousand infantry, with its usual complement of artillery, to be permanently stationed *within* the Peshwa's own territories, was one to extenuate the guilt of his previous hesitation, for even Mr. Thornton admits that it was "fatal to his independence."—Vol. iii., p. 276.

Why then, we may ask, expend so many harsh terms upon this chieftain for merely trying to stave off that which it is admitted that it was natural that he should be reluctant to concede? How strong and sincere was the aversion felt to this concession, may be judged of from the fact, that, until reduced by misfortune, even the tender of a portion of the territory taken from Tippoo could not induce the Peshwa to assent to it.—Vol. iii., p. 73. But the condition, if distasteful to the Peshwa, was likely to disgust his feudatories, who, however they might fight among themselves, could never bear to see Poona, the capital of their confederacy, in the hands of the English. The proffered mediation of the British Government, to effect a reconciliation between him and Holkar, was declined by Scindia with a remark—

"That the affairs of the families of Scindia and Holkar had been one and the same from father to son; that heretofore differences had arisen between them, but that these differences had always been adjusted by themselves."—Vol. iii., p. 294.

On this answer Mr. Thornton observes, that it is a

"mere ordinary specimen of the eastern art of putting together words for the ear alone, not for the understanding."—P. 295.

We will not dispute as to whether the people of the East or the West excel most in the art in question; but we think the criticism in this instance most undeserved, for plainer words could hardly be found, wherewith politely to convey a rejection of an offer, than those used on this occasion by Scindia. The negotiations that ensued, were mere formal preludes to the contest which followed as a necessary consequence upon the treaty of Bassein. It is true, as stated by Mr. Thornton, (p. 300), that this treaty contained no article expressly at variance with the rights

of the other Mahratta chiefs, yet its tendency, in placing their feudal superior, the Peshwa, immediately under British influence, was obviously to subject them all to British control, and therefore they had an unquestionable right to endeavour to undo by arms what our diplomacy had effected.

The operations of the war that followed—a war rendered memorable by Wellington's first battle—are well narrated in the volume before us, and merit all the praise which they there receive. Never has there been a war conducted with a more thorough appreciation of time as a most important element of military success. On the 3d August 1803, the British resident, Colonel Collins, withdrew from Scindia's camp. On the 8th of that month, Sir A. Wellesley took Ahmednugger in the Deccan, while on the day preceding, Lord Lake moved out from Cawnpore on the Ganges. In the course of the ensuing month of September, the fortress of Alygurh, the stronghold of Perron's power, was taken, and the battle of Delhi gained by Lord Lake, and that of Assaye by Sir A. Wellesley; in November, the former gained a victory at Laswarree, and the latter at Argaum; while in the course of December, both Scindia and the Raja of Berar had accepted peace upon the conditions imposed by the British, leaving Holkar to carry on the contest, if he chose, by himself. That chieftain had not taken an open part in the alliance against us, but he had done enough to entitle us to regard him as an enemy, and to warrant the orders for hostile operations against him, issued by the Governor-General in April 1804. The campaign that followed was chequered by some disasters. A division, composed entirely of native troops, was detached from Lord Lake's army in Upper India, to press Holkar from that quarter, while another, under Colonel Murray, advanced to attack him from the side of Bombay. The whole operation failed. Colonel Murray was the first to retreat, and this movement emboldened Holkar to assume the offensive, and move against Colonel Monson, who, though an officer of the most tried spirit, unhappily knew little of his men, and placing no confidence in them, resolved also to retire. This was in the month of July, at the beginning of the rainy season, and the retreat that followed is justly stated by Mr. Thornton to be "among the most lamentable transactions which the history of British India presents to notice." The main cause of the disaster was Colonel Monson's groundless distrust of his men; for though at last one instance of very partial defection did occur, yet in general the conduct of the troops was admirable, and on one occasion in crossing a river, a single battalion of native infantry not only resisted an attack of the enemy, but charged and drove them from several of their guns. "Oh if Lake would but just drop down among us, how soon would

we not drive those fellows away" was, we have been told, an exclamation often heard from the ranks of the Sepoys during their retrograde and painful march to Agra.

Elated by his success, Holkar advanced to the Jumna, and on the 10th October attacked Delhi, but was repelled by a small British garrison, under the command of Colonel Burn. Holkar's infantry and artillery were soon afterwards defeated near Deeg, in the Bhurtpore territory, by General Fraser, while his cavalry were driven out of the Company's provinces by Lord Lake. It was then resolved to punish the Raja of Bhurtpore for siding as he had done with Holkar. His fortress of Deeg was taken by assault on the 13th December 1804, and on the first day of the next year Lord Lake moved towards Bhurtpore. Here he was doomed to meet with his only serious reverse, and on the 22d February the siege was raised after our having sustained a loss of about three thousand men in the course of a series of most desperate assaults. The real reason of this failure was that assigned for it by an old native of Bhurtpore, who, in talking not long ago to an English gentleman of the event, said, "Why, Lord Lake attacked the place with an army not larger than two marriage processions; how could he have succeeded?" Deficiency of materials as well as of men reduced the contest to what the natives of India call a battle of earth against flesh.

Still the place was bravely defended, and the people of Bhurtpore have as good cause as those of New Orleans to plume themselves on having, with the aid of stout entrenchments, beaten back a British army. The Raja, rejoicing at his escape, gladly accepted of peace on terms favourable to our character and interests. Various discussions with Scindia ensued, and Holkar was driven by Lord Lake into the Punjab, where he was fain to accept of peace upon such conditions as our Government, which had then passed into the hands of Lord Cornwallis, and afterwards of Sir George Barlow, thought it wise to prescribe.

It will be seen from what we have written, that our admiration of Lord Wellesley's talents is little short of that professed by our author, still we must hesitate to subscribe to the opinion expressed at the close of his eulogium on that nobleman,

"That the duration of the British Government in India, as far as human means are concerned, will depend on the degree in which his policy is maintained or abandoned."—Vol. iii. p. 575.

The policy so commended is, it is true, pronounced by Mr. Thornton to be essentially pacific; but is not this, we would ask, what has been professed by every advocate of conquest since the days of Sesostris? Had any one the word peace more often in

his mouth than Napoleon? Does not our author himself let us see that by peace he means but a consummation of conquest, when he ridicules Sir George Barlow for the remark in his letter to Lord Lake, that

“such a system of control must in its nature be progressive, and must ultimately tend to a system of universal dominion.”—Vol. iv. p. 44.

And “where would be the evil” if it does? is the taunting remark on this passage. We shall reply in the sequel to this query, but must now notice our author’s most unflattering sketch of the second government of Marquis Cornwallis, of which that of Sir George Barlow may be regarded as a continuation. We have already seen, in the account of his first administration, how low a place Lord Cornwallis holds in our author’s estimation, as regards the intellectual qualifications for his high office; we now find even his moral merits to be called in question.

He is taxed with seeking to “revile the policy of his illustrious predecessor,” and with making professions of anxiety to secure the confidence of the native states at the very time when his contemplated measures were calculated to destroy all confidence in the justice and good faith of the British Government. (Vol. iv. p. 31.) It is a bold charge to advance, that of insincerity and injustice, against one whose very name has hitherto been regarded both by natives and Europeans, as almost synonymous with both the correlative virtues.

To reproaches such as Lord Cornwallis here incurs, every man subjects himself who attempts to stay the onward career of conquest. At every step in that career connexions and alliances must be formed, and promises be implied or given, all of which cannot be maintained or fulfilled by him on whom the ungrateful task devolves, of returning to a more tranquil and moderate line of policy. So it happened in the instance under consideration. There were several small states to the west of the Jumna whose safety seemed to be jeopardized, though in fact they have not been injured by the relinquishment of some of the schemes embraced in Lord Wellesley’s prospectus. Of these instances Mr. Thornton makes the most, and it is quite edifying to contrast his generous indignation at the risks to which Lord Cornwallis exposed a few of the independent princes of India, with the satisfaction evinced in another passage above cited, at the prospect of their all being swallowed up in that “universal dominion,” towards which, in his opinion, apparently, Lord Wellesley’s system tended.

We have neither the space nor the desire to discuss the correctness of our author’s censures on the *details* of Lord Cornwallis’ and Sir George Barlow’s administration. Their measures must be judged of by the general result, and this has not

been such as to support the justness of the sentence pronounced upon them. Scindia, for sparing whom they are both most blamed, was the only one of the Mahratta confederacy who did not declare against us in the Pindaree war of 1817; and although the military power of that State has very recently been annihilated by us in the field, yet it would be premature at the present moment to assert that this step has been one of absolute necessity, or even of good policy, on our part. The petty states for whose safety so much anxiety is evinced, are all alive to this hour, and surer sources of strength to us in their position of dependent allies, than they could have been if incorporated with our possessions, as must have been their fate long ere this, but for the moderation of Lord Wellesley's immediate successors.

In summing up the character of Lord Cornwallis, our author gives him credit for none but commonplace qualities, though them he admits that he possessed of the highest order. The brilliancy of his reputation he describes as artificial, and now to be passing away. This may be the case in Europe, but in India, in those provinces especially that came more directly under his sway, his name is still fresher in the recollection of the people, than that of any other Governor-General, excepting perhaps Warren Hastings. The natives of India are ever alive to any demonstrations of interest in their welfare, on the part of their rulers, and there ran through the measures of Cornwallis, despite his occasional mistakes, a vein of kindly sympathy with the people, such as is ever sure to command a return of warm and enduring gratitude from them.

We must now pass on to the administration of Lord Minto, the first permanent successor to the Marquis of Wellesley, who reached India in July 1807. This nobleman having been remarkable for his attention to the instructions, and deference to the understood wishes of the Court of Directors, is of course but coldly commended by our author. His expeditions against the Isle of France and Java, were so well conceived and executed, that it is but fair to suppose that he could, if he had thought proper, have achieved a conquest in India, to merit the meed of Mr. Thornton's praise. But his system was one of forbearance and moderation, and as such is necessarily condemned by those who rate ambition as the most essential attribute of an able Governor-General. But Lord Minto had other merits of too homely a nature to attract our author's notice. He found the internal administration of the country in a state of most discreditable disorder. In the lower provinces, those namely of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the consequences of that great error of Lord Cornwallis' commission, the abrupt introduction of the measure of selling land, in realization both of revenue and of judicial de-

crees, and of that *entire* devotion to the business of war and conquest which we must account as the great fault of Lord Wellesley's government, had become apparent in a state of things which we can best render intelligible to our purely European readers by comparing it with the state of Ireland towards the end of the last century. The agricultural communities throughout the country, deprived of their ancient chiefs by whatever title designated, and either subjected to strangers, or ejected by the latter from their hereditary lands, to make way for a more pliant tenantry, with no pretensions to any hereditary rights, finding themselves at once deprived of their livelihood and emancipated from all control, were in the position of all others the most certain to dispose them, either actively to disturb the tranquillity of the country, or indirectly to side with those by whom it was assailed. The effects were what might have been anticipated. Furious affrays arose out of disputes between the old and new possessors of the land; gangs of regularly organized robbers were formed in various districts, some in the immediate vicinity of Calcutta, while the European magistrates found themselves isolated and unable to command the co-operation of the people, even in measures the best adapted to the people's own protection. All of this had gone on for years, attracting but little the notice of Government, when Lord Minto first turned his mind to the subject, and by showing that some other than political and military merit could attract attention and earn reward, inspired the whole body of the magistracy with a spirit of activity leading to exertions, which steadily followed up, have, we believe, greatly abated, if they have not entirely subdued, the evils that had grown up under his predecessors.

Of all who followed the Marquis of Wellesley, it is the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, who seems to approach most nearly to our author's standard of perfection. The war with Nepal, and that usually designated the Pindari war, may indeed both be confidently pronounced to have been unavoidable, and therefore justifiable. Both (with the exception noticed by Mr. Thornton, vol. iv., p. 282, *et seq.*, in the management of the first campaign against Nepal) were well planned and skilfully conducted, and both ended in a decided increase, not merely to the territory but to the strength and solidity of the British Indian empire. It is curious, as exhibiting the tone and temper of our author's mind, and his horror of even the most moderate moderation, to observe that, while at p. 346, he admits that the war with Nepal ended in a way to confer security on the British frontier, he yet in another passage, p. 333, vol. iv., blames the Governor-General for yielding to that state the Turace, or the tract on the plains immediately contiguous to the

hills. If Mr. Thornton were to inquire, he would learn that, without that tract, the people of Nepal must starve, for there the greater part of the grain consumed by them is reared. To have withheld it, would have been incompatible with that existence, as an independent state, which it was their object, in agreeing to the treaty, to secure, so that to blame the Governor-General for this concession, is to blame him for stopping short of the entire conquest of the whole country,—and this, we suspect, is precisely what is meant, though not openly avowed.

We have said that Lord Hastings' administration is generally praised by Mr. Thornton, but not, in one respect, to the extent which we consider to be his due. In providing for the administration of the provinces acquired under his government, Lord Wellesley did little more than subject them to the system established by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal. This system, with all of its uncorrected defects, was at once transplanted among a people differing in character from those of Bengal as much as the Scotch peasant does from the Italian contadino, and its working would have proved most disastrous if its evil tendencies had not been corrected after the lapse of about ten years by measures adopted under Lord Hastings' immediate direction. This great error, the latter nobleman avoided in all the territory of his own acquiring, throughout which he was most careful to commence with a form of administration the best suited to the peculiar character of its inhabitants.

Lord Hastings deserves credit also for another measure, that of paving the way for the abolition of the suttee, by subjecting the practice to certain limitations and restraints. This partial interference prepared the minds of the people for what followed, and rendered the final abolition of that horrid rite more easy than it could have been found if abruptly attempted. The interference of Government provoked discussion, and this led to the formation of a party among the Hindoos themselves, who denounced the practice as at variance with the principles of their own religion, and were, of course, ready to second the order which all parties anticipated, for its absolute prohibition.

Our conjecture that Mr. Thornton writes by authority, derives confirmation, from his passing in silence over the interregnum that followed upon the departure of the Marquis of Hastings, when Mr. John Adam (the son of our late Chief-Commissioner) was for a while the Governor-General of India.

This period, though brief, was marked by one event calculated to elicit some expression of opinion from the historian, for it was then that the press, which, during the latter years of the Marquis of Hastings' government, had assumed to itself a degree of permissive freedom, was subjected to some not very stringent, but

to those immediately concerned, most unpalatable regulations. These remained in force for about ten years, when Sir Charles Metcalfe, in the course of another interregnum, removed every restriction, and conferred upon British India the dubious blessing, as it was by many accounted, of a totally unshackled press. This measure, received with applause by the European, and with indifference by the great bulk of the native community, is believed to have given but scanty satisfaction to those whose influence will alone account for Mr. Thornton's not embracing the opportunity afforded him of doing justice to others whom we may pronounce to be in one respect, his most sympathizing allies. The liberated press of India has of course branched off into numerous sections, of various shades and complexions, but these, however discordant upon other points, all concur in advocating that line of policy to preach up which seems to be the great object of Mr. Thornton's work.

The Indian editors are all Sempronii, and in their columns there is as little toleration of any manifestation of "a weak desire for peace," as is to be found in Mr. Thornton's pages. This ardour for conquest has, in their case, a tendency to realize its own wishes, for now that our papers are read at every court, the reiterated expression of a desire for their extinction, cannot but create a feeling of angry apprehension in the breasts of Native rulers, the most likely of all moods to precipitate them into some act sufficiently hostile in appearance to constitute the justification of a war. It is in this way, and also in babbling about every military preparation, however desirable its concealment, that the press has fulfilled, while in other respects it must be admitted to have disappointed, the forebodings of those opposed to its liberation. Still, it must be remembered, that the press has as yet not taken possession of the Native mind, and that, therefore, its potency as an engine of eventual excitement can hardly be computed from what is seen of its immediate operation. The papers in the Native languages have as yet but a limited and languid circulation beyond the confines of the Presidencies; the day may come when every district shall have its organ, and who will venture to say that their tone will, in general, be favourable to our interests? But our object is to notice, not to supply what Mr. Thornton has omitted, and we must now resume our walk through his historical gallery.

The Burmese war was the first great event of Lord Amherst's administration, and this terminating in an act of forbearance on our part, seems to afford the very occasion that our author might have been expected to seize with avidity, in order to exemplify the mischievous tendency of the policy which he systematically condemns. But our readers will, we fear, be disappointed if they.

search as we have done, in Mr. Thornton's pages, for any proofs of the stability of our empire having been shaken by an exhibition of moderation some twenty years ago, on the Irrawaddy. A few strictures we find on the military operations, and some sneers in a note, (vol. v., p. 97,) at the reasons assigned by Colonel Snodgrass, in his history of the war, for our General's not advancing to Ameeripoora, when two marches would have placed that city in his possession. This is all, and at this our space will only allow us to glance.

Admitting the probability that our expedition sailed for Rangoon in the summer of 1824, under a mistaken calculation of the possibility of ascending the river at that season, it does not follow that the subsequent operations were thereby impaired. On the contrary, we are inclined to think that the detention of our troops at the sea-port of Rangoon, affording time for the enemy to collect all his force, and send army after army to be shattered against our position, went further than any rapid movement partaking of the nature of a surprise could have done, towards disenchanting the Burmese, and awakening them from that dream of superiority in arms to other nations, which made them almost as troublesome neighbours as we should ourselves, under Mr. Thornton's training, soon become. So much for the graver strictures; as to the sneer in the note, it will, we believe, provoke a smile to find a civilian making light of difficulties deemed serious by such experienced soldiers as the late Sir A. Campbell and his military secretary and historian, Colonel Snodgrass. A greater master in the art of war even than they, Napoleon himself, was wont sometimes to stop short of an attainable advantage, in order to gain from the fears of his opponent what his despair might not have yielded; and in no instance could such a policy have been more expedient than in that of an army placed as ours was before Ava, at 600 miles from the sea, its strength so reduced by climate that six European regiments contained altogether only thirteen hundred men, and its long line of communication only kept open for the time by a chain of posts at intervals of from thirty to fifty miles along the course of the Irrawaddy.

It is true, that our author asserts that the occupation of the capital would have been followed by the submission of the Burmese monarch and his people, but as such an expectation is at variance with all that is known of the Burmese character, we may be forgiven for passing it over with only this remark, that we ought to have been told how he would have provided for the contingency of its proving fallacious.

The capture of Bhurtpore was the second event of Lord Amherst's time, and on this we need only observe, that our author very clearly proves what hardly any body will now dis-

pute, that the measure was one of absolute and imperative necessity for the due maintenance of our position as the paramount power in India. Little is said of Lord Amherst's public character, and he is dismissed with a mere notice, that in March 1828 he left India; it might have been added, with the credit of having waged no war of even questionable justice, and of having brought two to a triumphant conclusion, when both were pressed upon him at once. Lord William Bentinck closes the series of satraps whom our author summons up to pass before him in review, and for him, as the least warlike and the most studiously obedient of Governor-Generals, the most disparaging terms of Mr. Thornton's vocabulary of censure appear to have been reserved. Lord William, indeed, is blamed for all he did, and all he left undone. He is blamed for even aspiring to the office of Governor-General, vol. v., p. 177, and sneered at because his administration was not "fertile in great events."—P. 215. His hesitation to act upon the permission granted him by the Home authorities (a permission denounced at the time, if we remember right, by the present prime minister, Sir R. Peel) to take possession of Oude, is contemptuously noticed as "an act perfectly in accordance with the general character of his administration."—P. 216.

His "signal manifestation of obedience," and, it might in fairness have been added, of courage, in carrying through, the Court of Directors' own order for a certain reduction of military allowances, is, with what we must pronounce, considering the quarter whence it proceeds, a most signal manifestation of ingratitude, ascribed to a weak and unworthy motive.—P. 224. His whole administration is declared to be "almost a blank."—P. 234; and his departure from India in May 1834, is mentioned as that of the most do-nothing of all the Governor-Generals excepting Sir G. Barlow. Vanity and a love of admiration are alleged to have been the main motives of all the measures of his government, excepting one, the abolition of the suttee, in which our author is charitable enough to hope that Lord W. Bentinck

"was influenced by what was due to Him by whom that government has been so wonderfully established, and the empire subject to it so wonderfully extended."—P. 236.

That Lord W. Bentinck was, in a degree beyond perhaps what can be asserted of any of his predecessors, under the control of the influence here alluded to—that he acted under a constant sense of his accountability to the Giver of all good, for the use made by him of the power intrusted into his hands, we most sincerely believe; and therefore, though disapproving of many of his measures, we reject as uncharitable and unfounded the

supposition that these all originated in mere vanity and love of admiration. That he was altogether exempt from these weaknesses, we do not consider it necessary to maintain. The love of praise is natural to man, and indifference in that respect is not always symptomatic of a well-regulated or healthy state of mind—but there is a wide difference between even an over-earnest desire for honest praise, and that sickly craving which it is evidently our author's meaning to impute to Lord William Bentinck. Suspiciousness rather than vanity was, in our opinion, Lord William's besetting foible, and he was as often misled by his distrusts as others are by their partialities.

An observation of the Cardinal du Retz, “*que les hommes se trompent plus souvent par leurs mefiances, que par leurs confiances,*” received almost a literal confirmation in his case.

His most unhappy mistake, that of letting Shah Shooja, in 1834, collect an army in our territory, and march off with it to attack Dost Moohummud Khan, with whom we were then at peace, seems to have escaped even our author's unfriendly ken. And yet “*Hoc fonte derivata clades.*”

His most meritorious step in favour of the people of India, in like manner, passes unobserved, and the historian omits all allusion to the circumstance of Lord William's having been the first to make any serious attempt to correct the great evil of our domination, namely, the exclusion of natives from stations of power and influence, and the mortification of all ambition and stagnation of hope that is thus produced.

It is true, as will appear in the sequel, that little has as yet been accomplished in this walk, yet, should ever the efforts still in progress be crowned with complete success, it is to Lord William Bentinck that the credit will belong of having made the first decided effort in the right direction.

The medical college in Calcutta, whence a number of highly educated young natives are annually going forth to carry the benefit of modern science into the bosoms of families whose prejudices would prevent their receiving it at the hands of European practitioners, is another blessing for which future generations may have cause to look back with gratitude to the same amiable nobleman. Yet our author does not turn aside from his favourite topics to notice even this institution, although from the affinity subsisting between the sciences of surgery and war, it seems to have a sort of claim upon his attention.

Here we might stop but for our promise to answer Mr. Thornton's query, as to “what would be the evil of that universal dominion” towards which, we have seen that, in Sir George Barlow's opinion, the system advocated throughout the work before us inevitably tends. The very tone of this query indicates a

foregone conclusion, and shows how sagacious those Mahratta chiefs were, who, at an early stage in our progress, expressed a suspicion that "England was looking to the entire dominion of India."—Vol. iv., p. 466. On the other hand, it has been remarked by two of the most intelligent of the Eastern chiefs of recent celebrity, Runjeet Sing and Dost Mohammed Khan, that one secret of our strength lay in this—that by leaving many of the native princes in the enjoyment of much that we might easily, if we chose, appropriate to ourselves, we have never had to contend with their despair. This security the system of progressive conquest evidently tends to diminish, but it does even more, and creates a further danger which, though it has escaped our author's observation, ought to be well weighed by those who are disposed to act upon his principles. To the despair of the reigning chiefs, whom we may humble, there is to be added the despair of all those who, from hereditary pretensions or personal character, are susceptible of the impulse of ambition even in its most subdued and best-regulated mood. Admitting, for the sake of argument, all that is said by Mr. Thornton of the misgovernment of native rulers, and the comparative excellence of our own administration, to be correct; still the benefits conferred by the latter are not such as are calculated to satisfy any but those who are contented with a mere quiet existence, uncheered by a hope of all that men of energy in every clime most highly prize. Distinction, high place, and power, all the objects of laudable ambition—are, by our assumption of the direct rule of any province, at once placed beyond the attainment of its inhabitants of every class and grade. This follows through no fault of ours, but as an inevitable consequence of our position as foreign conquerors, among a people differing from us not less in feeling and thought, than in complexion and language. The best efforts of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland have been directed with but little effect to devising a remedy for this stagnation of native ambition, even in the provinces that have been longest under our rule. The absolute necessity of intrusting all real authority to those who alone can be absolutely trusted, renders a monopoly of high place by Europeans an inevitable consequence of the subjection of any Asiatic country to European sway.

The sole remedy, therefore, or rather palliative of the evil in question, is to be found in our contenting ourselves with being the *paramount*, without seeking to be the *only* power in India. While we are contented to be merely the paramount protecting power, each native court that is spared, acts as a safety-valve, by holding out prospects of suitable employment to the ambitious even among our own subjects, and by taking into the ranks of

its disorderly armies, numbers of men who loathe the restraints of our military service, and if not provided for, would at best only contribute to swell the mass of that sullen discontent which is more to be dreaded than the open hostility of any chief under whose banners they might be enrolled. It is, indeed, admitted by our author,

“That for the sake of preserving some useful gradations in society, as well as to cast over its frame-work a covering of grace and dignity, it is expedient to uphold the distinctions of rank and birth.”—Vol. iv., p. 563.

This is well expressed, yet our author fails to show how these distinctions are to be upheld, if all the independent native principalities, where they flourish best, are, in accordance with his general principles, to be absorbed into one huge levelling empire.

But our author, in another passage, maintains, not only that native governments are bad, but that “they cannot be good, for the elements of good government do not there exist.”—Vol. iv., p. 560.

By this we understand it to be meant, that what in Europe are accounted the elements of good government, are not to be found in India, or indeed in any country to the east of the Bosphorus; for we cannot suppose our author to have the hardihood to maintain that India, during the ages upon ages of its existence as a settled and civilized land, has never known what it was to be well ruled, according to its own notions, in any quarter of its wide extent, until writers and cadets from Leadenhall Street first landed on its shores. The traces of former prosperity that are to be found in various parts of the country, the records of some portions of its past history, and still more, the actual state of many provinces under native rule at the present day, suffice to prove the above assertion to be made in far too wide and sweeping terms.

There is a distinction to be drawn between countries under native rulers, in a measure alien to the people of the land, and those under chiefs of indigenous growth. The former, of which the Nizam's territory in the Deccan, the Mahratta's round Gualior, and Oude, may be taken as examples, are often, though not invariably, ill-governed; for Mr. Thornton himself tells us, vol. ii., p. 560, of the prosperity of the dominions under the Rohilla chief, of Afghan origin, Fyzoola Khan.

Of the latter class, many of the states of Rajpootana, and on the borders of our province of Bundelcund, will be found to be as well administered as our own districts in regard to general protection and security, and far better as concerns the feelings and sensibilities of the people.

It is true, that all their prosperity is owing to our preserving

the general peace, and keeping out the foreign invader; but this only proves that our proper position in India is that of the protecting and not of the *sole* administering power. *Much* of course we must keep in our own hands, that we may command a sufficient revenue; our reasoning is only directed against those who would have us grasp at *all*.

It is an irksome task to recount what we consider to be the defects of our Indian government, but our reply to Mr. Thornton's query would be incomplete without a few words on that subject, and happily his own pages supply us with almost all that seems to be required. In the course of some admirable remarks on a most serious disturbance, or rather insurrection, that was caused at Bareilly, in Upper India, in 1816, by the imposition of a police tax, we find the following passage:—

"Riots like these, when they meet with such a termination, are usually regarded by historical writers as of small importance; but this is an error: they afford an index to the state of public feeling, and if maturely considered, are replete with important lessons to rulers and statesmen. From occurrences not more important than those at Bareilly, mighty empires have had to date their ruin, and new dynasties their accession to power. Such transactions show the tendency of public feeling; they disclose the possible sources of danger, and teach the legislator what he may do—what he should refrain from doing. The instruction indeed is lost upon mere closet politicians—upon those who sit and frame constitutions and laws for all the nations of the earth, without any reference to the peculiar habits, feelings, and opinions prevailing among those who are to be governed by them; but upon minds of sounder quality it is not thrown away.

"The tax imposed at Bareilly was of small amount, and it had been introduced without much difficulty throughout a considerable portion of India; but it was at variance with the habits of the people upon whom it was attempted to be levied, and it offended many prejudices. It was a change—this in India is always regarded as an evil. It might be a beneficial change, but it is useless and *dangerous to insist upon benefiting men against their will*."

Yet this is precisely the fault to which we, from our character and position in India, are of all things most prone, and the following instance taken from a period posterior to that embraced by the plan of our author's Work, and from a province at the opposite extremity of our dominions from Bareilly, will show the soundness of his general reasoning upon the circumstances attending the insurrection at that place.

In the year 1837, a rebellion suddenly broke out in the district of Mangalore, on the Malabar coast. It rapidly over-spread the whole district, and was joined in by men of every class and rank, even by the paid officers of government, some of whom did their utmost to dissuade their European superiors from

removing the public treasure into a vessel then in the harbour, in the hope that the insurgents with whom they were in communication might arrive in time to secure it to themselves. The insurrection was suppressed by the timely arrival of troops in steam-vessels from Bombay, and due inquiry was made into the causes of so unexpected an outbreak. The main grievance to which it could be traced turned out to be our practice of selling lands, in striking confirmation of what Mr. Thornton says about "trying to benefit men against their wills," for there cannot be a doubt as to the humane motives of those by whom that measure was substituted for the ruder modes of forcing people to pay their debts either to the State or to individuals, that were formerly in use.

Another instance of the same error and its effects may be found in the disturbances which our readers may have observed to occupy a place in the overland summaries of news from India, under the head of Bundelcund. For nearly four years have parts of that province and the contiguous districts of Saugor been the scene of a harassing warfare between the troops and the people of the country, acting like guerillas. Quiet has at last been restored, and the inquiries set on foot prove the previous disturbance to have originated chiefly in our own love of over-interference, in changes of property caused by the working of our system, and in constant attempts of our officers to set every one right, as if the people could not manage the most ordinary concerns of life without their aid.

We quote these instances not to disparage our Indian Government, than which one more anxious for the welfare of its subjects, or on the whole, considering the stupendous difficulties it has to contend against, more efficiently administered, exists not on earth, but merely to show that there is still enough for us to do in perfecting our rule within our present limits, and that we have no spare beneficial power that may run to waste if further conquest provide not a field for its development.

It is also to be remembered that foreign conquest can only be pursued at the cost of the people of our paying provinces, who suffer both from the drain of treasure, and by the interruption of useful works, to furnish funds for the support of external war. The people of Upper India have at this instant to lament the stop that has been put to a canal for the irrigation of the country between the Ganges and the Jumna, and calculated to secure them from a return of those visitations of famine, to which on any failure of the annual rains they are exposed. This noble work was sanctioned by Lord Auckland, but the necessities of the State have caused its execution to be put off, and so it must remain, until some Governor-General shall arise with courage to

brave the reproaches of future historians, and by courting peace give our Indian finances time to recruit.

We say not this in jest, for we are persuaded that it really does require some courage, and much self-denial in a Governor-General, and still more in officers in lower situations of political influence, to adhere to a pacific course, when by adopting a contrary line they can so readily command present praise, and often future fame. Nothing is more easy than to lead an Asiatic power to put itself in the wrong, so as to make itself appear to European eyes as the party provoking a war. All that our diplomatist has to do, in order to produce this effect, is to adopt a harsh, brief, peremptory, and essentially European tone, in his communications with the Prince on whom he has to operate. This will secure for him the laudation of his own countrymen for firmness and decision, and will make the Native Prince conclude that his chances of safety in peace are gone, and then, in mere recklessness, he will be sure to commit himself. If the diplomatist, on the other hand, by accommodating his manner and his expressions to the feelings and comprehension of the Native Chief, with whom some misunderstanding may exist, shall succeed in opening his eyes to the *real* objects of our Government, and by satisfying him of the sincerity of our professions, shall bring him to yield quietly to any reasonable demand, his conduct will probably either pass unnoticed, or bring down upon him reproach for want of spirit and dignity. There is no service more rare than that which is to be done uncheered by general sympathy, but the task becomes depressing when it is to be performed under a consciousness that those for whose benefit it is intended will receive it with coldness. This is the impression which, from its almost official character, a work like Mr. Thornton's is calculated to produce, and it is in this respect that its influence is, in our opinion, calculated to prove far from beneficial.

Though apparently postponed for the present, it is evident that a war with the power ruling the Punjab, whatever it may be, is still the darling object of every ambitious mind in India, and he who thwarts the general wish of his countrymen out there, will stand in need of all the encouragement he can get from his superiors and employers in England. This, however, is exactly what our author forbids him to anticipate, and therefore the duty must be performed by some one who shall be contented with the approbation of his own conscience, and require no countenance or support from without. Still the duty in question, that of averting a war with the Sikhs, may be one of the first importance as regards our real interests, and our national character. The boundary which we now possess with the Sutledge issuing from the Himalaya mountains

at the very point where our European troops can be cantoned in a climate congenial to their constitution, and the other four rivers of the Punjab in our front, is the very best, in a military point of view, that can be found. There is nothing equal to it in advance, and if we cross the Sutledge we must also cross the Indus, and go on till Herat and Bamean become our outposts, and then we may soon expect to have Russia literally as our neighbour. This will be a stupendous movement, and one sure to be fatal in one way or other to the power of the East India Company, since it is not to be supposed that they would long be suffered to govern a state thus brought into immediate contact with all the relations of European politics. But Mr. Thornton has so clearly shown the direct interference of the Ministers of the Crown in the administration of India, to have in every instance proved mischievous, that we must deprecate any step having a tendency to deprive that empire of the benefit of being under the immediate governance of the Court of Directors, and to reduce it to the condition of a Downing Street Colony.

As we now stand, we have the Sikh, a Hindoo power, interposed between us and the Mussulman population of Western Asia. These two powers, separated by religious antipathy and hereditary rivalry, can never coalesce, unless perhaps under the pressure of a menaced invasion by us. This advantage must be thrown away by our occupation of the Punjab, and for this, among other reasons, we must hope that no soldier of ours may ever cross the Sutledge, except to chastise aggression or repel invasion. It is just also to remember, that however provoking the conduct of the Sikh soldiery may at times have been, the Sikh government has ever acted a friendly part towards us. During the disastrous progress of the early part of our war with Nepal in 1814, during the agitation attending the Pindarrec war in 1817, during the slowly advancing, and, as it was thought at the time, dubious war with Ava in 1824 and 25, and, lastly, during our recent season of humiliation and calamity, the Sikh government stood faithful to its engagements, and actively co-operated with us lately, at a time when a contrary conduct on its part might have aggravated to a fearful extent all the perils of our position. That this conduct on these occasions, especially on the last, was greatly owing to the high talent displayed by those gentlemen to whom the conduct of our relations with that State were intrusted is most true; but still, it cannot be denied that the Sikhs have earned a title to some consideration on our part, and that a rupture with them on insufficient grounds, would subject us to the reproach of being ready to trample under foot where it suits our convenience, every recollection of past obligation.

We cannot, however, pursue this subject without abandoning the guidance of Mr. Thornton, whose history stops upon the very threshold of that eventful period when its principles have been made to undergo the trying test of such a course of experimental application as he could neither have desired or anticipated.

Should he be induced to continue his labours, and to compile from the ample store of materials at his command, a full connected account of what is at present only known to us by separate narratives and disjointed despatches, we shall be prepared to accompany him over the inviting field that remains to be traversed with the same attention that we have shewn in following his footsteps upon the more beaten ground across which we have been travelling under his escort.

There is every thing to tempt one who writes with so much facility as Mr. Thornton, to endeavour to secure to himself, by timely industry, the honour of being the first to give to the world a calm historical view of a series of events, fraught not more with interest than with instruction, and big with the proofs of the overruling influence of that dread Power which shapes men's ways, rough hew them as they may.

In the subdued and humbled frame of mind likely to be induced by the contemplation of those fearful scenes, there will, we think, be a suspension, if not an extinction of such fond feelings in favour of his own cherished opinions as might at other times warp the historian's judgment, and therefore we are inclined to anticipate, if he adopts our hint, a readiness on our author's part to admit the tendency of some of the principles maintained in the volumes before us to engender that pride of heart, which, in nations as in individuals, is often the forerunner of destruction, though in our case it has only brought down upon us a retributive, and it may be a salutary castigation.

But while we think that our author may find in the contemplation of the occurrences of more recent years, reason to modify some of the opinions pronounced in his comments on the history of an anterior period, we are equally satisfied that he will meet with nothing to shake his confidence in the wisdom of that provision so well defended by him throughout his present work, whereby the government of British India is kept in the hands of a separate, and in great measure, an independent body, like the Court of Directors.

There are none who can have more reason to encourage the continuation here recommended than those under whose auspices the work appears to have been commenced, for none we are persuaded, can gain more than they would do from the fullest detail that can be given of the events of the last few years, and of the manner in which our Indian administration has during that

period been affected by the views and interests of parties in England.

The freedom of our strictures in the course of the present article, will save us from the imputation of any undue bias in favour of the honourable body to whom we here allude, but there are some other misconstructions against which we would secure ourselves before we conclude.

We may, we fear, incur the reproach of a portion of our readers, for laying too much stress on expediency, and too little on the stricter principles of political morality, in our defence of the means that brought some of our acquisitions under our sway, especially those gained during Lord Wellesley's government in Upper India. To them we can only reply, that between asserting our supremacy as the paramount power, and entirely abandoning our position in India, there is no middle course; and that they who are not prepared to embrace the latter, have no right to blame those who adopt the former alternative.

On the other hand, there may be many disposed to tax us with cavilling at conquest, and seeking to check that spirit of enterprise by which, in their opinion, our Government in India, to acquit itself of its duties, ought mainly to be animated. Our reply to this class will be, that in admitting the propriety of every conquest that can be shown to be essential to the support of our position as the paramount power in India, we have allowed as great a latitude as a government with any pretensions to principle, can possibly desiderate.

To those, in the last place, who can be reconciled to any extension of our dominion, by regarding it as an onward step in the scheme of God's Providence to serve some high ulterior purpose, we would urge that this plea cannot be advanced in previous justification of any avoidable measure, and that there is, moreover, room to suspect some lurking fallacy in an argument which goes to give a specious colour of religious duty to the gratification of a passion so strong and so universal, as the love of conquest.

- ART. III.—1. *Registrum Monasterij de Passelet ; Cartas Privilegia Conventiones aliaque Munimenta complectens. A domo fundata A. D. 1163 usque ad A. D. 1529. Ad fidem codicis M.S. in Bibliotheca Facultatis Juridicæ Edinensis servati, nunc primum typis mandatum.* Edinburgi, 1832. (Maitland Club. Edited by COSMO INNES, Esq., Advocate.)
2. *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis e pluribus codicibus consarcinatum circa A. D. 1400.* Edinburgi, 1837. (Bannatyne Club. Edited by COSMO INNES, Esq.)
3. *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros munimenta vetustiora Monasterij Cisterciensis de Melros.* 2 tom. Edinburgi, 1837. (Bannatyne Club. Edited by COSMO INNES, Esq.)
4. *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, munimenta Ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg, (Holyrood.)* Impressum Edinburgi, 1840. (Bannatyne Club. Edited by COSMO INNES, Esq.)
5. *Registrum de Dunfermlyn. Liber Cartarum Abbatie Benedictine. S. S. Trinitatis et B. Margarete Regine de Dunfermlyn.* Impressum Edinburgi, 1842. (Bannatyne Club. Edited by COSMO INNES, Esq.)
6. *Liber Episcopatus Glasguensis. Munimenta Ecclesie Metropolitane Glasguensis, a sedi restaurata seculo ineunte XII. ad reformatam religionem.* 2 tom. Impressum Edinburgi, 1843. (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs. Edited by COSMO INNES, Esq.)
7. *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia. E registro ipso in Archivis Baronum de Panmure hodie asservato.* Edinburgi, 1841. (Bannatyne Club.)
8. *Stewartiana, containing the case of Robert II. and Elizabeth Mure, and question of Legitimacy, with their issue, with incidental reply to Cosmo Innes, Esq. To which are added, critical remarks on Mr. Innes's Prefaces to his recently edited Cartularies, interspersed with divers Antiquarian Matters, &c.* By JOHN RIDDELL, Esq., Advocate. Thomas Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1843.
9. *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica. Memoir of what has been already done, and what Materials exist towards the formation of a Scotch Monasticon, to which are appended sundry new instances of goodly matter.* By a DELVER IN ANTIQUITY. Thomas Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1841.

THESE are interesting publications. They come to us covered with the venerable hoar of remote antiquity, and speak of ages, the distance of which it requires a vigorous effort of imagination to reach. Forgotten customs, of which there was no trace, even in the

abundant treasury of traditionary lore, are here resuscitated. Feelings and prejudices that can stir up no kindred emotion now, and which had yielded to the gentle influence of time, are presented with all the life-like reality of contemporary history; and names, over whose obscurity the brief chroniclers of the times had waved the wand of oblivion, bid fair in these volumes for immortality.

Their value is greatly enhanced, by the extreme paucity of other authentic memorials of our ancient history. Our early chroniclers contented themselves with narrating a few of the more important occurrences, in which were involved the fate of dynasties; but all the matters of detail, which give history its charm, and which constitute such an important essential to the sustained interest of historic narrative, were matters which ignorant ages could not appreciate though recorded, and which went beyond the power of ignorant chroniclers to develop. They tell us, in the briefest terms, of revolutions of government, of terrible conflagrations, of inundations of rivers; but they leave untold the manners and character of the people—the relative position of noble and peasant—the domestic economy of life—the agriculture—the state of learning, and education of ancient Scotland. Wanting sagacity to estimate the motives of the actors in the scenes they narrate, they have left imperfect jottings instead of history.

These early chroniclers were succeeded by a race of writers who dedicated their works to fable. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is beyond doubt, that the revival of learning had a pernicious influence on the truth of history. The Scottish historians forsook facts, and took to fine writing; and even the genius of Buchanan yielded to the prevailing epidemic. He and Boece have written works which have nothing historical about them but the name. An indolent contempt of facts, and gratuitous assumptions to support a theory, or to round a period, have left us to wade in vain for an idea of the truth, amid absurd speculations, fabulous narratives, and the gross exaggerations of a tinsel rhetoric. Lord Hailes has shown how almost incredibly incorrect these writers are, with regard to matters which would not have required so much industry to ascertain, as the concoction of their absurd fables necessarily demanded; and the reputation of Buchanan, as a historian, now rests solely upon the elegant latinity he has employed to decorate a structure, destitute of every other element of excellence. To dive into the dreary recesses of manuscript collections; to collate the various unpublished records, from which alone ancient history could be traced, and to weigh patiently the conflicting statements which industry would unfold, were not the virtues of these writers, or of the succeeding school of *philosophical* historians.

The latter were a class of writers who regarded past events merely as a field for philosophical disquisition, and passed their judgments, according to the standard of moral duty themselves had created. Mankind they looked at more in the abstract than in the concrete; treated the details of history as if necessary only to the establishment of a principle, and hit off a character, or dismissed a reign with a smart antithesis. Minute details were held as beneath the stately march and dignity of history; and were unceremoniously thrust into appendices and notes. Yet the admirable sagacity which could penetrate the hidden motives of the actors in the bygone drama, and unravel with a word the most tangled skein in which their doings were enveloped, will ever command respect for the genius of the philosophical school.

The more practical age which has now come on—the age of steam-engines and of railroads—in which no science flourishes, that brings not an immediate substantial return, has rejected philosophy as a handmaid to history. The *delvers* after facts, have followed, instead of preceding, the writers who have endeavoured to expiscate its philosophy and romance. But even *their* greatest industry will scarce avail, to sweep away the mists surrounding the antiquities of a nation, whose soil was never polluted by the touch of the barbarian hosts, that destroyed the records and literature of the continental kingdoms; and whose want of authentic histories of these early times, arose from no failure in materials for such a literature, or in monks having leisure to compile them. A long bead-roll of apocryphal kings, is the first monster fable around which all other fables hang; and in dealing with this mass of fiction, there is little satisfaction to be found in the happiest guesses, and most ingenious speculations, which have, each in their turn, had their day and disappeared. The manner in which our modern antiquaries have laboured, is, moreover, not the best calculated to recommend their performances to their readers. Authors of the most accurate and unreadable books that ever graced historical literature, they proceed to the ascertainment of unimportant dates with the same flourish of trumpets, as to narrate the fate of a kingdom; and long and learned controversies, angry vituperation, and fierce invective, are employed, in adjusting the surname of some hero, of whose memorial the contemporary historians were neglectful. We rise from “the din of all the smithery,” with feelings of intense astonishment at the angry passions which such trifles have evoked, and of disappointment, at the disproportion between the magnitude of the preparation and the meanness of the result. These disputes about trifles, forcibly remind one of the ridiculous controversies of the schools. It surely was not a less interesting subject of inquiry, to ascer-

tain how many angels could dance on a needle's point, than to fix the birth-place of some "illustrious obscure," or to rivet the entire links of his lengthy pedigree. The mind is apt to entertain a feeling somewhat akin to contempt, at this mass of wasted learning and ingenuity misapplied; and the utmost charity is required to prevent our dismissing with one general condemnation, the study which could produce such a tax upon our patience. This violation of taste is not recompensed by any charms of style, or graceful exposition of the sober truth. The narrative moves on with all the dulness of an index, and with all its accuracy, and shutting even the *Annals of Lord Hailes*, in utter weariness of spirit, the volumes are laid quietly on the shelf, till the necessity of acquiring information as to a name or a date, again brings them from obscurity.

At length we have presented to us, in the volumes of which the titles stand at the head of this paper, the crude materials for an important chapter of ancient history, which, to some extent, have already enriched the pages of the authors of *Caledonia*, and the *Annals of Scotland*. They have now been given to the public, through the munificent liberality of a number of private gentlemen, who are doing, at their own expense for Scotland, what the Record Commission, through the medium of a Parliamentary grant, have endeavoured to do for the far more wealthy sister country of England. The Bannatyne Club takes its name from George Bannatyne a merchant of Edinburgh, who, driven to the country by the plague in 1568, in that city, collected a mass of antique Scottish poetry; in gratitude for which, this modern Society has adopted his name. For the same reason, have the Maitland Club taken their designation from Sir Richard Maitland, the ancestor of the present family of Lauderdale, and one of the Lords of Session in the days of Queen Mary. His collections of Scottish poetry were, on the death of the last of the Dukes of Lauderdale, sold by public auction, and being purchased by Mr. Pepys of the Admiralty, they now grace the library of the University of Cambridge, to which they were bequeathed. The object of these Societies, is to print all the ancient writings they may consider useful in illustration of the history of Scotland, and to preserve from oblivion some of the gems of its ancient literature. A large number of volumes already testify to the learning and liberality of the members. It is only a small portion—a not uninteresting or unimportant portion—that we are now to consider.

The Cartularies of the great religious houses of Melrose, Paisley, Dunfermline, St. Andrews, and Holyroodhouse, and of the bishoprics of Moray and Glasgow, are the whole of the monkish records of this kind which have been printed; that of Aberdeen being yet in the press. The value of these

volumes, their editor, Mr. Innes, does not over-estimate. "Upon their authority ultimately—by the style of these writs—by the incidental information afforded by them—by the absence of all reference to customs, laws, and institutions, which must have been mentioned if they existed, must be settled some of those great questions of history and constitutional law, and even of national independence, which have been so long and so warmly discussed in this country." The greater number of the deeds are styled charters—the old legal name for all deeds, by which any one conveyed lands or houses to another. These deeds are extremely simple in their character. The grantor introduces himself by name and title—narrates the lands he intends to convey to the monks—tells that they are to be held in perpetual charity by the holy brotherhood, for the salvation of his soul—specifies the witnesses and the date; and the deed is closed. When evil days arrived, the monks instead of being the grantees became the granters; and, accordingly, there are here also, various conveyances by them of the monastic lands. Legal writs, however, are intermingled with others, with which they have no affinity. Here we have scraps of ancient chronicles; copies of Papal bulls; letters from kings and queens to the abbots or the bishops of the abbeys or dioceses, to which the cartularies belonged; receipts for making pills; forms of excommunicating the enemies of the Church; indentures between the monks and their dependents; records of judicial proceedings; writs against runaway slaves; catalogues of libraries and of relics; rentals; and a multitude of other documents, which each in its way illustrates obscure points of the history of bygone generations.

All these cartularies had been long buried in manuscript, chiefly in the library of the Faculty of Advocates. Consulted by persons who by right or favour found access to them, the public were at intervals favoured with morsels of their contents, which only tended to whet their appetite for more; and now, at last, they have been put beyond the reach of destruction. The cartularies which have been printed, are only a small part of what is necessary to form a complete Scottish Monasticon. We learn from the "*Delver in Antiquity*," that no fewer than one hundred and seventy-eight religious houses—abbeys, convents, hospitals—once variegated the rugged surface of Scotland; all of which possessed vast territories in every part of the country. It appears, that we may still be favoured with the cartularies of the abbeys of Arbroath, Balmerino, and Cambuskenneth; of the priory of Coldingham; of the monastery of Coldstream; of the collegiate church of Crail; of the abbey of Dryburgh; of the bishopric of Dunblane; of the house of the Predicant Friars, near Elgin; of the monastery of Inchcolm; of the abbeys of

Kelso, and Lindores : of the cell of May ; of the abbey of Newbottle ; of the abbey and hospital of St. Anthony, near Leith ; of St. Giles, Edinburgh ; of the monastery of Scone ; of the hospital of Soltre ; of Stirling Chapel-Royal ; of the preceptory at Torphichen ; of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. The greater part of these cartularies, or authentic copies of them, are in the Advocates' Library, or in the possession of those who are willing to allow the public to have the benefit of their publication. There is one exception to this, with regard to the cartulary of Inchaffray, which the "Delver in Antiquity" says, is at Dupplin Castle, "the residence of one of those distempered individuals, who can neither enjoy a thing himself, nor allow others to do so."

Before considering these volumes, a sentence or two may be allowed, as to the history of the various communities of whose proceedings they treat.

The ecclesiastical antiquities of Glasgow, are traced back to remotest times. Saint Kentigern, with the full blessings of the Apostolic succession,—“deriving his faith and consecration from Servanus and Peladius”—settled about the middle of the sixth century a colony of converts at Glasgow. Over their history, for a period of six hundred years, down to the reign of Alexander the first, in 1116, the veil of obscurity is drawn. The little band, no doubt, took deep root and flourished, and what matters it now, that their history—like that of better men—has perished. The flowing tide of kingly and of popular favour poured in upon them, with the reign of David I., and until the sun of their prosperity set at the Reformation, the importance, wealth, and influence of the Glasgow ecclesiastics were ever on the rise. The commercial capital of the west took its beginning from the source of so many calamities—the cupidity and all-grasping avarice of its bishop. The superior of a burgh enjoyed privileges and influence which the broad acres of half a county scarcely gave, and to the bishop of this western diocese was granted, in 1175, by one of the Scottish kings, the much-coveted privilege of being overlord of such a community. The subsequent history of the See, while it proclaims its success in the acquisition of money and relics, and the fair fields of admiring votaries, tells also of the vigour with which each successive bishop asserted all the privileges, which, by direct gift, or by immemorial prescription, his predecessor had acquired. None were more in the van than these western prelates, in repelling the arrogant claims of the See of York, to the spiritual domination of Scotland ; and when to the lumber of forgotten things this was gathered, like the feudal homage claimed by the English kings, the struggle for the primacy commenced with the See of St. Andrews. A petty war, too, was unceasingly waged with refractory vassals—with the tem-

poral courts, upon whose jurisdiction they encroached, and with the royal burghs, who were slow to recognize their privileged exemptions from tolls and customs. Above all the ecclesiastics of that age, they possessed its martial spirit; and with sword in hand, a patriotic bishop, having first sworn fealty to Edward, followed the fortunes of Wallace, and enjoyed the satisfaction of triumph under the standard of Bruce. The enthusiastic devotion of James the Fourth, induced him to enrol himself a canon of the Glasgow chapter, and his gratitude was displayed in the erection of the diocese into an archbishopric.

What the prelates were compelled in unsettled times to do upon the field of battle, they at a later period accomplished in the halls of council. Appointed ambassadors to foreign powers, commissioners to treat of peace, members of Councils of Regency, and Lords of Parliament in their own right; their spiritual character was often lost, in the secular duties to which their education and their position called them. Being, in truth, officers of State, they possessed a house in Edinburgh, along with their archiepiscopal palace in Glasgow, and a country residence at Partick, where the Kelvin falls into the Clyde.

All this archiepiscopal pomp and splendour faded at the Reformation. The city obtained its independence; the palaces of the archbishop were removed; and the cathedral of Glasgow alone remains, a substantial memorial of the magnificence of the See.

The Abbey of Paisley does not appear at any time, to have been so flourishing, as the generality of other religious communities in Scotland. Its monks were of the Cluniac order of Reformed Benedictines, who long struggled to obtain the election of their abbot, and at last received it as a favour. Though patronized by two saints, of whose power to work miracles history has not been silent, their revenues do not appear to have increased, in the course of four hundred years, from the foundation of the abbey in 1163 to the Reformation. Their abbot sat in Parliament, wore the mitre and ring of a bishop, and exercised a considerable influence, though overshadowed by the towering domination of the bishops of Glasgow. The last of the long line, forgetting his religion in his temporal advantage, took the lands at the Reformation, on their erection into a temporal lordship; and after passing through the hands of various possessors, they have at last come to be the property of the family of Abercorn.

Though the history of this abbey presents none of those salient points of interest, which chequered the career of other monkish institutions, and though the abbots appear to have been obscure men, who spent their time in constant warfare with the surrounding burghs, in a struggle for their respective privileges, yet

their cartulary is perhaps the most rich in materials for history, and has in consequence been used largely by our antiquarian historians.

Dunfermline, besides a palace, had an abbey, founded by Margaret, the Saxon queen of Malcolm the Third. It was to the piety of David the First, however, that the institution was chiefly indebted, and with his time the cartulary begins. Its abbots, like the heads of the other great religious houses, took a prominent share in the councils of Parliament, and one of them discharged the duties of chancellor of the kingdom. Fierce struggles arose for every vacancy; and on one occasion the contest engaged nearly the entire nobility of Scotland. The building, though protected by the Forth from the common desolation which followed the track of the English armies, was yet laid in ruins by the soldiers of Edward in 1303; and on the 28th March 1561, the Lords of the Congregation "past to Stirling, and be the way kest down the abbey of Dunfermling." Bruce found a grave within its hallowed cloisters, and the adjoining palace was the birth-place of the most unfortunate of the Stuarts. Charles I. was the last of our kings, who honoured the ancient palace with the royal presence.

Melrose Abbey, still beautiful in ruins, once formed the home of the most industrious of the monks. Its real history begins with the pious David, and great was its necessity even for his liberality, on account of the frequent spoliations to which its border situation exposed it. Its original charters were preserved in linen bags, in the archives of the Earls of Morton, to whom part of its vast territories now belong; and much laborious industry appears to have been employed, in the compilation of the printed volumes in which they are now embodied.

We dismiss the Priory of St. Andrews, and the Bishopric of Moray, with a reference to the short notices of Mr. Innes, in order to arrive at the interesting Abbey of Holyrood.

The history of this abbey is lost in that of the adjoining palace, although itself one of the most important of all the monastic institutions. Founded as a priory at an early age, it was restored from the neglect into which it had fallen, by that "sair sanct for the croon," David I., whose unchecked enthusiasm for the ecclesiastics, beggared the succeeding kings, for the honour of saintship, which himself obtained. Lying on the high road from England, it was at intervals demolished amid the ravages of war; rebuilt, and often and again destroyed, until at last it accompanied the other monasteries, in their ruin at the Reformation. The walls of the chapel, propped up by modern repairs, are the sole remnant of the monastic pile, that had been the scene of such eventful things. What crowding memories, that old palace, and

that ruined chapel evoke ! Could these walls speak, what a mingled story would they tell of the fate of monarchs ! Plots—assassinations—high hopes destined to be withered—the despair of broken hearts—the wild extravagance of unbridled passions—the infatuation of a bigotry, which taught religion by tyranny, and hoped to regenerate the land, by proscribing the genius which immortalized it.

————— these ancient ruins ;
 We never tread upon them, but we set our foot
 Upon some reverend historie.

It was in the old hall of that deserted palace, that the heart of Mary, in the enthusiasm and buoyancy of her young days, leapt with gladness, at the bright hopes of happiness, in a marriage brought about by the passion of an hour. The small chamber is still there, where she heard the wild yell of agony of her murdered secretary ; and that marriage hall, so late the scene of festive gaiety, rang in a little time with the tumults of a populace, moved with the spectacle of a husband murdered at her palace-gates, the victim of her fleeting and unstable passions. Hurried on by the wayward impulses of a mind ill-regulated ; vain, capricious, and yet not destitute of an amiability and generosity of character, that in more peaceful times, might have wrought out her own and her country's happiness ; that old hall again, saw her give caresses as the price of blood, and, in utter mockery of the decencies of life, become the bride of one who had dug her husband's grave. That ruined chapel, too, is not without its history. There the chief stand was made by the most infatuated of her doomed race, for the mummeries of the semi-popish principles of Laud. It was here the struggle in Scotland first began. "In our chapel royal at Holyroodhouse," Charles wrote to the Lords of Session, that they must participate in the communion after the order of the English Liturgy, "for we will not suffer you, who should precede others by your good example, to be leaders of our other subjects to contemn and disobey the orders of the Church."

All is changed ! The chapel is a ruin, and the green sward around it, covers alike the graves of the oppressor and the oppressed, who found there a common resting-place. If in life there was no community in the opposing principles they professed, the bland amalgamation of the grave commingles into one heap their dust. The pomp of regal sovereignty is gone, and the deserted chambers only echo to the tread of the curious traveller, who comes to read the moral of their history. But like the despised moral of every recurring death, it is soon forgotten. The

world notes not the solemn lesson which these things, like spirits from the grave, are ever preaching; and every new Puseyite folly, and every act of arrogant official domination—bear witness our own times—is commenced by a denial of the truths of experience, in order to justify a denial of the truths of religion, or the claims of justice.

The cartularies of these religious houses, extend from the eleventh century to the sixteenth: a period during which Scotland was in the transition state from the barbarism of savage life, to the better civilization which commenced with the revival of learning at the Reformation. In this eventful time the independence of Scotland was established; its population was emancipated from the degradation of slavery; its form of government was settled upon the secure basis of a limited monarchy; at the close of the period, energetic thinkers arose, to influence their own age, and to mould the characters of after generations; and the stirring agitations of the time, were terminated by one of the most important revolutions of opinion, that has ever chequered the history of the world.

The dull details of legal writs, can but faintly elucidate matters of such high import. But the patient inquirer after truth, will not return unrewarded, from an examination of these forbidding documents. Of the condition of the ecclesiastics, their vices, and their virtues, the historian may especially find one additional chapter, in these dry records, and the legal antiquary will derive some satisfactory information upon the origin of our present jurisprudence.

The benefactors of the monks appear to have been confined to no class of society. In the breasts of kings, the superstitious reverence for their order, and submission to their arrogant demands, were as complete, as in the house of the humble burgess. At the same time, the granters of that vast extent of territory, which could scarce satiate ecclesiastical cupidity, and included the most fertile half of Scotland, may be divided into the three classes,—of monarchs, who gave, for the purpose of obtaining the weighty influence of the priests, to the support of an insecure throne; of citizens, whose property was extracted from them on death-bed, by the terrors of an hereafter; and the last species of grant, was obtained from the weakness of widows, whose fear or whose affection, reduced them to beggary, in order that the souls of their husbands, might pass on to eternal happiness, by the help of masses and monkish prayers.

Sometimes, however, the party conferring property on the monks, took a more expanded view of his duty to his kindred, and instead of requesting priestly intercession for the relatives whose love had fired his gratitude, he stipulates that all his pre-

decessors and all his successors, to the latest age, shall be partakers of the blessing. One of the Scottish kings, gives certain immunities and privileges to the monks of Paisley,—

“For the praise and honor of God, and of the most glorious virgin Mary his mother, and of the blessed confessor Mirinus, and of all the saints; and of the salvation of the soul of the deceased most illustrious prince and lord, James King of the Scots, our father, and of his most serene princess, Lady Joan, Queen of Scotland, our mother, and for our own better state, and the salvation of our own soul, and of the most illustrious princess, Lady Mary, Queen, our dearest spouse, and of the souls of our ancestors and successors.”—(PAISLEY, No. 257.)

The confessor Mirinus here referred to, was tutelar saint of the abbey, and Mr. Innes gives us some portions of his biography. For so holy a man, he appears to have been too much imbued with the infirmities of humanity, and to have exercised his power of working miracles after a curious fashion. The pious saint being once obliged to travel, he arrived on a hot summer day, at the castle of the King of Ireland, and demanded the usual hospitality of the country. It happened, unfortunately, that the Queen at this time, was in the pains of childbirth, and for that or other reasons, the saint's request was met by a denial, and his holy person treated with disrespect. With indignation, he shook the dust from off his feet, and his malediction was immediately fulfilled, that the King should suffer the pains of labour instead of his Queen. For three days and nights, the howlings of the tortured king resounded throughout his castle; the skill of his physicians was useless; and humble penitence and submission to the saint, were at last found the only remedies, by which his righteous indignation could be appeased.

The female benefactors of the monks, were for the most part widows, who with more than maiden simplicity, make their grants “in their pure and simple widowhood,”—*in pura et simplici viduitate*. The abundance of these donations, cannot fail to attract the attention of the most cursory examiner of the records; and suggests many obvious reflections, as to the manner in which their generosity was aroused. Death-beds, also, were scenes in which the heart of avarice softened, and where the mild persuasion of the priest, found ready entrance to an anguished heart. In the appendix to the *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, there is collected in one view, humiliating evidence of the success of the priests serving the altar at Linlithgow, in practising upon the dying fears of their wretched flock; and throughout the cartularies of the great abbeys, we have a similar picture of human weakness.

But there is one document in the Melrose collection, peculiarly illustrative of the policy of the priests, to which we shall

specially refer, on account of the celebrity of its author, and the prominent notice taken of it by the editor. Robert Bruce, after the close of all his labours, in establishing the independence of his country, found leisure upon his death-bed, to write a letter of recommendation to his son, on behalf of the monks of Melrose. In the best Latin of a rude age, he conjures him to guard, and faithfully protect, the abbey which he loved. He beseeches him to lay his heart in its consecrated precincts,—*and to increase the revenues of the monks.* Mr. Innes finds in this, satisfactory testimony to the value of the institution, and treats the letter as the voluntary emission of a sincere feeling. The language employed is the formal legal phraseology of the time, extremely similar to that of the Papal bulls, and beyond all question the law Latin of some ecclesiastical notary. That Bruce should write in such terms, is an assertion which shocks all our notions as to his character, and makes assumptions as to his learning, which history denies. The deed, in truth, is only one additional evidence of the universal presence of those priestly harpies, who watched, from the basest motives, the last moments of the dying. Sunk in the weakness of decaying nature, the enfeebled mind of the dying monarch was kept on the rack, by the consolations of his confessor. His was a superstitious faith, and the priestly father who attended him, gave him the security of heaven for the extorted recommendation to his son. Duly prepared in the strongest terms by the monks themselves, the signature which Bruce affixed, would have been adhibited at that hour, were it a deed of alienation of the kingdom which his valour had secured. With this nefarious scheme, the labours of the monk appear to have closed; and, accordingly, when freed from importunity, the last request of Bruce was that made to Douglas, to convey his heart to the Holy Land. We refer to this matter at all, merely to show how necessary it is to walk warily amid monkish records, where they speak largely of the virtues of the monks, with urgent recommendations to keep them comfortable, annexed.

The protection sought for from the son of Bruce, indicates precisely the ideas which the monks themselves entertained, of the nature of their acquisitions. Conscious that they had despoiled the helpless and the dying; by fraud had taken the portion of the orphan; and by gorgeous luxury exhibited a libel upon their professions of humility, they saw that the indignation of society might be all too soon awakened, and with the solemn sanction of a dying father, they hoped to work upon the inexperience of the weakest of sons. The formal guarantee of the royal confirmation, would still the opposition which ecclesiastical anathemas could not quell, and the results of sober reflection would

come too late, to operate against the recorded promise of a king. In these cartularies, indeed, nothing is more immediately startling than the frequent occurrence of royal and papal confirmations. The extorted gift was not secure unless confirmed by power; and this, not from any principle of the feudal law, requiring the consent of the overlord to the alienation of the fee. For many of the confirmations there is no conceivable motive, except the consciousness on the part of the priests, of the foul means by which the property was acquired. At Rome, accordingly, each house had an agent to obtain from the Vatican, the necessary deeds for the transformation of crimes to virtues; and Mr. William Fraser, the agent of the priests of Glasgow, was obliged to borrow a large sum "*pro arduis nostris negotijs in Curia Romana.*"—(Glasgow, No. 232.)

It did not always happen, however, that sickness was followed by death; and thus the impoverished victims of monkish avarice had leisure to repent of having too soon sold their inheritance for a mass. In vain would they appeal to monkish humanity. The sentence of excommunication was hung over them, to compose their ruffled spirits, and in general formed an effectual means of reconciling penury to patience. They sometimes, however, met with a man of spirit, who could assert his rights, in defiance of priestly terrors; and we delight to record the name of one, who could thus triumph over the prejudices of his age. In the cartulary of Melrose, there is a deed of John de Graham, in which he informs the monks, that after mature deliberation, he had determined to revoke a grant to them, which he had executed under impetuosity and facility of mind; which "Brother John," taking advantage of his ignorance of law, had, by a pestiferous avarice, and with lying blandishments, and the basest flattery, extracted from him; that being thus urged and compelled to execute the deed, and now convinced of the iniquity of the transaction, he revoked, and declared it for ever null.—(No. 458.)

In general, however, the blandishments of the priests were so successful, that every religious house possessed lands, more or less, not only in their own vicinity, but throughout the whole of Scotland. Travellers taken sick, or on a visit, were waylaid by the ghostly fathers, who, with their ready instruments of moral compulsion, effectually unloosened the hold of the unfortunate proprietor, of the humble croft his father left him. The monks of Melrose had territories in the counties of Berwick, Lanark, Haddington, Ayr, Peebles, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Selkirk, Kinross, and Perth; and property in the towns of Leith, Edinburgh, and Glasgow; together with possessions in England. Nay, so extensive was their gripe, that we find annexed to the far-distant

bishopric of Moray, a small tenement in South Berwick.—(No. 129.) They, however, were by no means fastidious; they took everything which the pious generosity of the faithful chose to shower upon them. The gift of a monk's hood, of green colour, by Mr. Gilbert Beryk, was thankfully received by the dean and chapter of Glasgow, and the record of it duly inserted in their cartulary.—(No. 454.)

Being thus easy in their circumstances, the natural result was, the indulgence in all the luxuries which riches could command. Whatever might have been the case in the early days of eastern fanaticism, certain it is, that monachism in Europe presented all the revolting features of the Pagan temples—

“*Sævior armis*

Luxuria incubuit; victumque ulciscitur orbem.”

Under the demure hood of the monks, there lurked more of the lust of the heart, and more insatiate longing after the pleasures of a world they had renounced, than could be found in the busy haunts of general society. Theirs was a mere nominal separation from the things of time, which vanished with the unbarring of a gate, and wanted the transformation of character, by which religion distinguishes moral from mechanical virtue. Their mode of living may be summed up in a sentence,—an utter neglect of the duty of religious teachers, and the untrammelled gratification of every passion. Hunting was a favourite pastime of theirs, and of none of their privileges were they more jealous. Their dependents were dragged before their courts, to endure temporal punishment in this world, and to have directed against them anathemas as to the next, for the smallest infraction of their hunting or fishing privileges. With regard to nobles as powerful as themselves, complaints are made to the sovereign, and solemn obligations taken for the security of these sacred rights. Hart and hind; boar and roe, the eyries of falcons and tersels, are to be preserved intact: and hunting with hounds or nets, or setting traps to destroy game, were sins which scarcely repentance could atone for. The monks themselves too, appear to have been given somewhat to poaching, if we may judge from the jealousy of the neighbouring proprietors, (Melrose, Nos. 37, 41, 72, 73, 196-7-8.)

The dull monotony of a religious life, they pleasantly variegated by such exhilarating sports, and the contemporary literature is rich in the glowing descriptions of their skill. On rising at the matin bell, the monk, after his orisons were said, would, if of a placid disposition, take his rod, and on the banks of the classic Tweed, or at the Falls of Clyde, he could with great benefit pass the forenoon. But if, again, of a more energetic disposition, his hounds and his nets, would do effectual execution upon the game

of the monastic preserves. In this amusement the Commendator of Melrose appears to have incurred unnecessary expense, (Pref. Mel. p. 27). On the monk's return, he would shrive any unfortunate victim, who, like John de Graham, was ignorant of law, and susceptible of flattery, and with an appetite sharpened by his forenoon's exercise, he would sit down to the plentiful repast which his hunting or fishing skill had catered. Wheaten bread was provided by the fidelity of his flock, (Mel. Vol. i. p. 265); a flagon of wine too, was not wanting to wash down the repast, and from a transaction with certain Florentine merchants, it would appear that the priests of Glasgow had acquired a refined taste for foreign luxuries, (Glasg. No. 176). Good living, however, did not always thrive with the monkish constitution. Pious as they were, they still were subject to the ills of life, and not above the aid of the *Materia Medica*. The Glasgow Fathers especially appear to have been very much troubled with peculiar affections of the stomach, and have formally preserved in their cartulary, a famous pill, *ad vitandum omnem ventositatem quæ sit sub umbilico*, (No. 539.) The peculiar ingredients of this composition will be found stated in detail; but as our medical knowledge is not so extensive, as to enable us to speak decidedly of its merits, we think it better not to quote the receipt, in case it may be incautiously applied. Another celebrated pill is given, with the recommendation that Pope Alexander (the Sixth?) frequently used it, and which had the great advantage of not compelling the patient to intermit his usual diet, or his flagon of wine.

The religious service of the day, it might be thought, would break up for a little the hilarity of the jolly brotherhood. But this opinion is founded on mistake. They threw a pleasant air even over the gloom of devotion, and in their religious duties they were unable to restrain their jokes. This having apparently scandalized the vulgar, certain rules were enacted by which their conduct in this respect was to be regulated. The cartulary of Moray contains the *Constitutiones Lyncolnienses*, inserted as proper rules for the priests of that northern province, from which we learn, that they were to enter the place of worship, not with insolent looks, but decently, and in order; and were to be guilty of no laughing, or of attempting the perpetration of any base jokes, (*turpi risu aut jocu*), and at the same time were to conduct their whisperings in an under tone, (Moray, p. 52.) Nature, however, will have its way. A full stomach is not the best provocative to lively attention, and it is therefore far from wonderful, that the Fathers *dozed*. Ingenuity provided a remedy even for this, and the curious visiter will find in the niches of the ruined walls of the ecclesiastical edifices of other days, oscillating seats, which turn upon a pivot, and require the utmost care of the sitter to

keep steady. The poor monk, who would dare to indulge in one short nap, would, by this most cruel contrivance, be thrown forward upon the stone floor of the edifice, to the great danger of his neck, and be covered at the same time, with "the base laughter and joking" of his brethren.

The keen air too, was an annoyance to their sacred crania, and the monks of Dunfermline especially, could not stand against the sharp blasts of Fife. They beseeched their Holy Father the Pope, to provide a remedy, and in the plenitude of his benevolence, he allowed them on all occasions to wear hats. The miseries which the poor fathers endured from the iniquity of the climate, are described in the Pope's letter with much feeling and pathos. (Dunferm. No. 275.)

The day was closed in a manner which soothed the minds of the Fathers, harassed by their laborious duties. A rubber formed the agreeable relaxation of an evening; but we decidedly protest against the mode in which my Lord Abbot paid his losses. Instead of discharging his debt out of his own salary, the abbot of Melrose most unjustly puts it down to the general community—"Money to my Lord (Abbot) playing at the cartis and dyiss." (Pref. Mel. p. 27.)

There is in almost every page of these cartularies evidence of the avarice and selfishness of the monks. The secular clergy, who had parishes allotted to them, appear to have been literally starved. Their tithes were taken from them, and whole parishes seized, in order to swell up a little more the revenues of the monks. Appeals against these proceedings were made to Rome, and several of the Popes sent furious bulls in return, declaiming against avarice as the root of all the evils in the Church—but in vain; and at last the secular clergy ceased to officiate. The people were left to the loathsome brood of begging friars, who preached after their manner for a meal, and without whom the most richly endowed Church in the world would have left the kingdom, as regarded the laity, destitute of the semblance of religious ordinances. Sir David Lindsay tell us,—

"War not the preiching of the begging freiris,
Tint war the faith among the seculeiris."

Monkish charity abounded in much the same ratio to the general population. We have looked over the rentals of the various abbeys, so far as published, for evidence of their vaunted generosity, and our industry has been repaid by the following entry (all we found) in that of the rich abbey of Dunfermline:—"Item, to the puir in ordinar of baiken bread, 8 bolls." The value of this yearly benevolence of an abbey which Lord Hailes tells us had 200 slaves, may be learned by a reference to other entries.

"Item, to ye porter of Dumfermling, 8 bolls." "Item to the barbour, 23 bolls."

We are told that the monks were diligent recluses, who, in the solitude of their cells, "cultivated the learning of the time." Mr. Innes mentions the library of the dean and chapter of Glasgow, and calls our attention to the circumstance, that it contains a few volumes of the schoolmen, some on the canon law, four of the classics, in addition to the usual round of psalters and breviaries. This is poor enough, looking to the long establishment and vast wealth of the archbishopric of Glasgow, and remembering that it was the seat of a learned university. It is in the monasteries throughout Scotland, where the indolence of the monks was not stimulated to activity by the bustle of a city, or the presence of learned professors, that their true character comes out in strict reality. The library of the College Kirk of Crail has been detailed by the "*Delver in Antiquity*," and exhibits a fair specimen of the learned treasures of the Romish clergy. There were two books of the temporals called *Aspiciens*, two books of the saints called *Sanctorum*, three old *Antiphonies*, ten *Psalters*, a new *Legend*, a book of the *Evangelis*, and a book of *Lettronal*; item, a book in print called *Ordinarium Divinorum*, (App. p. 37;) item, there is no Bible, nor indeed a single volume on general knowledge—nothing, except the monkish books of ceremony, necessary to enable the fathers to mutter through their duties. When their reading extended farther, it referred only to the lives of the holy saints, whose bones they preserved as relics, and whose memory they canonized—who, in general, were represented as under the temptation of fiends, whose wiles they baffled, and over whose most ingenious strategy their virtue triumphed. The cruel lives of unholy necromancers, vanquished by the power of miracles, or the bloody appetite of giants and dragons, fed with the vitals of unresisting Christians, were the subjects, puerile and mean, upon which the minds of these learned scholars exhausted their vigour.

The monastic life was inimical to learning. A long dream of selfish indolence was the characteristic of existence, in these catacombs of living death, in which the stupor of the buried was as profound as the oblivion of the dead. Knowledge, to be of use, can only be elicited by contact with the world, where intellect meets intellect, and where the powers of reason and the flights of fancy are excited into life, by the emotions of friendly rivalry and ambition. But the absence of all impulse to intellectual activity, and the everlasting repetition of formal religious duties, extinguished every spark of original genius, and left the evidence of their intellectual prowess, only in the fancy of their modern admirers. Acting upon the principle, that their own interests

were all that they need care for, they adopted the meanest view even of these, and, with the exception of the historian of the Council of Trent, the search will be in vain to find, in their vast swarms, one writer who had pretensions to *independence of thought*. Their superstitious faith could only reign upon the ruin of knowledge, and its means of proselytizing were a prevailing ignorance—the faggot and the stake. The cell of Galileo showed genius its fate. Persecution, exile, death, were its reward, while honours flowed thick and heavy upon the indolent, the ignorant, and the profligate. A breach of the unity of the Church by any unhappy heretic, was followed by curses from the Vatican, and the delivery of his body to the vengeance of an outraged law. (Melrose, Nos. 157 and 181; Moray, No. 10.)

What is meant by cultivating the learning of the time, we presume to be, the study of the philosophy of the schools. The “delves in antiquity,” will, however, seek in vain to unearth a single scholastic doctor of any note, to redeem the intellectual fame of the monks of Scotland. Had they been schoolmen, the world might have regretted their vices, while it respected their ingenuity. The reign of the scholastic philosophy was not, in truth, without its advantages, and the labours of these untiring triflers, left good seed for after times. The logomachies of the middle age, are the purest example of philosophy run mad, that the whole history of the world can furnish. Had the fierce disputants who justified and condemned all things, displayed as much zeal in their pursuit of truth, as they did in defence of absurdity and paradox, their labours would have received a treatment somewhat different, from the contempt of every age that has succeeded them. Could the shades of all these vain-glorious doctors, who, while assuming the name of philosophers, rendered philosophy contemptible, and who fancied themselves to be gazing on an ignorant generation, from the summit of human knowledge, while they were groping their way amid the brambles at its foot, visit once again the scene of their former triumphs, how bitter would be their mortification, at finding the world passing over unnoticed, the dust-covered tomes in which their loftiest speculations sleep in peace!

Their life, however, was not altogether without its use. Unlike the monks, they had intellect. They were not—what a pagan philosopher termed Tiberius Cæsar—a mere composition of mud mixed with blood. Many truths were by them kept alive, that would otherwise have slept forgotten, and in a contracted sphere they generated intellectual activity. Indolence of mind is, indeed, the true source of the errors and fallacies by which the world is so often governed. Imposed upon by great names, the majority of mankind quietly take up the

opinions of their fathers, and new speculations are condemned unheard, by the weakest of all reasoning—appeals to authority. But the spirit of argumentation and opinionativeness among the schoolmen, was carried to excess, and having no fixed principles to guide them, “they made shadows, no thanks to the sun, and moulded them into substances, no thanks to philosophy.” Elevating their commentaries above their text, they lost themselves in the mists of a confused metaphysics; and measuring their knowledge by their darkness, they fancied themselves profound, when they had ceased to be intelligible. Athwart this dreary night of barren dialectics, true religion, at intervals, threw a faint lustre, as, like the glow-worm, it glided past, soon destined to extinction amid the darkness of an ignorant and superstitious time.

The editors of these cartularies tell us too, that the monks were religious and moral men. As to their morality it had reached that maturity of degradation, at which bad example ceased to be contagious. “The bishops,” says Bishop Burnet, “were grossly ignorant. The abbots and monks were wholly given up to luxury and idleness; and the unmarried state of both the seculars and regulars, gave infinite scandal to the world; for it appeared, that the restraining them from having wives of their own, made them conclude, that they had a right to all other mens’.” But their own recorded evidence of their guilt, will go farther to settle the sad truth of the charge. In one of the last Provincial Councils held in Scotland, the Canons it promulgated, bear the humiliating confession, of the corruption and profane lewdness of the clergy of almost every degree, at the same time that their gross ignorance of literature and science is candidly admitted:—“*Omnium fere graduum, morum corruptela, ac vitæ profana obscenitas, tum bonarum literarum, artiumque omnium, crassa ignorantia.*” The Popes, too, beheld with dismay, the tottering condition of their ostentatious dominion; and one of the Innocents directed to three English Bishops a Bull, preserved in the cartulary of Moray, by which they were enjoined to redress, by all the terrors of the ecclesiastical and civil powers, the atrocious evils that reigned unpunished among the Scottish clergy. They marry, he says, in defiance of all ecclesiastical rule, they resign the clerical character, when necessary for their interests, or the gratification of their passions; and resume it again at will, in order to enjoy, under priestly privilege, immunity from their crimes, (No. 260.) They disobeyed, too, the commands of their superiors, and the thunders of the Vatican, in vain called upon them to return to the strict discipline of their Church. (Glasgow, No. 22.)

Their religion was of much the same character with their

morality. It was a form which required to be maintained, in order to save appearances, and the people were kept attached to it by pompous ceremonies, and the virtues of relics and saints. The priests of Glasgow appear to have been particularly favoured with choice articles of holiness. An inventory of them has been preserved. First, we have a bit of the wood of the Cross; Item, a golden vial, with part of the hair of the Blessed Virgin; Item, a golden vial, containing part of the coat of Saint Kentigern, and Thomas à Becket; Item, in another golden casket, the mouth of Saint Ninian; Item, part of the zone of the Blessed Virgin; Item, in a small vial of crystal, part of the milk of the Blessed Virgin; Item, a bit of the manger (*præsepis*) in which Christ lay; Item, in a small saffron coloured vial, the oil which emanated from the tube of Saint Kentigern; Item, another casket, with the bones of Saints Blasius and Eugenius; Item, part of the tomb of Saint Catherine; Item, a small bag, with part of the sweat of Saint Martin; Item, a precious (*preciosa*) bag, with the breasts of Saints Kentigern and Thomas à Becket; Item, four other sacks, with the bones of Saints; Item, a wooden chest, with many small relics; and at last, when the person making the inventory was getting tired of his duty, he sums up the whole, with,—Item, two linen sacks, full of the bones of Kentigern, Tenaw, and different other saints.

Can there be a more wretched exhibition of human folly, or the picture of a more debasing superstition!

Selfish and all-grasping as they were, the monks demanded and obtained other privileges denied to the rest of the community. The Scottish kings, in the fulness of their own authority, exempted them from tolls and taxes, declared them not amenable to the ordinary laws, and conferred on them jurisdiction of life and death. (Melrose, Nos. 158, 174; Moray, No. 186.) Their cry, like that of the horse-leech, was in one unvaried note,—*give, give!* and in no country did they receive a more favourable response. The privileges of the Romish priesthood here extended to the minutest affairs of life. Exemptions of the most vexatious description, from the common obligations of society, were demanded and bestowed. Private rights were ruthlessly invaded—private property was seized. As they increased in number, the whole frame-work of society, by these reckless proceedings, became disjointed and broken up. But great as was the immediate and direct injury, which, for so many ages, these ecclesiastical privileges did to the country, producing exasperation and hatred, and threatening each hour—as happened with the privileged noblesse of France—to unloosen that anchor by which society was fixed upon the tide—they were still more fatally destructive in their silent and indirect operation. Extra-

ordinary privileges require similar arguments to support them. Miracles, the virtues of saints, and the infallible decrees of the Church, were adduced, so long as the world bent to their authority; and when the delusion failed, the natural revulsion was a contempt for all religion. Who can be surprised, in reading the history of those days, to find as low and loose morality among the people, as among the pastors; such practical atheism—such brutal violence—arguing a darker barbarism than the history even of Paganism can present—when the religious teachers are found refining away the most elementary principles of virtue, and protesting against their flocks obtaining a perusal of the Word of God. (Glasg., No. 506.)

Under the shadow of these ecclesiastical privileges the monasteries formed a sure covert for the assassin, and for a sum of money the foulest crimes received immunity. A life of violence was thought sufficiently atoned for, by devoting the few years of feeble age to the duties of a monk; and thus, wherever weakness was created, by the cries of conscience, or the relentings of humanity, the hand was nerved to crime, by the prospect in the vista of the future, of the sure pardon of Heaven, following the repentance implied in monkish seclusion.

The people, long before the Reformation, forsook the churches, and bulls frequently arrived from Rome, with earnest entreaties to come once again to their “dear mother Church,” so ready to receive them. (Glasg., No. 20.) The singers in the cathedrals sang to empty benches; the priests went through their services without an audience. The people, in truth, were wearied of the nuisance. At church, some scoffed and behaved irreverently, while others busied themselves in merchandise even in the sacred edifice. When the Reformation came, several of the virtues were blotted out from the system of moral education. A leprosy was thus bequeathed to the Reforming clergy, which it required all their skill and energy to cure. In the small city of Perth there were eighty convicted cases of adultery annually, even under the care of Mr. Row, its first Protestant minister. And Mr. Petrie states, that in 1569 a report was made to the General Assembly, that in Orkney there were six hundred persons convicted of incest, adultery, or fornication.

One great cause of the licentiousness of the Popish times, was the trade which the clergy made in the celebration of incestuous marriages. The prohibition against the marriages of relations contained in Leviticus, did not suffice. Pope Alexander the Second extended the bar so as to forbid, not only first cousins, but second and third cousins, to marry, unless they obtained dispensation from Rome; and illegitimate intercourse too, formed a prohibition between either of the parties and the relations of

the other, within the prohibited degrees. As a great part of the limited population of Scotland had, in the course of time, become connected within such an extensive relationship, and, more especially, as this was the case with families of note, dispensations from Rome were ever on the road, at the same time that the coffers of the Vatican received a full pecuniary equivalent for the indulgence. Mr. Riddell thus describes the effect of these proceedings :—

“ Dissoluteness, great in Scotland before the Reformation, in no manner more displayed itself than in the unlicensed intercourse between the sexes, which was certainly increased by the forbidden degrees, comprising a great range of connexions, (so much so, that there came to be but few high families who were not thereby barred from marriage at common-law,) combined with the necessity of obtaining dispensations for marriage to obviate the objections, that were often long in arriving from Rome, for, in these circumstances, parties enamoured of each other, unable to brook the requisite cruel delay, either nevertheless *de facto* married, or dealt in fornication or concubinage. After the arrival of the dispensation, their love having cooled, they frequently jilted each other, ‘*ad altera vota convolantes*,’ while they even made their unlawful intercourse a further handle, good as it was, for the jactitation of the putative marriage, by continuing which they incurred excommunication. Such separations, with undue divorces and re-marriages, became so frequent, as, according to Major, to become a national reproach. It was impossible, too, even for parties who, *bona fide*, regularly married, owing to the extent still of the forbidden degrees, properly to know whether they were really lawfully married, or not living in incestuous concubinage.”—*Stewartiana*, pp. 35, 36.

The Reformation came at last, and loud and lofty was the acclaim of welcome with which it was received. Property acquired by fraud, and held with the tenacity of a dying convulsion, was wrested from the unworthy hands by whom it had been abused. Over this subject, Mr. Innes, and the “Delver in Antiquity” are loud in their wailings; and a late Episcopalian writer has devoted much industry to show, that all the nobility who seized the property of the monks, died by the hand of violence, or with the grief of a broken heart, admitted the just visitation of Heaven for their crime. We will favour these gentlemen with an extract on which their indignant eloquence may expand; it may furnish them with a subject for reflection, and supply materials for future complaint. It may, perhaps, also remind the general reader of the celebrated scenes in *Ivanhoe*, in the dungeon of the castle of Front-de-Bœuf, between that Baron and the Jew.

The abbot of Crossraguel has been immortalized by his controversy of three days with Knox. It is not, however, of Ninian

Winzet, but of Allan Stewart, his successor, that we are now to speak. The manuscript records of the Privy Council, of 20th June 1571, bear, that he presented a complaint against Gilbert Earl of Cassilis, Thomas Master of Cassilis, his brother, "and their complices," to the effect, that "being on 30th August 1570, within the wood of Corsraguell, doing my lawful errands and busines, believing noe harm nor invasion to have bein done to me by ainie persone," nevertheless the said Earl and sixteen others "came to me, and ther persuaded me, be their flatterie and deceitfull words, to pass with him to his castle, and he putt- ing me within the same, that I should be in sure firmance, com- manded six of his servants to wait upon me, so that I escaped not, and took from me my hors and all my weapons, and then depairted, until the 1st September thereafter, when he came again, and required me to subscribe to him, ane feu-charter made in parchment, of the haille lands pertaining to the abbacie; to- gidder with ane nineteen and five years talk of the teyndis, which I niver read one word of, and answered that it was a thing most unreasonable, and I could noway." The Earl, however, "after long boasting and menacing of me, caused me be caryed to ane hous, callit the Black Vault of Denbie, wher the tormentors denuded me of all my claiths perforce, except onlie my sark and doublet, and they band baith my hands at the shackle bane, with ane cord, as they did baith my feet; and band my soalls betwixt ane iron chimney and a fire; and being bound soe thairto, I could noewaye steir or move; whilk being done, they set the same chimney upoe a great fire, whilk was ther readie prepared for my tormenting, so that I micht not steir, but had almost in- loked through my cruell burning." This regimen proved effec- tual. "Seeing noe other appearance to me, but aither to con- descend to his desyr, or else to continue in that torment, I said I would obey to his desyr; howbeit it was soir against my will." He then signed the deeds. "Whilk being done, the said Earle caused the said tormentors of me, to swear upon the Bible, niver to reveal a word of this my unmerciful hand-dealing." This was not enough. The Earl afterwards "requyred me to ratifie and approve the same, befor a notar and witnesses, whilk I utterly refused, and thairfor he as off befor, band and putt me to the same maner of tormenting; and being in soe grait pain, as I trust nevir man was in the like with his life's self, when I cryed, '*Fye upon ye, will ye no ding whingers* in me, and putt me out of this world, or else putt ane barrell of powder under me, rayther than to be demayned and tormented in this unmercifull maner.*' The said Earl hearing ane cry, baidd his servant putt ane stopper in

* Daggers.

my throat, whilk he obeyed." But the tortured wretch had firmness not to yield. He goes on to narrate, that "their seeing I was in danger of my life, my flesh consumed, and brunt to the bane, and that I would not condescend to his purpuss, I was relieved. Further, the said Earl, without any title of right, has taiken up my haill leving of Crossraguel, taking noe fear of our Sovereign Lordis letters, or chairgis usit in his name, even as he wer ane eximed persone, not subject to the lawes, but might doe all things at his pleasure." The "Delver in Antiquity" tells us, that he is in search of the cartulary of Crossraguel, and adds that it may be "possibly among the archives of the Earl of Cassilis." We would recommend an inspection of the Black Vault of Denbie.

But the terrible retaliation by which the guilty violence of the priests was thus repaid—the ruin which overtook their misbegotten wealth—by riot and waste rendered a curse to themselves—is not the prominent feature of that portentous change. A religious empire, fortified with the sacred associations of an undisturbed reign of a thousand years, was put at the world's bar, to stand trial, for its accumulated violations of the dearest rights of mankind. Its lofty prerogatives died away unnoticed; and its position was to be maintained, not by the argument from authority and prescription, but the argument from the Bible and from reason, against a new faith, which had no gorgeous ceremonial to recommend it, and no pliant principles of morality, congenial to an ignorant and licentious generation. From one country to another the flame of rebellion spread, and wherever the long pent-up feelings of contempt and hate found a leader to direct them, the Papal power had all its vast ambition, and all its cruel designs, closed with ignominious defeat. The sudden paralysis which overtook it, displayed the universal rottenness of its unblest dominion—the small hold it had upon the affections of the world, and the extent of its delusion as to its own power.

In speaking of the times of the Reformation and the following century and a half, no garrulity is wearisome. Open the history of the world, for a chapter of more exalted virtue and loftier patriotism, than that displayed by the Scottish peasantry, in their gallant struggle with the infatuated Stuarts—from the fall of Popery to the Revolution. Examples of heroic suffering, worthy of the purest ages of the early Republics, command our deepest reverence, for the high nobility of manhood in the undaunted patriots by whom our religious freedom was achieved. Their posterity have enrolled them among the illustrious dead, who upheld the cause of conscience, unbiassed by interest, unaffected by danger, unawed by scorn or insult—the sneer of the world, or the world's law. Anxiety to know the minutest par-

ticulars of their lives—to follow them into the unveiled sanctity of domestic life—in their sorrows to sympathize, and to dwell with exultation on their triumphs, is the homage which their descendants pay to their memory. It calls up a glow of animation to the heart, to turn from the desolation of Popish times, to the scene which followed. Enterprise and energetic action for the noblest ends, succeeded licentiousness carried to satiety; and—with the dying agonies of Wishart and of Hamilton still fresh in recollection—the rare example was exhibited to the world of generous forbearance in the hour of victory, when the blood was warm and the passions high, and of a Revolution untarnished by acts of carnage or personal revenge, to shock the humanity, and stifle the admiration of after times.

Whether we regard the vast power once possessed by the ecclesiastical oligarchy of Rome, before which Christendom had fallen—whether we consider the strength of that civil authority, which was brought in to aid the weakness of ecclesiastical maledictions—the revived zeal of the adherents to the ancient faith, in their convulsive efforts to maintain its long-established dominion; or whether we dwell upon that combination of providential arrangements, through which a humble priest, recommended by no adventitious circumstance of wealth, or rank, or ancient family, to give weight or influence to his words, was found availing to the overthrow of the greatest of all empires—it is impossible not to be subdued at the contemplation of a success, beyond even the most sanguine hopes—steadily and regularly proceeding, not with the feverish vacillation of a mere popular *émeute*, but with the vigour of a change, in effecting which, were engaged the roused passions, and strong convictions of an unanimous nation.

Our compassion has been loudly invoked for the fallen monks. “Gentle reader,” says the Delver in Antiquity, “you have herewith presented to your consideration, a little book, which perchance may suggest to your benevolence, the memory of better times.” The language of impassioned sentiment does not always embody truth; and the times are too distant now, for us to give those tears to sympathy, when our reason cannot justify the emotion. We reserve our sorrow for worthier objects; and, not nurtured in the school of sentiment, our tears will spontaneously flow, only on the real afflictions of existence. As we think of the downcast look of the ruined monk, our imagination traces out in the background the impoverished widow, with the dark furrows of despair upon her countenance, and with more than its agonies in her heart. Our ears are assailed with the low moanings of orphans reduced to ruin, and the black picture ever comes between us and our sympathies, of force, and chi-

canery, and profligacy, and death. The emotion of sorrow gives place to indignation, at the babyish whining of men, who can find in the practisers of the meanest vices, objects of commendation ;—who can twist the plaits of their eloquence, to gloss over the truth of history, by misrepresenting events to which we owe all our greatness as a nation—our moral excellence and our intellectual fame—and which have called up the greatest and most venerated names that have ever adorned human nature. If in such views, these writers can find nothing to participate, there are surely in the wide waste of human misery, objects upon which their benevolence could be poured, without ascending to the licentious priesthood of an extinct *régime* ; and their country would derive more value from their labours, if we had less of this mandlin sentimentality over monastic ruins.

Such, however, is the kind of literature which is fast driving all healthy thinking from among us. Productions, whose reasoning consists in wailing over monkish times, and whose tendency is to give permanence to feelings generated by a puling sickliness of thought, are the sure index to a diseased philosophy—the forerunner of a period of fantastic idealism, in which sober reflection will be lost. Young England and the Puseyite doctrines of the South, are hurrying civilization back three centuries. The eloquence with which the retrograde movement is urged, while it excites regret at the prostration of genius, raises still stronger feelings of despondency, as to its influence on society. That persevering efforts, conducted with all the learning of high scholarship, and all the elegance of refined taste, will not fail in effecting, in some measure, a revolution of feeling, the success which has already been attained, is the surest guarantee. But if we are to enter upon a new cycle of opinion, and discuss again the nearly forgotten controversies of the past, there is one satisfaction in knowing, that truth will not now require martyrdom to establish it, and the experience of three hundred years is with us to show its blessings to the world. It is only consistent in such writers, to abuse their position, by calumniating the characters, misrepresenting the motives, and vilifying the memory of the great Reformers. To term it “ a Deformation,” and its consequence to be the “ paganizing” of our country, is a mode of declaiming at which a Protestant may smile. But to misrepresent the facts, is a freedom much too liberally used, to be at all consistent with any system of moral duty. It may be displeasing to inform them, that in this country at least, they seek for an El Dorado, and that “ the grim visages of Knox and Melville,” (as Mr. Innes speaks,) have been stamped upon their countrymen. The conquerors and statesmen, who have broken up the monotony of existence, by the fierce convulsions which

followed their ill-regulated ambition, have in general struck root nowhere. What has been the career of the best of them but an episode? They startled the world for a time, and with their death, all their influence terminated. A better and more enduring memorial has been reared to Knox and Melville, in the permanence of the principles they developed, long since matured into a great and lasting policy.

The Protestant clergy of Scotland have been, by the editors of these cartularies, sneered at, as unworthy successors of the monks and begging preachers whom they superseded. The writers surely have little respect for the understanding of their readers. If these sentiments be true, history is worse than an old almanack; it is a libel upon truth. We search, however, to no purpose for evidence, and are obliged to conclude, that they think the fidelity of history a satire on themselves. Is it not a gross insult to the common sense of mankind, gravely to argue, that the slaves of the basest passions, who hovered around death-beds for the sake of plunder—rendering death, the last refuge of the unhappy, more terrible, by the conflicting emotions which their avarice excited—are to be compared with the diligent and laborious minister of these times. To console the afflicted and the dying—to preach a pure religion, untainted by the alloy of superstition—to watch over the spiritual interests of the adult, and train the young to a due discharge of life's duties—to hold counsel with the reasonable, exhort the wavering, and fearlessly condemn the follies of the profligate—are the duties assigned to the minister of religion. If these are not now equally well discharged by all, it is only asserting the undoubted truth, that there is no practice without exceptions. But that these, or any one of them, were performed by the monkish clergy, is an assertion condemned by all their history, which has escaped the wreck of tempestuous times.

Turning from this picture of human depravity, we breathe a purer atmosphere, in considering the political condition of the Scottish people. Our population is one of the most mixed to be found in any country. The Celtic races have their possessions in the Highlands and in Galloway; and the Saxon and Romaic, claim the rest of Lowland Scotland, and the northern promontory of Aberdeen. Many interesting particulars will be found in these monastic cartularies, upon this curious subject; and the personal laws of the various races would form an interesting subject of dissertation. The language of a French bishop to one of the French kings, would equally apply to the population of ancient Scotland. "It often happens that five men, each under a different law, may be found walking or sitting under the same tree." William the Lion, who ascended the Scottish throne in

1165, writes to his "justices, barons, sheriffs, and servants, French, English, Scotch, Gallovidian and Welsh."—(Glasg., No. 70.)

But we cannot pursue this subject. The condition of the *nativi* or slaves is the only matter to which we can specially refer. When the Saxon and Norman settlers overran Lowland Scotland, the original natives were reduced to slavery. They were designated *nativi*, which came in time to be synonymous with serfs. Their condition appears to have been deplorable enough. Bought and sold like cattle, they had no property of their own, and were subject in all things to the arbitrary mandates of a despotic lord. When oppression drove them, as it often did, to seek safety in flight, their master could "take them be the nose," and reduce them to their former slavery—(Reg. Majestatem)—punish them at will, and was amenable only to his own conscience for his conduct. Martin, the son of Venetus, is given as an eleemosynary benefaction to the priors of St. Andrews, along with his sons and his daughters, and their whole progeny for ever. King Alexander bestows upon the Abbey of Dunfermline, Ragewin, Gilepatrick, and Ulchill, his own serfs, for the glory of God, and the use of that holy brotherhood; and he commands the officers of the law to search for some ungrateful serfs who had fled from oppression. (Dunf., p. 13.) King William gives them also Gilleander MacSuthen; and he issues a mandate firmly to seize hold of Cumlach and Cumbas, two Dunfermline slaves who had fled. (Dunf., pp. 36 and 37.) We had marked many other illustrations of this interesting subject, in this and the other cartularies, but what has been stated, may afford a glimpse of this little known portion of ancient history.

With regard to the mode in which these cartularies have been edited, it is not our intention to enter into any detail. To the whole of them, Mr. Innes has prefixed prefaces, in which he gives an account of the manner in which the monasteries or bishoprics were founded, and histories of the most prominent personages, who held the principal offices connected with them. A few incidental notices are also given of the general contents of the volumes, and indices of names and places are added. Mr. Riddell has written a volume to prove that these lucubrations of the learned editor contain several mistakes, and display a superficial and hasty handling of the subject. This volume is replete with varied erudition and original research, but is characterized by an acrimony altogether uncalled for. It was possible to be as severe without being abusive; and the editorial labours of Mr. Innes might have been laid on the rack of a rigid criticism, without forgetting the milder and more generous canons of controversial warfare. The reply of Mr. Innes—printed for private

circulation—has continued the contest, and the *odium antiquarium* may yet be farther stimulated by a rejoinder. The principal charge against Mr. Innes is, that of laying down positions unsupported by a reference to his authority, and hence rendering his labours of less value than they otherwise would be, especially with regard to the events of remote times. He is also accused of various errors in regard to matters of genealogy, concerning which, we would in vain hope to excite any interest in our readers; but as a specimen of the style in which he is attacked, and of the nature of the inaccuracies into which he is said to have fallen, we present a few pages of the running margin of the *Stewartiana*:—

“In his preface to the cartulary of Moray, Mr. Innes most irrelevantly and erroneously makes the house of Sutherland chiefs of the Murrays, to the exclusion of that of Bothwell and all other Murrays.

“His attempted derivation of the house of Tullibardin or Athol from northern stock, lame and impotent.

“His asserted explicit descent of the Morays of Abercairney from Bothwell, quite gratuitous and unsupported.

“Ecclesiastical and other intimations, connected with the district of Moray, supplied to Mr. Innes’s preface to the cartulary.

“Original proof of the parentage of Columba, Bishop of Moray, before the middle of the 15th century,—both unknown to, and partly misrepresented by, him.

“Three genealogical wonders evoked by Mr. Innes from the cartulary of Melrose; unfortunately not so—these wonders before quite familiar—with additional real ones to boot, that have escaped the learned gentleman.

“Mr. Innes’s ‘treasures.’ His astonishing discovery, or astonishing blunder, as you choose, in regard to the families of De Morvil and De Moravia.

“Great error of Mr. Innes as to the origin of the family of Riddell, with refutation thereof by their old charter.

“Family of Innes *e converso*, instead of that of Riddell, afford the best illustration of a surname exclusively local.

“Comparison (however odious) between the families of Innes and Riddell, with respect to their antiquity and original distinction.

“Conclusion upon the head of genealogy as to Mr. Innes. Mr. Innes’s Holyrood-house lucubrations. Though irresistibly influenced, as he professes himself, with the ‘religion’ of Holyrood Palace, yet in its description wholly overlooks, and is unaware of what may alone constitute its religion—namely, the Old Chapel-Royal. Confounds the Abbey Church with the latter,” &c. &c.

There is no one more thoroughly capable than Mr. Riddell, of understanding the difficulty that exists, in writing upon the subject of Scottish genealogy, owing to the impenetrable obscurity of early family history; and no one ought, therefore, to be

more lenient with the mistakes into which, on such a subject, the most patient perseverance will inevitably fall. If Mr. Riddell has shown, that, in several matters, Lord Hailes himself was not immaculate, it cannot be held an unpardonable crime in Mr. Innes, that his learning and his industry have sometimes failed. It is, however, to be regretted, that on subjects where there was room for hesitation, Mr. Innes has departed from the example of the illustrious Judge and antiquary to whom we have referred, and instead of giving a cautious balancing of conflicting views, so as to allow each reader to form his own opinion, he has laid down only the result of his own reflections—perhaps correct enough, but without commentary or citation of authorities. At the same time, the manner in which the works have been printed, deserves every commendation. A few instances occur, in which the contractions in the original manuscript have been needlessly rejected, and the complete word inserted in its room; but, on the whole, it is highly creditable to the editor, that so few blunders have been committed, in the printing so many bulky tomes of contracted monkish Latin. While we pay this just tribute to the editor, we could have wished that he had added the only thing that will ever render the printing of these volumes practically useful—an index of the general matters they contain. To ascertain the vast amount of knowledge to be found in them, in regard to ancient law and history, it will be necessary to plod wearily through their innumerable pages. To the mere genealogist and antiquary, but to no other, the index of names and places may sometimes prove of service; and hence we trust, that in the forthcoming Cartulary of the Bishopric of Aberdeen, we will find a more ready key to the contents of the volume, than can be found in those hitherto printed.

And now, in taking leave of these Cartularies, we do so under the full consciousness, that we have been able to present only an imperfect sketch of their multifarious details. No one can look without interest on such excavated memorials of a society which has perished. They tell the true history of monkish times. They strip it bare of all the decorated drapery with which poetry, or romance, or distance, has invested it, and leave only the naked skeleton, in all its grim deformity, a warning and example for our instruction.

ART. IV.—*King Alfred, a Poem*. By JOHN FITCHETT. Edited by ROBERT ROSCOE. 6 vols. London, 1841-2.

WHEN the fisherman, the friend of our childhood in the Arabian Nights, caught in his nets the little sealed envelope, out of which, on its being opened, slipped noiselessly he could not see and we cannot tell how many roods of apparently bodiless smoke, then deep as his was our amazement. When the smoke, after stretching far along the shore, and high into the sky, began to condense itself, without the pressure of any air-pump, into an intelligible shape, and finally towered over him in the gigantic form of one of the many genii familiar to the creed of his clime, then speechless as his was our terror. But when the genius, thus evaporated and consolidated, addressed him in articulate language, explaining how such volume could be so compressed, then our wits, like his, retaining wonder but casting off fear, gradually resettled. The like sympathy, so raised and so modified, we would have expected and must have received from any one near us, when we took up *King Alfred*, a poem, and beheld it swelling into six volumes, assuming the guise of a veritable epic, and speaking to us in "the tongue that Shakspeare spake."

Many centuries ago Horace dropped a prescient caution :

"Nec sic incipies, ut scriptor cyclicus olim;
Fortunam Priami cantabo, et nobile bellum."

With a gallant contempt for the admonition, Mr. Fitchett begins :

"Alfred, whose battles and successive toils
Freed from the Conquest of the Danish foe
His ravaged country, claims the grateful Muse."

Now, without knowing all the grounds upon which such an exordium appeared objectionable to the Roman critic, we can easily gather that he disliked a big promise, which might end in a meagre performance. Living, or, at least, notorious delinquents, were probably in his eye when he wrote. But the utmost stretch of his lively fancy could not have reached the appalling results which have followed the neglect of his advice by the native of an island, where, when Flaccus expounded the principles of correct composition, literature was as scanty as clothing. He could scarcely have imagined—what we only credit from "the true avouch" of our own eyes—the ceaseless torrent of a poem deluging eight and forty books with one hundred and thirty-one thousand

lines. We may, perhaps, render more intelligible the enormous dimensions of this edifice of human labour, by observing, that its first twelve books exceed, by six thousand lines, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and that the first sixteen books, being exactly a third part of the entire mass, outnumber by seven more nearly than six thousand lines, the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Æneid*, while *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Æneid*, and *Paradise Lost*, making together seventy-two books, are in an arrear of almost a thousand verses in a settlement between them and the first eighteen books of "*King Alfred*." Is not this storming Parnassus like a Titan?

King Alfred plunges the mind into the consideration of two impossibilities, from one of which it is very difficult to find any means of escape. The impossibility of writing it is no longer predicable, in the face of the six closely-printed octavo volumes before us. But how shall we deal with the impossibility of reading it? This demon, conjured up by authors with terrible facility, is hard to be exorcised. And, in the present instance, we fear that the enthusiastic Mr. Fitchett, unconscious that as his epic grew taller, so the malignant spirit—the dread Impossibility—was waxing more potent, has ended by delivering himself into the hands of a fiend, who will blast his fondest hopes, by scaring all desire of access to the treasures, which were accumulated for the ultimate purpose of general distribution. The wonder which the work itself must excite, would be small in comparison with the astonishment created by knowing that half a dozen people had achieved a perusal of it. The vantage ground, therefore, which we occupy, instils a serene confidence in our own opinions unknown to critics who discuss subjects with which their readers may be as much at home as themselves. But we do not mean arrogantly to abuse the security of our position. In the few pages at our disposal, it would be hopeless to try to raise others to the level of our knowledge, while a commentary upon King Alfred, commensurate with, or composed after the model of, the text would indeed be, what the laws of Rome were alleged once to have been, "a load for many camels." The labour of forty years we must endeavour, with an agility beyond the nimble Puck, to "put a girdle round about" in less than "forty minutes."

But the greatest marvel after all is, that Mr. Fitchett's poem is a short poem. If he had lived ten years longer, we are at a loss to comprehend why the epopée should not have been ten books longer. The principle on which it is constructed, and which is adhered to through every part of it with unswerving fidelity, confers a capability of expansion illimitable, except by the volition, or the decease of the writer. We are, therefore, surprised, not at the extent of the actual performance, but at the boldness which conceived the possibility of confining within any

computable cycle of books or verses the boundless space, in which exuberant genius was to be permitted, and to be encouraged to revel. King Alfred, accordingly, disappoints us by its brevity, and provokes a wish that before the publication of any second edition, it may undergo the revision of old Mrs. Nickleby, whose centrifugal redundancies alone afford a parallel to the desultory amplitude of Mr. Fitchett.

An epic poem, according to the Fitchett school, seems to us to resemble very closely one of those roomy stage coaches started now-a-days for the purpose of accommodating certain districts of country, which, being felicitously insulated between two railways, are in danger of reverting to a condition of primitive pedestrianism. This convenient vehicle, starting perhaps with a fair complement of passengers for a particular destination, is at the same time remarkably attentive to all wayfarers, who may desire to be conveyed short intermediate distances, and from whom, in fact, it derives a large proportion of revenue. Its politeness, now and then, induces it to drive a country squire and his family a mile or two up the avenue to the very door of their mansion-house, and may occasionally tempt it, at the request of an ardent tourist, to deviate altogether from the highway, and seek the shady woodlands or sunny slopes of a baronial park. Its complaisant good-nature will not refuse half-an-hour's inspection of a picturesque ruin, or ascent of a panoramic hill-side, and has once been known to permit a dead halt for a most uncertain lapse of time, in order to mingle with the festivities of a marriage-party at an adjoining hamlet, thereafter resuming its journey with exhilarated energy. In short, before the day's travel is over, it has shaken hands with a great variety of people—generated a vast deal of pleasant conversation—visited many uncommon localities—and patched up a curious Mosaic work of company and incidents.

Mr. Fitchett yokes Pegasus precisely to such an *omnibus*, with a licence besides to carry every body it can pick up, and an unrestricted liberty to go wherever the caprice of any one who patronizes the conveyance may direct. We shall endeavour, by and bye, to give our readers a faint notion of the success of so philanthropic a scheme, by following its progress, promising generally, to those who may join us in the expedition, that they will thus permeate every climate and region not merely of the terrestrial planet, but of the universe, and be brought into contact not exclusively with the whole human population of our globe, but with such multitudinous motley throngs of incorporeal comrades—

“Black spirits and white,
Red spirits and grey,”

as never were begotten or congregated by the complex fecundity of a nightmare. Nor would it be fair to suppress the fact, that all the companions, without a single exception, introduced to us by Mr. Fitchett, possess those rare virtues in a fellow-traveller, the faculty and the passion for interminable talk, in a degree which justifies a suspicion that Nestor must have had an impediment in his speech, and a very imperfect memory.

But, first of all, we are obliged to doubt whether Mr. Fitchett was happy in the selection of his theme. It is observable, that while the exploits of Arthur so fired the imagination both of Milton and Dryden, as to lead each to meditate an epic poem of which he should be the hero, and actually warmed the beautiful fancy of Spenser into melodious utterance, the more really grand and patriotically valuable career of Alfred kindled no such flames. This is explicable, it seems to us, on sufficiently obvious grounds. The glory of the reign of Alfred is associated in the hearts of Englishmen much more with the victories of peace than of war—with the paternal government of the prince—with the wisdom of the judge and lawgiver—with the large humanity of the friend of all generous and useful arts—with the sagacious magnanimity of the founder of some of the dearest privileges of the commonwealth, rather than with the triumphs of the conqueror of the Danes. And then the truth of his life, in its great characteristic features, stands on this side of the mists of tradition, or the twilight of legendary reputation, as a solid part of the incontrovertible history of the growth of England's independence and power, as the first chapter, perhaps, in her serious annals as an organized state among the polities of Europe. Within such confines there is naturally little to attract or excite the epic muse, for either, on the one hand, her strains must be heavily imbued with didactic monotony, or, on the other hand, her song can rise with difficulty above the metrical narrative of a chronicler. A name so dear, and a renown so ineffaceable, might well have inspired the masters of British poesy long before the time of Mr. Fitchett, were it not, we believe, that the name has, to English ears, a sound so household, and that the renown is, in English eyes, so blended with the every-day working of our noble constitution, that any attempt by fictitious lustre to hallow more deeply the one, or heighten the splendour of the other, has been felt to be idle, intrusive, and impossible. But the oblivion of these feelings, into which, from very idolatry of Alfred, Mr. Fitchett sunk, and the preposterous extravagances to which he was driven in order to extricate himself from the obstacles which, as we have stated, inevitably, in our opinion, encumbered the path he took, it is now our intention to exhibit.

We know, historically, that when the Danes broke through
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the Saxon line of defence at Chippenham, England, almost naked from desolation, and exhausted by the slaughter or exile of its champions, lay for the time, subdued in spirit as in strength, at the foot of the ravager. "All," says the chronicler, "but Alfred the king." In these five words, there is more poetry—more of the trumpet-note which stirred Sir Philip Sydney, than in the forty-eight books and the hundred and thirty thousand lines of Mr. Fitchett.

"Audire magnos jam videor duces
Non indecoro pulvere sordidos,
Et cuncta terrarum subacta
Præter atrocem animum Catonis."

The mammoth epic opens, about the period to which we have just referred, with the last rout of the Saxons—and, as modern melo-dramas are wont to end, with a storm of blue fire, and a chorus of devils. We are thus betimes familiarized with a supernatural machinery, which eventually, in one shape or another, engrosses many thousand lines, and sometimes monopolizes complete books, of the poem. And thus early is the poet compelled to invoke dangerous auxiliaries, that he may quicken a faulty subject with a factitious liveliness, which is not stirring within itself. Nothing can be more unfortunate than the aid which Mr. Fitchett thought proper to summon to his rescue. On two conditions, we do not quarrel with any flight of imagination, however ambitious, which poetry may dare. But its soarings, especially when they shoot beyond the actions and beings of this sublunary sphere, must be seasonable and sustained. For many reasons we emphatically object to finding in a composition like *King Alfred*, be it an epic proper, or an epic romance, the archangel Michael and the hosts of heaven, warring in personal conflict with Satan and the infernal powers, and maintaining, by word and deed, a participation in the whole conduct and vicissitudes of the poem, more intimate, positive, and frequent than is represented to have been taken by the Olympian or Stygian Pantheon in the fate of Troy, or the fortunes of Æneas. Is there any conceivable association, short of the universal magnetism which must have been regarded by Mr. Fitchett as inherent in an epic poem, that will justify to a rational mind, a whole book being devoted to the minute description of an embassy to heaven by the archangel, in which he solicits from the Supreme Deity assistance for the Saxon King, and of the earthward return of an angelic legion, which passes through the various spheres of the created universe, while a previous book is occupied with the voyage of Satan to Pandemonium, the debates of his council there, his departure with a fresh army of demons, and their journey over chaos, and likewise through

the universe, all narrated with microscopical particularity? Independently of higher and more solemn grounds of reprobation, it is needless to say that all canons of criticism revolt against the monstrous and indefensible impropriety of the introduction of such matter in such a work as this. Right feeling and good taste equally reject it; while, if it is to be alleged that the author has only indulged in a poetical periphrasis of the expression of such undeniable truths as that the providence of God, and the wickedness of the enemy of mankind are actively interwoven with the tissue of all human affairs, great or small, we shall merely answer, that a rash and very unnecessary attempt has not, in this instance, been vindicated by any redeeming vigour or felicity of execution. But let us do justice to Mr. Fitchett, whose motives certainly were not liable to any censure, and whose intentions indeed were laudable. We have only presented an example of the extraordinary perversion which, in reference to this subject, distorted his faculty of judging of what he ought to do, and probably obscured his perception of the immensity of what he did. For the height of his argument nothing, we presume, appeared to be too lofty, as nothing, it is plain, was considered too wide or distant for its scope.

The first seven books are simply prefatory to the fact already mentioned, the dispersion of the Saxon army before Chippenham. And of this preface let us now take a peristrepthic survey. With two great armies, after the muster-roll of their captains is twice called over, and their regiments twice march in single file before us, we fight two great battles, illustrated by successive exhibitions of prowess on the part of individual warriors. Thrice we circumnavigate the universe, and not merely see, but carefully remark, and moralize on the whole wonders of creation. Ten or a dozen times we hurry from "a council of angels," to attend "a council of demons." In the company of Odin we now mount to Valhalla, the Gothic heaven, and anon, under the same guidance, plunge into Niflheim, the Gothic hell. We evoke a ghost and allure the Neptune of the Danes from the ocean. Again and again we bury the bodies of the slain, and chant over them funeral songs, which, on one occasion, consist of hymns addressed to every constituent of the Pagan mythology. Having faithfully described both the Danish and Saxon fleets, we enter upon an obstinate nautical engagement, and seize the opportunity of prospectively delineating the future naval prosperity of England. We twice partake of interminable hospitality in the camp of Alfred, and as often mingle in the protracted revelries of his enemies. We receive the gift of enchanted armour from Hela, the Queen of Death, and set fire to the city of Exeter. We indulge in "a praise of woman," by a

feeble echo of Sir Walter Scott, and paint, in a mild dilution of the colours of Thomson, the dawn *once*, morning *twice*, evening *four*, and night *six* times. We are overtaken by two pitiless tempests, and are cheered in our slumbers by four refreshing visions. And we may just add, that, simultaneously with these manifold occupations, (of which, in truth, we have not sketched a moiety), we are never, whether as Danes or Saxons, angels or demons, phantoms or human beings, for one moment silent.

But no epitome can adumbrate the irrepressible eccentricity of Mr. Fitchett. This vast prologue—for it is no more—is succeeded by forty books, which contain *two* events, of common notoriety in the biography of Alfred; the one, his retreat to the isle of Athelney, and the other, his re-appearance in the field at the head of his people, which was speedily followed by the general discomfiture of the Danes. Every thing else—which it requires upwards of a hundred thousand heroic verses to express—is the embellishment of the poet's fancy. So that, after all, we have not, connected with the action of the poem, a single incident in the career, or a single quality in the character of the Saxon monarch, which now blends his fame with English feeling, and renders his reign a remarkable part of English history. The adventures and struggles of his life, till the crisis when Mr. Fitchett attunes his lyre, are narrated to us by Alfred himself, with intolerable prolixity. But the grandest chapters in his life—all that he accomplished during those fifteen long years after his restoration to settled authority, when England enjoyed universal repose—are not, and for very transparent reasons, cannot be narrated, even by Alfred. The poem ends with the Danish overthrow. The glory, therefore, of his after years is necessarily developed by prophecy, by visions vouchsafed to him in his sleep, and by waking dreams embodied in immeasurable soliloquies. These clumsy, insufficient, and stale devices for overcoming the difficulties by which the writer felt himself to be oppressed, are of such perpetual recurrence, as to confirm fully a fact, of which we are quite aware—though none of our readers may take the trouble to ascertain it—that the soul of Mr. Fitchett, with all its prodigious and untiring excursiveness, was not comforted by one solitary ray of imagination.

This is the more strange, when we reflect that, in one respect, Mr. Fitchett is altogether unrivalled. He has carried the episode to the summit of perfection. The gossamer is not finer than the threads which link his digressions to his main subject. Of these erratic propensities, we may select one or two amusing examples. Being naturally anxious, in his retreat at Athelney, to obtain some intelligence of the condition of his distressed people, Alfred has despatched one of his favourite followers on that

perilous mission, who returns, after an absence of several days, to the surprise of the king, along with four strangers. But the strangers are discovered to be,—

“ All to the Sovereign known, and fondly dear,”

And are welcomed as

“ Chiefest and to his heart most dear of all,
 Asser the Bishop, venerable friend,
 Delight and tutor of his happier hours ;
 The learn'd and witty Erigen, the Scot,
 In foreign Courts familiar, and enrich'd
 By travel o'er the lands of Greece and Rome,
 To England drawn by Alfred's fondest care ;
 Two honour'd bishops from the holy isle,
 Famed Lindisfarne, now persecuted thence,
 Ardulph and Edred, who with pious zeal
 Now hither bore (long vagrant o'er the realm)
 From face of Pagan and pursuing foes
 Saint Cuthbert's relics (patron-saint renown'd)
 And Oswald's dear remains, the sainted king,
 And holy Cridan's, each in shrine adored ;
 And after these, by the pleased pilgrim-bard
 And Asser led, approach'd the famed Geraint,
 Bard of the chair, the chief in dignity
 And order, at the Royal Court of Wales,
 Nor less by Alfred at his southern Court
 Honour'd and known, as lord of harp and song.”

—Vol. ii., p. 262..

The pilgrim-bard having laconically explained, in two hundred verses, the circumstances of his meeting with these illustrious personages, Bishop Asser, in a discourse of eight hundred lines, lays before the king a detailed account of the state of Wales ; after which experiment on the royal patience, the Bishop of Lindisfarne, nothing daunted, portrays, in a statistical essay of a thousand lines, the exact condition of the northern parts of England. But such crumbs of information cannot satisfy so greedy a glutton of news as Alfred ; and, accordingly, the learned Erigen next proceeds, at a length absolutely ludicrous to contemplate, to anticipate the labours of Mr. Murray in our own day, by speaking off hand a complete guide-book for Scotland and Ireland,—“ whereby,” says the argument of Book XIV., “ with the information before acquired, the king becomes acquainted with the state of *all the British Isles*.” From this traveller's manual we shall cull some extracts. “ Awhile,” Erigen tells us,

“ In Edinburgh's sheltering walls
 I stay'd, with honour passing my desert,

Admitted there within her lordly halls,
 And cherish'd by the Scottish noblemen ;
 Who in their towers along the winding Forth
 Or on the shores of Leith, (Dun-Edin's Port),
 Or on the central island of Inchkeith,
 Keep station'd watch against approaching foes.

The Scottish noblemen seem'd all to vie
 Which should with kindest hospitality
 Most grace my coming. Whence my steps in turn
 They bore away to visit their proud halls
 Around their much loved city's borders rear'd.
 Duddingstone's sylvan-dells, below the feet
 Of Arthur's huge-based promontory spread ;
 Niddery's pleasing vill ; and these beyond,
 Craigmillar's ancient castle, by its look
 Commanding awe, and from its turret-cells
 Charming the eye with scenes of varied grace.
 Then on the winding banks of Northern Esk
 Dalkeith's old fortress, that uplifts its towers
 Above the flood with princely dignity.
 After, Dalhousie's venerable walls
 Time-honour'd, and for noble sons renown'd,
 Stately up-rear'd o'er Esk's south-springing stream.
 Then the romantic Roslin's antique fort
 And oratory cells of elder time,
 By ancient princes dwelt, whose rocky heights
 Guard the sunk glens below, and Esk's wild banks
 Winding with Eden-beauty, unexcelled,
 To the delicious steepes of Hawthornden,
 Loved by Dun-Edin's sons, nor e'er to lose
 In future time their honour, or their charms,
 Both ever fresh, and to increase in age.
 Then southward following these enchanted banks,
 I reach'd the classic groves of Pen-y-quick."

—Vol. ii., pp. 326-28.

From a cause which may affect our readers, we are unable to
 get beyond—"Pen-y-quick."

"Then into Perth's wide province on I pass'd,
 And, charm'd, survey'd awhile Perth's royal vill,
 And Tay's renowned river, where, of old,
 The Roman army of Agricola,
 Delighted, paused upon their northward way,
 And cried with joy, 'Behold the Tiber's flood.'

I mark'd the sheltering harbour of Montrose ;
 Then view'd Scone's ancient halls." —P.335, vol. ii.

The physical alterations to which the surface of the globe has,

during the lapse of ages, been subjected, are, no doubt, considerable; but we were not previously aware that at any epoch since the flood the harbour of Montrose had been visible to the naked eye from "Perth's royal vill."

"Then through wild woods, by caves, and ancient hills,
I pass'd, on which the hardy mountaineers
Speak but their native Erse, and Gaelic tongue;
Where their cross'd tartan plaid, and twisted hose,
Their tufted bonnet, and loose hanging kilt,
Bespeak their ancient Scythian origin."—Vol. ii., p. 336.

The *Scythian* origin of the kilt, which, with all its imperfections and curtailment of fair proportions, owes its existence, as an independent garment, to the ingenuity of a Sassenach, cuts "a monstrous cantle out" of our confidence in the veracity of Erigen.

"Here the same Osbert, when in bloody fight
He had defeated Kenneth's wanton son,
Who after died imprison'd, having lost
His people's love, (sole pillar of a throne,)
Coin'd money, and his mint established here;
Whereafter came (as current fame reports)
The name of Sterling coin, throughout the realm."

—Vol. ii., p. 345.

It is to be feared that some burgher of Stirling had been witty at Erigen's expense, and might, perhaps have taken a hint (for the anachronism is not too strong for Mr. Fitchett) from Dean Swift's facetious etymologies of ancient countries and great men.

"Thence on I passed to Glasgow's pious seat,
Whose hallow'd walls and See episcopal,
Founded, 'tis said, by holy Kentigern,
Are yet devoted to his sainted name,
And ask his patron care, who spake the word,
'Let Glasgow flourish' to remotest time.
Her cells, where erst I pass'd my studious hours,
Pleased I revisited, and saw again
The spacious streets, and spiry fronting roofs,
Her Clyde's fair river, and her pleasant Green."

—Vol. ii., p. 345.

By an unaccountable omission, Erigen does not give the name of the Lord Rector of Glasgow College, A.D. 876. Now, with such stuff as the above, are filled pages, books, and triads of books, of Mr. Fitchett's poem. The "excursive Erigen"—perhaps the only happy epithet of our author—relates, exactly as he does his tour of Scotland and Ireland, his travels through France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, the islands of the *Ægean* Sea, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt. Nor does his diary unfold itself in solitary longitude. The celebrated Guy of Warwick—and

how he comes into Alfred's society we have not space to explain—favours the same royal auditory with an equally minute account of his voyages to the Low Countries, Holland, the Provinces of the Rhine, the Hanseatic Towns, the Baltic, and the States of Germany, concluding with his route by Belgrade to Constantinople. And when Guy ceases, a certain Sighelm, catching from him the torch of garrulity, instantly commences his expedition from Alexandria to India by the Red Sea—catalogues every wonder of Egypt—traverses the Red Sea, and, passing Aden, arrives at Mangalore in India—travels through Calicut to Cape Comorin, and thence to Tanjore, Balipore, and other Indian cities—describes all the Hindoo institutions and superstitions—visits Madras, Arcot, and Mysore,—sails on his return to Bussora, and makes his way by land through Bagdad to Syria, and so back again to Alexandria. That the climax of this egregious absurdity may be full, we are released from these voluminous adventures, only to be entangled in the incantations of three sorceresses, who for the greater part of two books, “show our eyes and grieve our hearts,” by evoking “the spirits of the elements; Nornies of the sea and waters; of the mountains, the earth and mines; of the air and the clouds; Nornies of the light and the sunbeams.” It is sufficiently manifest, we presume, that an epic poem, constructed on principles which authorize such vagaries, may be justly called short, when it is confined to forty-eight books, and a hundred and thirty thousand verses.

The poem itself, we have already said, is an unparalleled phenomenon. And surely, so is the following passage :—

- “ Most learn'd tutor, travell'd Erigen,
 Have you, amid the vast and various range
 Of art and science, which your studious mind
 Has in its progress ponder'd and amass'd,
 Through its strict reading both of ages gone
 And present, or your observation keen
 Of men and manners mark'd in many a clime,
 Yet ever learnt the valuable art—?”
- He paused, but with the unfinish'd question struck,
 In eager expectation held awhile,
 Ere long the travell'd Erigen inquires.
- “ What art, my liege !” To whom the sportive King
 (Suppressing scarce a smile, yet while to him
 Still his own look its gravity retain'd,
 But back to Asser, and the conscious bards,
 Marking some sly intention with a nod)
 Replies—“ The art of milking, learn'd friend,
 And wise philosopher, in arts most skill'd.”
- “ The art of milking”—Erigen returns,
 With momentary look of smit surprise,

And added soon—"What means my gracious liege
 By the strange question, gravely thus address'd?"
 To whom the King—"Most witty Erigen
 Turn not on me thy shafts of raillery,
 For this my ventured banter, but forbear
 The unequal weapon of thy keenest wit,
 Such as you shew'd, when in gay Gallia's Court
 Admitted to the table and converse
 Daily familiar, of the Royal Charles,
 You sat; and he one day in sportive mood
 Indulging, play'd on you this question'd jest;
 "What difference divides a Scot and sot?"
 When soon with keen retort (not in offence)
 You gave this witty answer to the King,
 "Only the table's length, my gracious liege."—Vol. ii., p. 365.

Under the circumstances which attend the publication of this work after the death of Mr. Fitchett, we shall temper our censure of its ridiculous silliness. The Editor having, on mature deliberation, "thought it incumbent upon him, to present this poem to the world, as it came from the writer's hand," we are willing to believe that this resolution was on his part unavoidable. A friend of the author has termed *King Alfred* a composition which "had it been found in the centre of the loftiest pyramid of Egypt, might have been considered as a specimen well worthy of the massive character of that land of wonders, and of the shrine in which it was enclosed." As nobody can tell why the pyramids were built, or for what use they were intended, they might with some propriety have enclosed the most useless production which ever proceeded from the human mind. But that the massive character of the wonders of Egypt has anything in common with the flimsy conglomeration of absurdities and puerilities which we are now considering, is as rational and true as to affirm that the loose and shifting column of the sand of the desert, whirled to and fro by every varying gust, is as steady and compact as the granite peak of the tempest-battered mountain. It is laughable—but it is also painful, to think that the intellect of man should have toiled unremittingly at such a labour of nothingness.

For it must be kept in mind that Milton was not more solemnly in earnest in refining the gold of his imperishable poetry, than John Fitchett in rarefying the gold-beater's-skin of his incompressible verses. To his comprehensive task, we are told, "he freely devoted his fortune, his labour, and his time," and "all his faculties." Geography he studied more practically than Malte-Brun, Saxon history more ardently than Sharon Turner,

and Gothic mythology more affectionately than Snorro Sturlason. His memory must have been prodigious, while he undoubtedly looked upon Nature with an observant and keen glance. But he was likewise endowed with a fatal facility and copiousness of language, of which the unsatisfactory result is, that not a single passage—and much less any single line—cleaves to the reader. The ocean of his verbiage overwhelms every thing, but its reflux leaves not a solitary limpet to show that there is vitality among its waves. And while we are not unwilling to admit that he “paints the charms of rural scenery” with “minuteness,” it is precisely this minuteness which annihilates the effect, which is the object of the artist. Every leaf of the tree, as it is ruffled by the wind, and struck by the sunbeams, has its function of beauty and power operating *imperceptibly* on the eye of the spectator. What cunning copyist of Nature, to produce a like impression, would transfer to the canvass every leaf of the tree? Gifted, therefore, with, and recklessly prodigal of, this ease of expression, and through the magnifying medium of the subject which exclusively absorbed his mind, embracing at once the natural and the supernatural as equally within its proper range, Mr. Fitchett has written a stupendous poem, which cannot be classified with any family or individual hitherto recognized in the gardens of Apollo. It is not more an epic than it is an idyl. It is infinitely more a work of pure fiction than an imaginative reflexion of history, or a romantic amalgamation of the fanciful and the real. The nature of the theme destroyed its epical capabilities. The manner of treating the theme has ruined its usefulness as a highly illuminated chronicle. With its six volumes, forty-eight books, and one hundred and thirty thousand verses; *King Alfred*, a poem, is literally—nothing.

On the whole, it is perhaps better for his own comfort that Mr. Fitchett did not survive to witness the neglect and contempt which the offspring of his unquenchable zeal and indefatigable perseverance is destined to meet with at the hands of the world. During his life, it engrossed the whole soul, monopolized all the faculties, and employed a large proportion of the time, of an amiable, accomplished, and excellent man. At his death, its occupation and its value were both gone. It never will interest the lover of true poetry. It is worthless for the historical student; while the admirer of Alfred, recoiling from an inextricable mass of exaggeration, absurdity, and insipidity, will console himself, without regret, in the simplicity of Asser, and the dryness of the Saxon chronicle. The sands of hopeless oblivion are even now settling over the pyramid which it cost forty years to build.

Art. V.—The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D., late Head Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. Second Edition. London, 1844.

SOME years ago, we might have been surprised to find the Life of Dr. Arnold attain to a second edition within a few weeks, without claims to the peculiar sympathy of any party, either political or religious, and with something to excite the jealousy of each. We take it as the sign of an improved state of feeling, that his want of partisanship is forgiven, and what we may each think his errors of opinion are forborne with, in the general admiration of his character, and the sympathy which is felt for the objects to which his life was devoted. The *fact* that this is the case, and that it hardly excites our surprise, is surely a hopeful symptom. It seems as if, even in the distracting turmoil of the political and polemical contest of the last few years, some additional common ground had been gained, and a larger agreement in common principles recognized, by those whose part in the conflict is taken not for its own sake. The *effect* of these enlarged sympathies cannot fail, in the present instance, to be good. The life and correspondence of Dr. Arnold, his character and peculiar opinions, even what we may think his erroneous views, are full of instruction, admirably adapted to the existing state of things. By the favour of his name, and through the medium of his influence, a hearing may be obtained for principles which would not be tolerated if coming from a more suspected source. The central and independent position which Dr. Arnold held, between Conservative Churchmen and Dissenters; High-Churchmen and Low-Churchmen; Tories and partisan Whigs; the advocates of the ancient order, and the utilitarian reformers of the day, gives a peculiar value to his influence upon all. None can complacently put every excellence of his life and character to the credit of their own party, as part of its common stock of virtue in which they have a share; and where we differ from him, we can all examine the point of difference undisturbed by the bitterness of party opposition. We feel that the fervour and devotedness of his religion, his generous philanthropy, his pure and exalted patriotism, and the warmth and gentleness of his social affections, were not the natural growth of any limited connexion, but resulted from his own clear and just views of duty. We can only grieve, as far as we may at any of the in-

scrutable ways of Providence, that it needed the disclosure of his inner life which could be obtained only after his otherwise untimely death—the sight of so much goodness and virtue, such devotion to duty, public and private, and such a spirit of Christian piety and love pervading the whole—to complete his work, by adding the purifying and healing influence of his character to the effect of his active and often controversial labours.

Sensible as the author of this biography must be of the interest of his subject, and of the good to result from a work that shall perpetuate Dr. Arnold's influence upon society, he must have found his task beset with some difficulties. Dr. Arnold's life was passed in unruffled domestic enjoyment, and a round of endless but most successful labour, so that Thomas Carlyle's description of his house, when he visited him in his latest year, would have been equally true at any earlier period—that it was “a temple of industrious peace.” Delightful as it is to contemplate such a scene, it is a pleasure which is soon satisfied, unless our interest be kept alive by our being enabled to participate in the intellectual activity which gives it animation. But if it was a life wanting the interest of incident, it possessed in the highest degree that of character and of peculiarity of views. The influence of Dr. Arnold's example, and of his opinions, was almost unaccountable in one so far removed from the world of action; and it is only to be explained by the moral enthusiasm and energy of his character, and by the freshness and originality of his views. Such being the real interest of his life, we should expect that he might have been left to give his own biography in his correspondence, arranged, with only a few needful explanations, by the editor. But there are reasons why this would have been unsatisfactory, and the author is obliged, by the nature of his materials, to appear throughout in his own person; though it is rather dissertation than narrative which he is enabled to supply. Dr. Arnold not having filled a part in public affairs, or been engaged in a course of progressive professional exertion, and his correspondence not referring to any train of events, either public or private, it is in a high degree desultory and accidental. It has, in some measure, the character of his professional life, engaged from vacation to “half year,” and from “half year” to vacation, in a circle of duties, with high principles, and generally also with some objects of subordinate utility, kept continually in view; but still ending where it had begun. With no onward career of his own, which his letters may illustrate, he belonged to no party, of whose proceedings we are in them to trace the history; and his correspondence was not with men engaged in active public life, whose communications throw light upon the events of the times. The letters now published are the

less calculated, without commentary, to supply the want of a narrative, or even to convey to us accurately Dr. Arnold's opinions, that it has not been thought right, in any instance, to give the other side of the correspondence. The extent to which this would have increased the size of the work, was in itself perhaps a sufficient reason for withholding the additional light which the letters of Dr. Arnold's correspondents would have afforded.

His biographer, Mr. Stanley, was probably not insensible to these difficulties of his undertaking; some of which do not in their nature admit of being overcome. What is thus unavoidably unsatisfactory in the work, is however compensated by the author's intimate acquaintance and sympathy with the character and views which he has to develop; and which have in them something, as it were, foreign to our common experience of men; elements so remote, and combinations so unexpected, that they stand in need of an interpreter thus qualified. We especially congratulate Mr. Stanley upon the uncontroversial character of his part in these volumes; which exhibits, with great tact and fidelity, not the mere impression of the outward action of Arnold's life, which was sufficiently polemical; but the inmost purpose and most deep-seated tendencies of his mind, peculiar for nothing more than unwillingness to see differences which are not essential, and readiness to attach importance to those principles which are held in common by the greatest number.*

Thomas Arnold was born on June 13th, 1795, at West Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, where his father, who died in 1801, was collector of customs. After being for some years at a private school in Wiltshire, he was sent, in 1807, to Winchester, where he remained till 1811. Along with the elements of classical learning, and "a strong Wykhamist feeling," which he ever after continued to cherish, he probably acquired at Winchester an admiration, not without prejudice, for public education, and the system of English public schools. He afterwards became distinguished, and sometimes dreaded, as a school reformer; but his anxiety to improve, was only in proportion to the degree to which he was attached to the system, alike by the associations of his boyhood, and the convictions of his more mature experience.

In 1811, Arnold was elected as a scholar at Corpus Christi

* Those who are acquainted with Dr. Arnold's works, may recognize in this distinction, between the outward action and the inward purpose, a favourite distinction of his own, between the inner and outer life, both of men and of communities; the one being, as it were, the normal life, giving law to action; the other the active life, constrained by that law, but often more by other external influences, so that it even appears to be in opposition to the normal life.

College, Oxford. In the limited society of this small college, he found several minds able to appreciate and call forth his powers. Among these was John Keble, now the well known author of the *Christian Year*, to whom he then looked up as an elder and distinguished student. In later years, his regard for Mr. Keble outlived even the opposition and estrangement, created by a conflict of principles which would have seemed all but impossible to the young disputants of the common room of Corpus, when they "debated the classic and romantic question," and "discussed poetry and history, logic and philosophy,"*—the air as yet undisturbed by the breath of that controversy, which, in their maturer years, was to rage like a storm within the Universities and the Church, overwhelming every lesser distinction, and making indifference impossible. Another fellow-student, with whom he formed a friendship, which, to the honour of both, lasted throughout life, undiminished by their opposed opinions upon most public and party questions, was John Taylor Coleridge, nephew of the poet; now a Judge of the Queen's Bench. To him we are indebted for an account of his friend's career as an under-graduate.

It does not appear that Arnold brought with him to Oxford any precocious amount of erudition; nor "I think," says Mr. Justice Coleridge, "did he leave college with scholarship proportioned to his great abilities and opportunities." It was, however, only in the more minute niceties of classical learning, that he was defective. Even in his early college days, he had so mastered the language and style of Herodotus and Thucydides, that he wrote narratives in the manner of either, to the admiration at least of his fellow-students. But he was led, by a strong natural bias, to devote himself to the historians and philosophers of antiquity, rather than to the critical and verbal study of the poets, which has always been, at Oxford, the favourite field for philological training. Afterwards, when himself a teacher, he became more sensible of the value of this department of classical study, as a means of acquiring a knowledge of language—the vehicle and instrument of thought.

Young as he was when he came to college, Arnold speedily took his place among the senior under-graduates of Corpus, distinguished for the boldness of his opinions, and his courage in maintaining them against more practised debaters, and by the not less remarkable peculiarity of holding, probably alone, liberal views in politics, almost tending to Jacobinism. In this matter, the influence of the society in which he was living, soon produced such an effect, that he was apparently converted for a time to Toryism.

* Vol. I., p. 11. Letter from Mr. Justice Coleridge.

This, however, was the creed only of his early college days, and speedily gave way to a conviction, as settled as any that had possession of his mind, that the resistance to change, merely because it is change, and for the sake of preserving things as they are, has its source in an inherent and wide-spread principle of evil. His ultimate opinion of Toryism may be gathered from the following passage from a letter written in 1833:—

“ For the more vulgar form of our popular party, the total ignorance of, and indifference to, all principle; the mere money-getting and money-saving selfishness, which cries aloud for *cheap* government, making, as it were, *ἀνὰ ῥαγὰν* to consist in cheapness—my feeling is one of extreme contempt and disgust. My only difference from you, so far as I see, regards our anti-reformers, or rather the Tory party in general in England. Now, undoubtedly, some of the very best and wisest men in the country have, on the Reform question, joined this party, but they are as Falkland was at Oxford—had their party triumphed they would have been the first to lament the victory, for, not they would have influenced the measures carried into effect, but the worst and most selfish part of our aristocracy, with the coarsest and most profligate of their dependents, men like the Hortensii, and Lentuli, and Claudii, of the Roman civil wars, who thwarted Pompey, insulted Cicero, and ground down the provinces with their insolence and tyranny; men so hateful and so contemptible, that I verily believe that the victory of Cæsar, nay, even of Augustus, was a less evil to the human race than would have resulted from the triumph of the aristocracy.

“ And, as I feel that, of the two besetting sins of human nature, selfish neglect and selfish agitation, the former is the more common, and has, in the long run, done far more harm than the latter, although the outbreaks of the latter, while they last, are of a far more atrocious character, so I have, in a manner, vowed to myself, and prayed that, with God’s blessing, no excesses of popular wickedness, though I should be myself, as I expect, the victim of them, no temporary evils, produced by revolution, shall ever make me forget the wickedness of Toryism,—of that spirit which has throughout the long experience of all history continually thwarted the cause of God and goodness..... and has gone on abusing its opportunities, and heaping up wrath, by a long series of selfish neglect, against the day of wrath and judgment.” —Vol. i., pp. 349, 350.

In 1815, Arnold was elected a Fellow of Oriel College. At that time there were, among the Fellows of Oriel, not a few names which have since become known to the world, and whose connexion with Arnold at this period is worthy of note. When he joined the society, it contained the names of Copleston, Davison, Whately, Keble, Hawkins, and Hampden. When Arnold vacated his Fellowship, Mr. Newman was elected into it; and

shortly after, Dr. Pusey became a Fellow of the same college. To Archbishop Whately, and Dr. Hawkins, now Provost of Oriel, Arnold continued intimately attached throughout life. In the memorable controversy which, in 1836, attended the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the Regius Professorship of Divinity, Arnold took a part, with all the ardour of his nature, against what he did not hesitate to denounce as an immoral conspiracy to overwhelm, for party purposes, an able and upright man.* Against the religious party which is identified with the names of Keble, Newman, and Pusey, he early took his stand, and continued to his latest hour to oppose it as the great evil of the times; his attack being the more formidable, that it came from one trained in the same discipline, and not wanting the associations, nor even some of the prejudices, that might have been expected to make him deal more tenderly with the Oxford theology.

As a Fellow of Oriel, Arnold continued for four years to reside at the University, taking private pupils. During this period, he availed himself largely of the Oxford libraries; entering upon an extensive course of reading, especially in modern history; and making himself familiar with the great historical collections which he could expect to find only in a public library. He always valued much, both for himself and others, this interval of industrious repose in the life of a collegian; when, having sustained his part in the struggle for academical honours, and obtained his degree, he enters for a time upon the quiet possession of the privileges of the University, before engaging in the active duties of life.

Arnold was then, and continued till the day of his death, an enthusiast in his love of Oxford. He admired its system of tuition, its learned society, and its magnificent libraries. A successful scholar from an English public school, he became a distinguished collegian, with his opinions and his friendships formed at college. To him, Oxford was a world in itself; and he could hardly conceive of any other way to knowledge and usefulness, than through her prescribed course of study, and the achievement of the honours with which she attests successful exertion. Especially was he an orthodox Oxonian in his belief in the indispensable usefulness of classical learning, not only as an important branch of knowledge, but as the substantial basis of education itself. His view upon this subject was perhaps even somewhat beyond orthodox; and as it was highly characteristic of his mind, and exercised a remarkable influence in moulding his opinions,

* Dr. Arnold stated the case against the opponents of Dr. Hampden, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. cxxvii.

we shall better understand both his character and writings, if we stop for a little to advert to certain peculiarities in his taste for classical study, by which he was, not at college merely, but throughout life, distinguished from the generality of English scholars. He did not cultivate a knowledge of the classics as the best exercise in philology; seeking to master the science of language itself, by obtaining a masterly knowledge of the most perfect of all languages. He seems early to have become enamoured, not of the Greek language, but of the Greek mind. The mode of thinking of the Greek philosophers and historians gave them their value in his eyes, rather than the exquisite medium in which their thoughts are conveyed. This was Arnold's nature. To his mind, ardent, energetic, full of sympathies, and prone to action, Greek never was a dead language, nor Greece a mere historical name. The historians and poets of antiquity held with him their relative places of reality and fiction—fiction that could only be dreamed over,—reality that was to be believed, and might be re-enacted. Arnold, with his active mind and strong human sympathies, was forming opinions, crudely enough perhaps, while his companions were writing Greek verses, and outstripping him in accomplished scholarship. Thus it was, that, at an early age, he was searching the Greek historians for lessons of practical wisdom, rather than Homer for poetical commonplaces. He studied Aristotle with the veneration of a true disciple; so that Mr. Justice Coleridge tells us he "never knew a man who made such familiar, even fond use of an author;" not, however, so much led on by the seducing mysteries of the syllogism, as captivated by the "matchless diligence and sagacity in the Politics of Aristotle," whose "opinions and reasonings on laws, constitutions, and political economy, were founded not on fanciful speculations, but on an immense collection of the antiquities and forms of government of one hundred and fifty-eight commonwealths, which he had himself previously made and digested."*

Arnold was saved from pedantry, of which no professional scholar could have less, by his strong sense of the reality of things. From childhood till his latest hour, he lived in a school; intensely engaged, first in his own education, and afterwards in that of others. But no man in England had a more vivid impression of what was passing around him, or a sympathy more earnest or active with the business of the world. He read the lessons of ancient heathen wisdom, as an Englishman of the nineteenth century and a Christian, seeking what he could there find

* Review by Dr. Arnold of Niebuhr, &c. in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxii. p. 70.

applicable to existing things ; admitting truths not for their anti-quity, but because he judged them to be universal ; and after all subjecting them to a vigorous process of adaptation. Still, the use which he thus made of the philosophy and reasoning of his favourite Greek authors, taking his knowledge of them for the substructure of all his other knowledge, while it gave a captivat-ing freshness and extension to his views, and saved him from the prevailing fallacies and narrowness of his class and his age, often exercised an influence upon his opinions too direct and positive ; so that amidst much sound thinking and extensive induction, and a wonderful freedom from commonplace prejudices, there is a lurking fallacy, which is detected by discovering its depend-ence upon obsolete modes of thinking and antiquated conditions of social existence.

In 1819, Arnold, having previously taken Deacon's orders, settled at Laleham, near Staines, where he remained for nine years occupied in preparing pupils for the University. He mar-ried, in 1820, Miss Penrose, who, with a numerous family, sur-vides him. Their happiness was singularly unchequered. The rare gentleness of Arnold's nature needed not, as it never expe-rienced, the softening influence of bereavement ; and, by an un-usual dispensation from the common lot, we read in these volumes of no inroad of domestic sorrow, during twenty-two years, from his marriage till the close of his life.

It was during the period of his residence at Laleham, that the mind of Arnold, as it assumed the maturity and vigour of man-hood, became stamped with the peculiar character which it after-wards retained. His views regarding the great interests of human life, for time and for eternity, were then formed, and ad-mitted to that universal rule which they ever after maintained over all his actions ; a jurisdiction, for subjection to which, no-thing was too solemn and spiritual, nothing too secular and com-mon. In his mind all action was duty, and all duty was impera-tive. At college, he had lived among men of serious, some of them of earnest views in regard to religion. His letters, even then, give evidence of his religious convictions and sense of Christian duty. But it is after we see him at Laleham, a hus-band and father, in the responsible charge of his pupils, and forced to rest upon the strength of his own principles, that we find all the views and tendencies of his mind gathering them-selves, in orderly and symmetrical subordination, around the one master motive, the belief of Christian truth, and its counterpart in action, the spirit of devotedness to Christian duty.

The peculiar character of Arnold's religion (as every man's religion, besides the truth or falsehood of the objective system, or doctrine believed, will have a peculiar subjective character, de-pending partly upon outward influences, and partly upon mental

constitution) may perhaps be traced in some measure to his Oxford connexions. The "Oriental School" of his day, as it is called by his biographer, was composed of men who have since shewn, even in their absolute opposition to each other, that it was a school in which decided views on religion were not unlikely to be formed. That section of the Fellows of Oriel with which he continued in agreement, can hardly have been without an influence upon his sentiments in this respect. He gratefully attributed such an influence to Archbishop Whately; and, with much that was self-derived, his views and mode of thinking upon religious subjects, had much also in common with those of his friend. If we may judge from the writings of Arnold and Whately, leaving out of view what seems peculiar to each, we should say that the characteristic common to their religious views is a disinclination to make use of the dogmas of systematic theology, arising not from want of acquiescence in the truths which they contain, but from the belief that it is inexpedient to employ an abstract formulæ of Christian doctrine in place of the varied language of Scripture. In Whately, it was the dread of the fallacies to which such scientific generalizations might lead, that produced this tendency. In Arnold, it was the expansiveness of his religion, that resisted what he thought the narrowness of human systems of theology compared with the comprehensiveness of the Bible; and also his intense love of reality, that made him fear the insincerity and formality of conventional language. Nothing is more striking in his character, than this union of a catholic spirit with an insatiable craving after what is substantial and practical. Had he possessed the former alone, we might have expected to find him the ally of his college friend, Keble, pursuing the phantom of apparent union, with all his regards directed to the church. The latter quality, unchecked by the former, might have produced the anomalous, but not uncommon exhibition of a Christian, with much of personal piety, seeking his own improvement and that of those around him, but with his religion altogether individualized. In Arnold, we find admirably adjusted the twofold aspect of Christianity, towards the church, and towards the individual believer. But both these tendencies, good in themselves, and especially excellent in combination, made him perhaps morbidly afraid of receiving the truths of revelation in the language of men, lest they should become less comprehensive upon the one hand, or less personal or practical upon the other. We do not think the turn of his mind fitted him to be a successful theologian; and the attempt to abandon theological system, and to escape from the influence of theological writers, was perhaps more to be commended for the excellence of the motives which led to it,

than for its success. He was not, we think, always felicitous in his apprehension of doctrinal truth ; and to whatever extent he succeeded in getting quit of the human medium of former commentators and theologians, he could not avoid introducing a new medium, equally human, though often of happiest influence, in his own views and character largely imbuing his explanations of Scripture.* One inconvenience of such a method, at least when carried to excess, is, that a religious writer who voluntarily rejects the helps of systematic phraseology, and the other appliances which the science of theology, like every other science, offers to its students, has not the usual and ready tests by which either he, or his readers, may at once discover his agreement or difference with the opinions of others. He is thus liable to depart widely from common views of Divine truth, without either himself, or his readers, being aware of it. The use of such an acknowledged measure of difference, by which to ascertain our departure from generally admitted principles, is quite a separate thing from the receiving even of an agreed on, far more of an infallible, standard of doctrine. Of this, which is among the most obvious and familiar benefits of systematic theology, Arnold and other writers have, with an over-scrupulosity, refused to avail themselves.

Arnold's manifold sympathies, and his proneness to action, shewed themselves in his religion. No man could feel more strongly the duty of a Christian to be a patriot and a philanthropist,—to live not for himself—not even for his own improvement and the improvement of those among whom he lives,—but to devote himself to the cause of human improvement. The private teacher at Laleham,—the head-master of Rugby,—zealously laborious in his own calling,—was watching, with breathless anxiety, the votes of Parliament and the meetings of Trades-Unions,—Catholic Emancipation and the Penny Magazine;—he was petitioning for Church Reform and against the Jew's Civil Disability Bill,—establishing a provincial newspaper for the lower orders, and a preaching station for the servants of a neighbouring railway,—lecturing to a mechanics' institute, and projecting a great work on "Christian politics,"—opening a correspondence with Thomas Carlyle and with Jacob Abbott,—teaching

* As instances of what appear to us insufficient and unsound views in theology, we may mention his estimate of the errors of the Unitarians and the Romanists ; and also the disposition, probably unconscious, which is indicated in some of his letters and other writings, to look to the *subjective* reality of religion, consisting in a moral influence upon the mind of the believer, as independent of its *objective* reality,—the *truth* believed in,—as if there might be a sound faith in a false religion. The partial incoherence of his opinions upon these points, seems, in his later years, in a great degree, to have given way to clearer views and a firmer grasp of the different parts of the Christian system.

a sabbath-school and defending Dr. Hampden,—seeking to evangelize the London University and to liberalize Oxford. Nothing seemed to escape him; and his view in all was simply, honestly, and fearlessly religious. Nothing was too high for him; no effort was too humble. He preferred that his name should stand alone at the petition to Parliament against the Jew bill, that he might take his stand upon his “favourite principle, that the world is made up of Christians and non-Christians.” He was equally willing to write anonymously for the *Sheffield Courant* and the *Hertford Reformer*. Nothing is so striking in all this restless activity, as the actor’s forgetfulness of himself. He is never for a moment thinking of himself; and, stranger still, he is not thinking of his party, or his sect, for he had neither. The tendency of his mind, ever going out in action, and obeying what seemed to him the dictate of duty, led him into many controversies; but we find him always, stoutly opposed indeed to one of the parties, but taking his stand upon some “favourite principle” of his own, so that the party to whose aid he came could claim him only as an independent ally.

In a communication from one of Dr. Arnold’s former pupils at Laleham, we are told of the “sympathetic thrill caught from a spirit that was earnestly at work in the world.” This is indeed the key, not only to Arnold’s success as a teacher, but to his life. It was a life of work, cheerfully volunteered, and yet never undertaken except in obedience to some call of duty. The love of action, and a deep sense of religious obligation, went together; the one the willing servant of the other. Add to this, that these two principles met, each in such force, in a mind eminently speculative; and perhaps we have obtained the three chief elements of Arnold’s character; each of which, in their combination, seemed to the distant or careless observer, to develop itself alone, and to negative the existence of the other two; so that he might be thought, by turns, or by different parties, a theorist, a somewhat monastic pietist, or an over-zealous practical reformer.

But we should ill depict his character, if we were to dwell only on the energy and honesty of purpose of his public efforts to do good. No picture truly could have more repose. We cannot conceive a more delicious scene of quiet enjoyment, than his domestic life. The intensity of Arnold’s delight in his family, and the unchecked and childlike lovingness of his nature appear, when we remember that our knowledge of all this is obtained, not from his letters to his wife and children, where we might have expected it, but from constantly recurring passages in his correspondence on those questions of politics, religion, literature, and education, to which he applied himself with a keenness that seemed entire to those who knew him only by his writings, or

from what they heard, in certain quarters, of the vehemence of his opinions. He gives Mr. Justice Coleridge this delightful sketch of his occupations and enjoyments, in a letter from Westmoreland, in 1837:—

“I must write to you from Fox How, though it is our last evening; and to-morrow we set out to return to Rugby. We have been here just six weeks; and six weeks of greater peace and happiness, it would scarcely be possible, I suppose, for any one to pass. In this neighbourhood there has been as yet no influenza; no snow at any time to obstruct communication; no rains to keep us within doors, nothing more than the ordinary varieties of winter, containing among them days of such surpassing beauty, that at no time of the year could the country have been more enjoyable. You know the view from the dining-room; it was only a few mornings since, that the clouds broke away from the summit of Fairfield, while we were at breakfast, a little after eight o'clock, and the sun just threw his light upon the crest of the mountain all covered with snow, and gave it the rose colour which you have seen on the Alps; while all the lower points of the hills, and all the side of Loughrigg, wore the infinite variety of their winter colouring of green and grey and gold. . . . We have had two of our sixth form boys down here, who I thought wanted the refreshment of a mountain country, as they had been working rather too hard. Meanwhile my history has been flourishing; I have been turning to account all my Roman law reading, in a chapter on the twelve tables, and I have carried on the story to the year of Rome 350.”—Vol. ii., pp. 70, 71.

In 1828, the sphere of Arnold's duties was changed, and greatly enlarged, by his election as head-master at Rugby. Here he amply fulfilled the sagacious prediction in a testimonial from his friend, Dr. Hawkins, that “if he were elected to the head-mastership of Rugby, he would change the face of education all through the public schools of England.” He entered upon his new duties, not only with views of usefulness more comprehensive, and bolder schemes of improvement, than have often distinguished the successful candidate for a head-mastership in one of our great public schools; but also with a far deeper sense of his responsibility for the right use of education for the moral and spiritual improvement of his pupils. His letters, at the time of his election, shew how seriously he contemplated the prospect before him:—

“If I do get it,” he says, “I feel as if I could set to work very heartily, and, with God's blessing, I should like to try whether my notions of Christian education are really impracticable, whether our system of public schools has not in it some noble elements, which, under the blessing of the Spirit of all holiness and wisdom, might produce fruit even to life eternal. When I think about it thus, I really long to take rod in hand; but when I think of the *πρὸς τὸ τέλος*, the per-

fect vileness which I must daily contemplate, the certainty that this can at best be only partially remedied, the irksomeness of "*fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum*," and the greater form and publicity of the life which we should there lead, when I could no more bathe daily in the clear Thames, nor wear old coats and Russia duck trowsers, nor hang on a gallows, nor climb a pole, I grieve to think of the possibility of a change; but as there are about thirty candidates, and I only applied very late, I think I need not disquiet myself."—Vol. i., p. 79.

It is exhilarating, and almost astonishing, to contemplate Dr. Arnold in the full activity of his career at Rugby; with his more extensive literary works—his history of Rome, his edition of Thucydides, his five volumes of sermons, and his lectures on modern history, going on; his schemes of philanthropy, his interest in politics, his share in the controversies of the day, and his boundless correspondence, occupying his mind; his frequent journeys to the Continent, and his vacations in Westmoreland, the source of unabated pleasure; and yet all kept in strict subordination to the care of his school, as the proper business of his life. His anxiety about the school, especially for its moral interests, is a prevailing topic in his letters. The alternations of good and evil, the rise of any prominent mischief, sometimes even the course of reading, and above all, his thankfulness when the boys are doing well, are duly communicated. The predominance of moral considerations in all his anxieties for the school is shewn in the following passage, which is otherwise very characteristic of Arnold:—

"Here, thank God, I have not suffered from failing health, but I have been much annoyed with the moral evils which have come under my notice; and then a great school is very trying. It never can present images of rest and peace; and when the spring and activity of youth is altogether unsanctified by anything pure and elevated in its desires, it becomes a spectacle that is as dizzying, and almost more morally distressing, than the shouts and gambols of a set of lunatics. *It is very startling to see so much of sin combined with so little of sorrow.* In a parish, amongst the poor, whatever of sin exists, there is sure also to be enough of suffering; poverty, sickness, and old age, are mighty tamers and chastisers. But with boys of the richer classes, one sees nothing but plenty, health, and youth; and these are really awful to behold, when one must feel that they are unblest. On the other hand, few things are more beautiful than when one does see all holy and noble thoughts and principles, not the forced growth of pain, or infirmity, or privation; but springing up as by God's immediate planting, in a sort of garden of all that is fresh and beautiful; full of so much hope for this world as well as for Heaven. All this has very much driven the Newmanites out of my head" . . . Vol. ii., p. 140.

In 1832, Dr. Arnold purchased a small property in the vale of Rydal, in Westmoreland. To this place he always afterwards re-

treated during the winter vacations, and for such part of his summer holidays as he did not spend in rapid journeys on the Continent. His attachment to "Fox How," with its quiet valley, and "the girdling in of the mountains" around it, grew stronger every year of his life. "Nowhere on earth," he said, "have I ever seen a spot of more perfect and enjoyable beauty, with not a single object out of tune with it, look which way I will." But it was also the home of his affections, to which he returned every season with increasing delight, not merely for the singular loveliness of the situation, but as the scene of his happiest, because most domestic, life.

"Yet," he writes to Mr. Justice Coleridge, "I should be very false, and very ungrateful too, if I did not acknowledge that Rugby was a very dear home; with so much of work, and yet so much of quiet, as my wife and I enjoy every day when we go out with her pony into our quiet lanes."—Vol. ii., p. 264.

His enjoyment of his winter visits to Fox How, shows that he was attached to it by a tie more enduring than mere love of scenery. His letters written on these occasions are among the most delightful in the collection; abounding in simple and graphic description of the family goings, within doors and without. We cannot refrain from extracting two passages of this kind:—

"We had no snow here to stop communication for half an hour; and since the snow went away from all but the mountain tops, the colouring of the country has been delicious. We have had our full share of walking; whilst all the morning till one o'clock, I used to sit in one corner of the drawing-room, not looking towards Fairfield, lest I should be constantly tempted from my work, and there I worked on at the Roman History and the Twelve Tables, and Appian Claudius, and Cincinnatus, and all the rest of them."—Vol. ii., p. 73.

"I was unwell before the holidays, and although I soon recovered, yet I was very glad to come down here and get some rest. And the rest of this place in winter is complete, every thing so quiet, with only our immediate neighbours, all kind and neighbourly. Wordsworth is remarkably well, and we see him daily; and, moreover, Rydal Lake is frozen as hard as a rock, and my nine children and I with them, were all over it to-day to our great delight. Four of my boys skait. Walter is trundled in his wheelbarrow, and my daughters and I slide, for I am afraid that I am too old to learn to skait now. My wife walks to Ambleside to get the letters, and then goes round to meet us as we come from the Lake."—Vol. ii., pp. 245, 246.

It was Dr. Arnold's practice to invite to Fox How some of his most advanced pupils. "I find Westmoreland," he said, "very convenient in giving me an opportunity of having some of the Sixth Form with me in the holidays; not to read, of course, but to refresh their health when they get knocked up by the work.

and to show them mountains and dales; a great point in education, and a great desideratum to those, who only know the central or southern counties of England." Both there and at Rugby, he received frequent visits from young men, who sought his correspondence and advice during their studies at the University. None of his letters are more characteristic than those addressed to this portion of his correspondents. Full of sympathy, and of offers of advice and assistance or of kindly and useful hospitality, they contain so much serious and elevating discussion, as must have made those to whom they were addressed, conscious of the growing responsibilities of manhood, and rejoice to take an interest in what interested their instructor. In all this, there was no affectation of letting himself down to their level. It was one of Arnold's most remarkable qualifications for his office, that he really enjoyed his intercourse with young men. With good health and good spirits, which he declared to be essential in a teacher, he could enter without effort into their hilarity and amusements; and, by a still rarer adaptation of mind to his duties, he found both pleasure and instruction in partaking of their studies. In one of the many letters to Mr. Justice Coleridge, in which he dwells upon his school work, he says,—

"My delight in going over Homer and Virgil with the boys, makes me think what a treat it must be to teach Shakspeare to a good class of young Greeks in regenerate Athens; to dwell upon him line by line, and word by word, in the way that nothing but a translation lesson ever will enable one to do." "I have been trying something of this in French, as I am now going through with the Sixth Form, Barante's beautiful *Tableau de la Littérature Française pendant la dix-huitième Siècle*. I thought of you the other day, when one of my fellows translated to me that splendid paragraph, comparing Voltaire to the Babouc of one of his own romances, for I think you first showed me the passage many years ago. Now, by going through Barante in this way, one gets it thoroughly; and with a really good book, I think it is a great gain."—Vol. ii., p. 49.

We imagine the business of instruction is nearly perfect, when a really able and learned teacher feels his share in it to be intellectually a great gain to himself.

When Dr. Arnold was appointed to Rugby, he took full orders, that he might be "officially as well as really," the religious guide of his pupils. Shortly afterwards, upon the chaplaincy becoming vacant, he applied for the appointment without salary. "Whoever is chaplain," he said, "I must ever feel myself as head-master, the real and proper religious instructor of the boys." The sermons which he regularly preached in the school chapel, were among the most original and useful of his efforts to give effect to

his ideas of the peculiar good which he attributed to the system of public schools.*

He published, in 1828, a volume of sermons, preached in the parish church at Laleham, where he occasionally assisted the curate; and, at intervals, four other volumes have since appeared, of sermons mostly preached to his pupils at Rugby. The striking feature in these discourses, is their plain dealing—the distinct statement to his hearers of the difficulties and dangers of their position, and that in coming to a public school, they may too probably have entered upon a course where every step is to be from bad to worse. Nothing is left in the vagueness and uncertainty of conventional phrases. The truths he wishes to convey, are stated in plain language; the evils of which he complains, are distinctly brought forward. He at least leaves no room for misapprehension. Other preachers, perhaps, might have given a more perfect exposition of Christian truth, or urged it upon their hearers with a more powerful appeal to the judgment or the feelings; but none could have produced a more thorough understanding betwixt himself and his audience, of the points which he desired to put at issue between them. We cannot but admire the manly integrity that refuses, as in the following passage, to disguise from his pupils the evils of their situation:—

“Undoubtedly this place, and other similar places, which receive us when we have quitted the state of childhood, and before our characters are formed in manhood, do partake somewhat of the character of the wilderness; and it is not unnatural that many should shrink back from them in fear. We see but too often the early beauty of the character sadly marred, its simplicity gone, its confidence chilled, its tenderness hardened; where there was gentleness, we see roughness and coarseness; where there was obedience, we find murmuring, and self-will, and pride; where there was a true and blameless conversation, we find now something of falsehood, something of profaneness, something of impurity. I can well conceive what it must be to a parent to see his child return from school, for the first time, with the marks of this grievous change upon him: I can well conceive how bitterly he must regret having ever sent him to a place of so much danger; how fondly he must look back to the days of his early innocence. And if a parent feels thus, what must be our feelings, seeing that this evil has been wrought here. Are we not as those who, when pretending to give a wholesome draught, have mixed the cup with poison? How can we go on upholding a system, the effects of which appear to be so merely mischievous?

* It appears that Dr. Arnold's example has introduced the practice of delivering similar discourses in the other great public schools.

"Believe me, that such questions must and ought to present themselves to the mind of every thinking man, who is concerned in the management of a school: and I do think that we could not answer them satisfactorily, that our work would absolutely be unendurable, if we did not bear in mind that our eyes should look forward, and not backward; if we did not remember that the victory of fallen man is to be sought for, not in innocence, but in tried virtue. Comparing only the state of a boy after his first half-year, or year, at school, with his earlier state as a child, and our reflections on the evil of our system would be bitter indeed; but when we compare a boy's state after his first half-year, or year, at school, with what it is afterwards; when we see the clouds again clearing off; when we find coarseness succeeded again by delicacy; hardness and selfishness again broken up, and giving place to affection and benevolence; murmuring and self-will exchanged for humility and self-denial, and the profane, or impure, or false tongue, uttering again only the words of truth and purity; and when we see that all these good things are now, by God's grace, rooted in the character; that they have been tried, and grown up amidst the trial; that the knowledge of evil has made them hate it the more, and be the more aware of it; then we can look upon our calling with patience, and even with thankfulness; we see that the wilderness has been gone through triumphantly, and that its dangers have hardened and strengthened the traveller for all his remaining pilgrimage."—*Sermons*, vol. iv., pp. 6, 7, 8.

But while the sermons are often thus directed against the peculiar evils of the place—its besetting sins and their predominant causes, he does not omit the Scriptural view, which finds the source of all evil in the inherent sinfulness of our fallen nature, and its only efficient remedy in the Gospel. His discourses abound in the statement of these great truths; addressed, however, with admirable suitableness to the peculiar condition of his audience. Still he never shrinks from descending to the lesser details of Christian ethics. He teaches his hearers, how from day to day they are beset by the temptations of a large school, and are called to a definite and peculiar course of endurance and resistance. Preaching to the young and thoughtless, he feels it to be necessary to deduce practical conclusions from Christian doctrine, more largely than might be required for a more advanced congregation.

In turning over the pages of Arnold's sermons, either those addressed to his scholars, or to an ordinary congregation, we may probably be struck by the absence of the peculiar language and topics which commonly mark a professedly religious discourse; and by the free introduction of matters which seem, at first sight, common and apart from religion. It is upon going further, that we find that what seems thus secular, is truly sanctified; that the whole argument is eminently Christian; and

that the preacher is seeking, in conformity with the marked tendency of his mind, to enlarge the ordinary sphere of the influence of Christianity, and to bring its principles to bear upon every department of moral action.

The effects of the moral training at Rugby,—of the comprehensive idea which Dr. Arnold entertained of the scope and objects of education, and the admirable skill with which he realized it, were soon visible. Every term, he sent to the Universities young men bearing in their character and deportment the evidence that they had been subjected to some better system, than had been known to those of their predecessors, who could only tell of the demoralizing influence and brilliant classical attainments of a public school. Dr. Moberly, head-master of Winchester, and formerly a tutor at Oxford, thus testifies to the merits of Arnold, as the originator of a reformed system :—

“It soon began,” he says, “to be matter of observation to us in the University, that his pupils brought quite a different character with them to Oxford than that which we knew elsewhere. I do not speak of opinions; but his pupils were thoughtful, manly minded, conscious of duty and obligation, when they first came to college; we regretted, indeed, that they were often deeply imbued with principles which we disapproved, but we cordially acknowledged the immense improvement in their characters in respect of morality and personal piety, and looked on Dr. Arnold as exercising an influence for good, which, (for how many years I know not) had been absolutely unknown to our public schools.”—Vol. i., p. 183.

Dr. Arnold's fondness for ancient history had led him to communicate several articles on the history of Rome to the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*; but it found its fuller development, when, in 1825, he became acquainted with Niebuhr's great work, and at once adopted his method of critical investigation. In an article in the *Quarterly Review*, written in that year, he was, to use Niebuhr's own words, “the scholar who introduced the first edition of this history to the English public.” A circumstance in some degree accidental, confirmed Arnold's readiness to follow in the track of Niebuhr, and probably led him to persevere in the composition of his own history of Rome. He had visited the north of Italy two years before; but in 1827 he saw Rome for the first time, and was captivated by the melancholy beauty and grand associations of the ruined queen of cities. On his last evening in Rome, he writes in his *Journal* :—

“I feel at leaving Rome very differently from what I ever felt at leaving any other place not more endeared than this is by personal ties: and when I last see the dome of St. Peter's I shall seem to be parting from more than a mere town full of curiosities, where the eye

has been amused and the intellect gratified. I never thought to have felt thus tenderly towards Rome; but the inexpressible solemnity and beauty of her ruined condition has quite bewitched me; and to the latest hour of my life I shall remember the Forum, the surrounding hills, and the magnificent Colosseum."—Vol. ii., p. 371.

Probably, even then, views of a great work upon the history of Rome may have floated through his mind, as the touching grandeur of the same scenes had inspired Gibbon with the desire to record the decline and fall of Roman greatness. During Arnold's short stay, of thirteen days, in Rome, his greatest enjoyment was in the society of the Chevalier Bunsen, a learned German, of high reputation as a Roman antiquary, and the worthy successor of Niebuhr, as Prussian minister at the Papal court. In this foreigner, whose acquaintance he thus casually made, Arnold seems to have found greater congeniality of view, and also more which he was disposed to venerate and rely upon, than in any even of the friends whom he most valued at home. Their correspondence continued intimate and unbroken till Arnold's death, and in 1839 he had the gratification of seeing his friend in England, where he is now ambassador to the British court. This intercourse with the countryman and friend of Niebuhr, himself deeply versed in the same historical researches, confirmed Arnold's admiration for the great German historian. It also encouraged him to prosecute the same path, in an English history of Rome, written with the aids of modern, especially of German learning; and above all, with the lights to be derived from Niebuhr. Dr. Arnold was employed upon this work during the remainder of his life; and his letters show that it was the fruit of immense study and meditation. His frequent visits to the Continent were often undertaken for the sole purpose of examining with his own eye the theatre of Roman warfare, and bringing the later and less authentic of the ancient historians to the rigid test of comparing their statements with the physical geography of the countries to which they refer. Arnold had a singular advantage for prosecuting this ingenious method of criticism, and also for preparing himself to comprehend and narrate extended warlike operations, in his masterly ability as a geographer, which enabled him almost instinctively to seize upon the features of a country. When he looked at the map of a district, or travelled through it, there was present to his mind, at once and for ever after, its anatomical structure, of leading chains of mountains, and enclosed plains or valleys, with their great water courses; and with reference to these, all subordinate or artificial divisions naturally arranged themselves in his mind. In addition to this quality, which often enabled him intuitively to reject the vagueness; and detect the falsehood, of ancient authors, and the kindred one

of a passion for the study of military operations, Arnold had other gifts which well fitted him for writing ancient history. Possessing an extensive and varied knowledge of the literature, institutions, and races of ancient Greece and Italy, which placed the higher facts of history within his reach; having early imbibed the spirit and mode of thinking of those times, in his study of the speculative writers and historians of antiquity; and being well versed in modern history, he looked upon his subject from the vantage ground of a pure and exalted political philosophy, whose generalizations coincide with the more sure deductions from revealed truth, and show us in the movements of ancient states, the working out of a "mighty plan" conceived and directed by infinite wisdom. The expansive and religious mind of Arnold, averse alike from scepticism and narrowness, is nowhere more conspicuous, than when, engaged with the characters and incidents of heathen Rome, he brings to their comprehension, as equally necessary, the spirit of their own times, and the light which they were not permitted to possess. He undertook to write, what he happily calls (though in a sense somewhat different,) "the really modern history of the civilization" of Rome—the Christian history of its heathenism; and his work abounds in those lessons which our times may deduce from the events of antiquity.

The vigour, rapidity, and graphic distinctness of the narrative, give to portions of the history the interest of a romance; while in reality these qualities just depend upon the accuracy with which he has traced the movements he records, and the severe criticism to which he has subjected the ancient historians. An admirable instance of this is to be found in the account of Hannibal's march from Spain into Italy, with the movements of the Roman and Carthaginian armies in the north of Italy, ending in the battle of the Thrasimene Lake. We learn almost more of even the mere geography of these extensive operations, including the much controverted passage of the Alps, from Arnold's narrative, than we could do from a good map.

It would be out of place here to attempt an examination of this work, which is the most considerable memorial of Arnold's zeal and ability as a scholar. We can only regret that the author's death put an end to it, long before he had completed his plan. The first volume did not appear till 1838. It was followed by the second in 1840. And the third, bringing the history to the end of the second Punic war, was published in 1843, after the author's death, under the friendly and appropriate eye of the learned Archdeacon Hare, who had first directed Arnold to the study of Niebuhr.

We must dismiss still more slightly, another work which at intervals occupied no small portion of Dr. Arnold's time, during

many years, both at Laleham and Rugby. We mean his Thucydides, with English notes, and dissertations in the form of prefaces and appendices, published first in 1830-35, and in a second edition in 1840-42. In this production, his early fondness for the Greek prose writers, and disposition to apply their mode of thinking to the affairs of modern life, found full vent. It contains a free discussion of his peculiar opinions upon political and constitutional questions, and the dissertations will be interesting even to the mere English reader, who wishes to study Arnold's views on those subjects.*

Dr. Arnold's polemical opinions have attracted more attention from the world at large, than his literary works. Though naturally inclined rather to active efforts at improvement than to controversy, we find him early engaged in speculations upon the polity and condition of the English Church. It was his fate to live in times, when questions of church government suddenly presented themselves, in new and ominous aspects. In strange contrast to the universal stillness amid which his earlier polemical studies had been pursued, he lived to see the Established Church pressed on from without by a large dissentient body, upon whose claims he was far from looking with indifference; and, later still, stirred to her centre by an internal movement, which he thought much more to be dreaded. The crisis did not find him unprepared with principles of action, which secured to his opinions and conduct the credit of not being adopted in a period of alarm, to suit a sudden exigency. We differ widely enough from some of his opinions; but we never can too much admire the imperturbable candour and integrity of purpose, that shrunk from no test to which they could be subjected; not even from the rarest and most trying of all, that of following them out to all their consequences, careless of the party landmarks which he should demolish in his course.

In an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, written in 1826, while he was still at Laleham, Arnold had indicated the liberality of his views in regard to dissent, and also his dissatisfaction with the existing state of the Church, and the boldness of his principles of Church Reform. This paper was written while, as yet, all within the Church seemed calm and secure. But the times were peculiarly favourable to the growth of dissent. Eleven years of peace, with the increased wealth and intelligence of the middle order and those immediately beneath them, had furnished in abundance the materials out of which that growth is to be sup-

* For this purpose, the first edition is to be consulted, as some interesting matter is omitted in the later one.

plied. A marked revival of religion, coldly received by the dignitaries of the church and a large proportion of their clergy, seemed almost instinctively repelled beyond the bounds of the Establishment, to a freer and more genial atmosphere.* With their increased prosperity and importance, the Dissenters had risen in the urgency with which they pressed their claims. No longer contented to petition for relief from their own Disabilities, they revived or propounded doctrines hostile to the existence of an established church. The new attitude thus assumed by non-conformity, if noticed at all by churchmen, was generally treated with contempt and indignation, as a thing of which the wickedness could only be equalled by its folly. Arnold, though attached to the church, not only by religious and official connexion, but by his most cherished opinions on secular and ecclesiastical polity, could not persuade himself that dissent was either causeless or powerless. Neither could he disguise from himself, that the Church very imperfectly fulfilled the purposes of the divine institute which he was prepared to defend. In a letter written at a subsequent period, he thus deliberately expresses his opinion upon the subject of dissent :—

“ I think the existence of Dissent a great evil, and I believe my inclinations as little lead me to the Dissenters as any man’s living. But I do not think, in the first place, that the Christian unity of which our Lord and his Apostles speak so earnestly, is an unity of government,—or that national churches, each sovereign, or churches of a less wide extent than national, each equally sovereign, are a breach of unity necessarily ; and again, if Dissent, as it exists in England, were a breach of unity, then there comes the historical question, whose fault the breach is ? and that question is not to be answered summarily, nor will the true answer ever lay all the blame on the Dissenters ; I think not so much as half of it.”—Vol. ii., p. 265.

In opposition to the low and defective theory, that would invest the State with the care of religion and morals, only as these are subservient to the maintenance of the rights of property, which it

* It strongly marks the extent to which the revival of religion, in the way at least in which it actually did take place, was a growth foreign to the Established Church, and for some cause incapable of being completely *acclimated* to it, that we find a man of so evangelical a spirit as Arnold expressing himself with constant disfavour of the “*evangelicals*.” No doubt, it is to be kept in mind, that by this expression, which he obviously uses in a peculiar and limited sense, he alludes to a distinct local party in the Church of England, viewed by him chiefly in its connexion with the universities. It is also to be remembered, that he is speaking of a party with whom he seems unfortunately never to have become acquainted. Still, it illustrates a curious and important fact in the recent history of religion in England, that he should express himself thus of the “*evangelicals*” at home, while he was recommending with great earnestness the works of Mr. Abbott, in America.

considers as its primary object. Arnold held that the ultimate end of the State, not merely the final cause of its existence, but the end which it is to keep constantly in view, is moral and religious. It is here, that we think his views have been chiefly influenced by his familiarity with the historians and philosophers of Greece. Trained to the mode of thinking proper to the comparatively simple, though civilized, state of the Greek republics, he pursues it when theorizing upon the more complicated relations of modern life, with its new elements of divine truth and a spiritual community of believers. The idea of the State to be obtained from the ancients, has somewhat the nature of an abstract and sublimated personification, to which may be attributed moral purposes and responsibilities, in a sense different from that which makes them attach to the individuals of the community who entertain the one, or may personally incur the other. Above all, it may be invested with all high functions; and ancient theorists, having given existence to this ideal person, were not slow to ascribe to it the parental, kingly, and priestly character. Indeed, this was the very purpose for which it existed in their minds at all; that it might unite separate functions, whose co-existence and mutual relation it might otherwise have been difficult to explain; just as the fictions of lawyers are invented, to reconcile the seeming contradictions of their science. We are far from accusing Arnold of having much indulged in this kind of mysticism. He was saved from it by the practical turn of his mind and his love of reality; while it has been one of the besetting errors of the party, in the Church, and in the State, to whom he was chiefly opposed. But still, it is certain, that he was early enamoured of the idea of a parental State, embracing with lofty purposes and irresistible power, all the interests of a people; and comprehending within itself, and imparting to its officers, every conceivable function for guiding and elevating their condition. The idea is sublime; but it belongs essentially to a heathen philosophy; and in Arnold's mind it met with the antagonist notion, not of the Christian religion merely, but of the Christian Church. No man could hold, in more perfect integrity, the view that Christianity is not simply a religious belief, but an all-pervading principle of human life, constituting believers into a distinct religious society, with a government of its own, and social duties and responsibilities by its members to itself.

To reconcile these two notions, of a State as comprehensive as it seemed to the ancient philosophers, and a Christian Church that shall retain its character of a distinct society, was the first great problem of Arnold's "Christian Politics." In the attempt to solve it, he sacrificed, in substance, though not in language or intention, the identity and spirituality of the Church to the com-

prehensiveness of the State. Adopting the ancient idea of a State, as all in all—the heart that supplies, and the soul that controls, all vital motion within the body of the nation; he conceived that the Church was just this all-embracing State, invested with a religious character and functions dependent upon the possession of revealed truth. Looking upon Christianity as a motive that is never to be absent from any sphere of action, and which is to rule the conduct in every department of life, it seemed to him, as a subtle and healthful essence, to permeate the entire body of citizens, of which the abstract idea was present to his mind as “The State.” Thus he was led to the conclusion, that, in a country which has received Christianity, the Church is just the State become Christian; and the State is just the Church, spoken of in respect to its more secular functions. The truth which lay behind this unfortunate paradox, was that which exercised so complete a control over Arnold’s life,—the universality of Christian duty. Recognizing in his own sphere of action, nothing secular so as to be removed beyond the influence of his religion, and applying the same just and noble rule to other men, it seemed that the society whom it bound together, was nothing less than the entire body politic. The difficulty which must immediately suggest itself to every mind, that there have always been in every country, even the most perfectly Christianized, persons who have openly refused to admit the truth of Christianity, was met by Arnold in a manner perfectly in accordance with his peculiar views. Pursuing the classical idea of a State, as a moral and intellectual existence, with a distinct unity, and identity, and will of its own, it was not difficult to conceive that it might adopt the Christian faith as the religion of its people, and that any of them who should reject it, would voluntarily exclude themselves from perfect citizenship. Thus Arnold maintained, that the Jews “have no claim to become citizens, but by conforming to our moral law, which is the Gospel.” He met objections founded upon the existence of concealed infidelity, and false or inconsistent professions of belief, and upon the impracticability, if not the injustice, of attempting to exclude from the rights of citizenship upon those grounds, by admitting that, in the existing state of things it is impossible, and not desirable, to give full effect to his theory. Perhaps, a more consistent reply would have been, to allow that in fact his premises in some measure fail him; that our reception of Christianity, even as a State, has been imperfect, and complicated with other national acts; (has it indeed ever been otherwise with any country?) and that we are, therefore, not entitled to arrogate to ourselves all of what he considered the outward privileges of a Christian State.

It is never to be forgotten how widely the inquiry, as to what was the peculiar form of heathenism in any Pagan state, differs in its nature from the question, whether a people have become Christian. The former is properly, as Arnold learned from Thucydides and Aristotle, a matter of race and municipal connexion. The ancestral worship of the ancient heathen may mark his remote origin, long after we have lost the language and the traditions of his tribe. With him, the ideas of identity of religion, and identity of race, can never be separated. But the reception of Christianity depends upon individual conviction and personal faith; it is not merely the change of one religion for another, but it is a change upon the persons themselves who receive it. Now, the only power that could fitly decree the admission of a new god into the pantheon of a heathen people, was the State, whose province it was to regulate the national worship. The State could not, however, undergo the internal change implied in the reception of Christianity; and as little could it produce it in the hearts of its people. It has been the attempt to do this, that has produced what Arnold himself deprecates, as "the pretended conversion of the kingdoms of the world to the kingdom of Christ."*

This theory of the *identity* of Church and State, did not affect the liberality of Arnold's opinions in politics, and as little did it interfere with the simplicity of his faith. Yet it verged singularly, near to a leading error of his opponents on the question of the Catholic claims; an error which, we believe, was not uninfluential, a few years later, in reproducing, by an unexpected movement, the same parties as the Anglo-Catholic opponents of Arnold in the Tractarian controversy; in the one instance, refusing to concede any thing to the claims of the Catholics; in the other, giving up themselves to the influence of Catholicism. It is certain, that during the controversy on the Catholic question, there was a disposition in the opponents of emancipation to receive and dwell upon the idea of a national religion, in the sense of a religion which has the nation itself for the worshipper, and is in so

* ——"the pretended conversion of the kingdoms of the world to the kingdom of Christ in the fourth and fifth centuries, which I look upon as one of the greatest *tours d'adresse* that Satan ever played, except his invention of Popery. I mean that by inducing kings and nations to conform nominally to Christianity, and thus to get into their hands the direction of Christian society, he has in a great measure succeeded in keeping out the peculiar principles of that society from any extended sphere of operation, and in ensuring the ascendancy of his own. One real conversion there seems to have been, that of the Anglo-Saxons; but that he soon succeeded in corrupting; and at the Norman Conquest we had little, I suppose, to lose, even from the more direct introduction of Popery and worldly religion which came in with the Conqueror."—Vol. i., pp. 51, 52.

far supplementary to the religion of the individuals of the community. The immediate inducement to the revival of this somewhat antiquated notion, was to justify those who adopted it, in maintaining that the admission of Roman Catholics to the rights of complete citizenship, would be an infringement upon the purity of the national religion, and therefore the commission of a national sin. It is equally certain, that a large number of those who most implicitly received this idea, and acted upon it by violent opposition, on religious grounds, to the Catholic Relief Bill, have since come to entertain views, which seem to the majority of Protestants to leave little difference to contend for, between them and the Romanists. We hardly wonder at this result. Is it not evident that the notion of a national religion, in the sense in which these persons were led to receive it, is destructive of the simplicity of Christian faith; and directly introduces that idea of a vicarious worship, which is the prominent characteristic of Romanism? In the Jewish dispensation, such a national religion existed, in the strictest sense, by divine appointment. The *human* origin of such a notion, however, is truly referred, by Bishop Warburton, to heathenism. "The *object*," he says, "of what we call religion, being God, considered as the creator and preserver of a species of rational beings, the *subject* of it must needs be each individual of that species. This is that idea of religion which our common nature approves. But now in ancient Paganism, religion was a very different thing: It had for its *subject* not only the *natural man*, that is each individual; but likewise the *artificial man*, society."* It is true, however commonly the truth may be lost sight of, that there may be a departure from true religion, in regard to its *subject*, as well as its *object*; that is, in regard to the identity of the worshipper, as well as of the Deity who is worshipped. We may make over the whole, or a part of our religion to the State, which must devolve it upon the priest; and an official and vicarious worship may continually ascend, not from the hearts of believing worshippers, but from a thousand stone-built temples; and the so called national voice may then rise loudest to Heaven, when the nation is sunk deepest in earthly vice.

Arnold's idea of a national religion was free from this element of falsehood. He early learned from his friend, Dr. Whately, the value of the principle, that Christianity has no earthly priest; the great evil of Popery itself being, in his mind, "that it has destroyed the Christian church, and has substituted a priesthood in its room."† With him the Christian people—the body

* *Divine Legation*. B. II. Sec. I.—We need not say, how far we are from adopting Warburton's theory of government, and of its connexion with religion.

† *Sermons*, vol. iv., p. 418.

of believers—bishops, presbyters, deacons, and laity alike, were all in all,—the only worshippers,—the Church; and the anti-Christ of priesthood was a usurpation, that could rise only on the ruins of true religion. His most ardent and continual aspiration was for the restoration of this spiritual institute,—“the real living Church itself, with all its manifold offices and ministries, with its pure discipline, with its holy and loving sense of brotherhood.”* In asserting, what he thought to be the national character of Christianity, he denounced the “*subjection* of the Church to the State,” as “a most miserable and most unchristian condition;” its *subversion*, by the substitution of the clergy for the Christian people; and its *apostacy*, by the introduction of a new mediator in the person of an earthly priesthood. Refusing to give up the Church, as a secular and subordinate institute, to be ruled by the State; and sadly confessing that discipline never can, and indeed, never ought to be restored, till the Church resumes its lawful authority, and puts an end to the usurpation of its powers by the clergy; he struggled after the idea of a church, free from the stain of Erastianism, and yet perfectly identified with the State,—not its subject, nor its ally,—but itself—*alter et idem*. He faithfully adhered to these views, in the part which he took in the polemical controversies of the times. He demanded church reform,—the revival of church discipline and church government,—upon the only footing on which he believed it could take place, the previous restoration of the Christian people and the Christian ministry, to their rightful places in the spiritual body. He strenuously opposed the Tractarians, because they set up a self-constituted priesthood between God and believers in Christ—disfranchising the Christian people, and dethroning the one Mediator.

The peculiar, and in some respects, fictitious idea, which Dr. Arnold entertained of the *national character* of religion, led him to adopt views strange and unpalatable to those who plead loudest for a *national religion*, in the more objectionable sense of the term. While he sought the reform of the Church, and the restoration of her rightful, and purely spiritual, functions, he did not demand for her a universal predominancy. Opposed to dissent, as an evil for which he admitted the Dissenters were not chiefly to blame; he took it as a fact, which does not interfere with the existence of a common Christianity in the nation, but materially affects the manner of its operation. Thus he demanded admission for the Dissenters to the Universities, because Christian education is the duty, and the right, not of a part, but of the whole of a Christian people.

* Sermons, vol. iv., p. 422.

We shall not enter here upon an examination of the pamphlets, on "the Christian duty of conceding the Catholic Claims," published in 1829, and on the "Principles of Church Reform," in 1833. They contain the fullest exposition of Dr. Arnold's peculiar views and mode of thinking upon such subjects, and first stamped him with the character of a bold reformer and original speculator, so obnoxious to more zealous, or less discriminating, churchmen. Arnold found few, within the Church, who agreed with him in his conclusions, and still fewer, who assented to the principles on which they were based. The whole of that vast body, who are ever brought together by any sound of danger to the Church, united in loud and angry condemnation. Friends silently drew off, or contented themselves with prudent warnings of the danger to which he exposed himself. Arnold was not of a nature to be insensible to the painfulness of his position. The discussions in which he was engaged wanted the more purely religious element, which afterwards sustained him in his controversy with the Tractarians; and perhaps, the first one or two years which followed the publication of the pamphlet upon Church Reform, were the least tranquil and happy of his life. We find him, however, true to his character, seeking relief from the pain of wounded sympathies, in devotion to his school, and in correspondence with those friends whose attachment was unshaken by difference of opinion.

It was not merely fondness for his peculiar opinions on ecclesiastical polity, and alarm at the false and truly sectarian views, which, in the heat and blindness of controversy, were then propounded, and received without question among churchmen, that brought Arnold forward as the advocate of the Catholic claims. His strong sense of political justice, his active sympathies with the world around him, and perhaps the opportunity of applying his classical notions of distinct race, and national identity thence resulting, made him feel the oppression of Ireland,—its original conquest, and its continued government by the predominance of the conquering over the conquered race, as a heavy load of national guilt. While every anti-Catholic churchman was raising his voice to denounce the *sin* of admitting Catholics to a seat in the legislature, he was, more sorrowfully, and as sincerely, mourning the guilt of selfish misrule, that, at the end of centuries, still clings to the right and practice of conquest. In a sentence, happily suggestive of the real evils in the condition of Ireland, and curiously characteristic of the practical tendency of all his speculations—the disposition to be up and doing himself, whatever others may do,—he says, in a letter written in 1828, "there is more to be done there than in any corner of the world. I had at one time a notion of going over there and taking Irish

pupils, to try what one man could do towards civilizing the people, by trying to civilize and Christianize the gentry."

The controversy, however, which most engaged Dr. Arnold's mind, during the latter years of his life, was with the Tractarian divines of his own University. Though it can hardly be said that he formally entered the lists as a disputant, yet he brought the whole force of his moral influence, and his professional station, to bear upon the controversy. In his school, and especially in the school chapel; in the general tenor, and in incidental passages of his published sermons; in his correspondence, whether with his pupils still in their passage through the University, or with his own contemporaries, he was the unwearied, uncompromising opponent of Tractarianism; guiding the young in the formation of principles, and striving to impart his zeal to the more advanced. Every term brought a little band of Rugby scholars to the University, prepared not to receive without examination the doctrines of their teachers. Divines of learning and high station were roused from indolence or diffidence, into activity, by the ardour of Dr. Arnold. The only occasion on which he wrote at any length upon this subject, was in the introduction to his fourth volume of Sermons, published in 1841. This is, in many respects, a remarkable performance. It possesses the singular clearness, and almost extreme plainness and simplicity, that distinguish Arnold's writings; in the whole of which, voluminous as they are, there is probably not a sentence that ever detained a reader by a doubt as to its meaning. It has also the candour and gentleness and eminent fairness, that raise it far above the level of mere skilful disputation. There is, besides, not inconsistently with these qualities, a strength and vehemence of accusation, from which most men in Dr. Arnold's position, and with his connexions, would have shrunk. The point of his attack, is the doctrine of the Apostolical succession, as essential to the efficacy of the sacraments. Taking his stand upon his favourite views of the rightful constitution of the church, and, in this instance, only upon that portion of them, in which we apprehend all evangelical Christians must agree with him, he denounces the doctrine of the Tractarians, as the subversion of the church by the substitution of the clergy in its place. His previous speculations give him here a great advantage. We feel that he is familiar with the ground, and that he would have been equally so, though the Tractarians had never written. He thus replies to Mr. Newman's assertion, that the Tractarian movement is towards "something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century:"—

"In truth, the evils of the last century were but the inevitable fruits of the long ascendancy of Mr. Newman's favourite principles. Christ's

religion had been corrupted in the long period before the Reformation, but it had ever retained many of its main truths, and it was easy, when the appeal was once made to Scripture, to sweep away the corruptions, and restore it in its perfect form; but Christ's Church had been destroyed so long and so completely, that its very idea was all but lost, and to revive it actually was impossible. What had been known under that name—I am speaking of Christ's Church, be it observed, as distinguished from Christ's religion—was so great an evil, that, hopeless of drawing any good from it, men looked rather to Christ's religion as all in all; and content with having destroyed the false church, never thought that the scheme of Christianity could not be perfectly developed without the restoration of the true one. But the want was deeply felt, and its consequences were deplorable. At this moment men are truly craving something deeper than satisfied the last century: they crave to have the true Church of Christ, which the last century was without. Mr. Newman perceives their want, and again offers them that false church, which is worse than none at all."—*Sermons*, vol. iv., *Introduction*, pp. xlii. xliii.

He closes with the argument, perhaps the most palpable and cogent of any, from the want of moral tendency in the doctrine.

"When we look at the condition of our country; at the poverty and wretchedness of so large a portion of the working classes,—at the intellectual and moral evils which certainly exist among the poor, but by no means amongst the poor only, and when we witness the many partial attempts to remedy these evils—attempts benevolent, indeed, and wise, so far as they go, but utterly unable to strike to the heart of the mischief, can any Christian doubt that here is the work for the Church of Christ to do—that none else can do it, and, that with the blessing of her almighty Head, she can. Looking upon the chaos around us, one power alone can reduce it into order, and fill it with light and life. And does he really apprehend the perfections and high calling of Christ's Church? Does he, indeed, fathom the depths of man's wants, or has he learnt to rise to the fulness of the stature of their Divine remedy, who comes forward to preach to us the necessity of apostolical succession? Grant even that it was of Divine appointment, still, as it is demonstrably and palpably unconnected with holiness, as it would be a mere positive and ceremonial ordinance, it cannot be the point of most importance to insist on; even if it be a sin to neglect this, there are so many far weightier matters equally neglected, that it would be assuredly no Christian prophesying which were to strive to direct our chief attention to this. But the wholly unmoral character of this doctrine, which, if indeed it were of God, would make it a single mysterious exception to all the other doctrines of the Gospel, is, God be thanked, not more certain than its total want of external evidence; the Scripture disclaims it—Christ himself condemns it."—Pp. lxv., lxvi., lxvii.

Dr. Arnold's anxiety to meet Tractarianism and Romanism upon, what he thought, the higher ground of a controversy on

behalf of the Christian Church against the usurpation of priesthood, made him, perhaps, less concerned about what he deemed smaller points of difference. The natural tendency of his mind, also, was not adverse to some of the external changes which the Tractarians would introduce. The outward forms and suggestives of devotion, such as the commemorative festivals of the Church, and perhaps still more the expression of national faith and worship, conventional, and in great measure symbolical, as that expression must always be, held a high place in his estimation. The deeply reverential constitution of his mind, and his peculiar principles of ecclesiastical and secular polity, united to produce this effect. They made him palliate, and even place a value upon, what Protestants generally have esteemed to be gross errors of Popish practice. Those who are acquainted with his whole writings, and with his correspondence, must be aware how small, in his own case, was the bad effect of the quarter which he gave to errors so inconsistent with the general tenor of his opinions. We know no practice or sentiment of Dr. Arnold—nothing in his life or his mind, that can be looked upon as the fruit of the opinion expressed in the following singular passage from this dissertation *against* the Tractarians. If we could throw out of view the fact of their publication by himself, and judge merely from his life and opinions, and from his other writings, this, and one or two similar passages, might stand in the curious predicament of having their authenticity disproved by the strongest internal evidence:—

“The true Church of Christ would offer to every faculty of our nature its proper exercise, and would entirely meet all our wants. No wise man doubts that the Reformation was imperfect, or that in the Romish system there were many good institutions, and practices, and feelings, which it would be most desirable to restore amongst ourselves. Daily church services, frequent communions, memorials of our Christian calling continually presented to our notice, in crosses and way-side oratories; commemorations of holy men of all times and countries; the doctrine of the communion of saints practically taught; religious orders, especially of women, of different kinds, and under different rules, delivered only from the snare and sin of perpetual vows;—all these, most of which are of some efficacy for good, even in a corrupt church, belong no less to the true church, and would there be purely beneficial.”—Pp. lvi. lvii.

Remembering the effect of some of these practices, in every Christian community where they have prevailed, we can hardly avoid replying to this passage, in Dr. Arnold's own words, on the very next page—“What does the true and perfect church want, that she should borrow from the broken cisterns of idolatry?” But assuredly he gave no intentional sanction to idolatry; and

we think there is evidence in his correspondence, that before the close of his life he became more sensible of *all* the evils of Popery, and that he would probably not then have expressed opinions so much at variance with his own sounder and more deliberate views.

The disturbed state of England in 1830, and for some time after, drew Dr. Arnold's attention to the condition of our own population, upon which he looked with an eye of foreboding, which the distress of later years has too well justified. From his letters during this period, we find that he thus early anticipated the pain and alarm, with which the revelations recently made of the increasing destitution of the lower orders, have inspired all philanthropic and thoughtful persons. In November 1830, he writes to his sister—

“No one seems to me to understand our dangers, or at least to speak them out manfully. One good man, who sent a letter to the *Times* the other day, recommends that the clergy should preach subordination and obedience. I seriously say, God forbid they should; for if any earthly thing could ruin Christianity in England it would be this. If they read Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and Amos, and Habakkuk, they will find that the prophets, in a similar state of society in Judea, did not preach subordination only or chiefly, but they denounced oppression, and amassing overgrown properties, and grinding the labourers to the smallest possible pittance; and they denounced the Jewish high church party for countenancing all these iniquities, and prophesying smooth things to please the aristocracy. If the clergy would come forward as one man, from Cumberland to Cornwall, exhorting peaceableness on the one side, and justice on the other, denouncing the high rents, and the game laws, and the carelessness which keeps the poor ignorant, and then wonders that they are brutal, I verily believe they might yet save themselves and the State. But the truth is, that we are living amongst a population whom we treat with all the haughtiness and indifference that we could treat slaves, whom we allow to be slaves in ignorance, without having them chained and watched to prevent them from hurting us.”—Vol. i., pp. 281, 282.

The title of the chapter which embraces this period of Arnold's life, indicates the kind of remedies which he would have applied to the existing evils of the State, and the course of duty upon which he thought they called on him to enter:—“Alarm at the social condition of the lower orders in England.—Wish to rouse the clergy.—Attempts to influence the Useful Knowledge Society.—Establishment of the ‘Englishman's Register.’—Thirteen letters in the ‘Sheffield Courant.’—Want of sympathy,”—&c. Plans of usefulness, such as are here indicated, continued to occupy Arnold's mind till the close of his life, although the immediate alarms of the period that first called them forth passed

gradually away. As an effort for the moral improvement of the lower orders, he established, at his own expense, the "Englishman's Register," a provincial newspaper, of which he was partly the editor; but which, from want of support, he was soon obliged to discontinue. The anxiety to effect some good in this way, led him afterwards to contribute anonymously to the "Sheffield Courant" and the "Hertford Reformer." With the same view, he urged upon the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the importance of giving a Christian tone to its publications. For this object, he offered his own assistance as a writer; and he adds, "I would give a larger sum than I should be thought sane to mention, if I might but once see this great point effected." "I never wanted," he says, in commending the tone of a paper in the Penny Magazine, "articles on religious subjects half so much, as articles on common subjects written with a decidedly religious tone." Following the same views on to far more difficult ground, Dr. Arnold accepted, in 1835, a fellowship, and the office of examiner in the London University, with the wish to secure that religious knowledge should be comprehended in the examination of candidates for a degree in arts. His correspondence shews the practical difficulties by which the subject was beset, and the failure of his views resulted in his retirement from the University.

In 1839, his apprehensions as to the social condition of the country,—a state of society which he thought "was never yet paralleled in history,"—returned with great force. "The state of the times," he writes to Mr. Justice Coleridge, "is so grievous, *that it really pierces through all private happiness, and haunts me daily like a personal calamity*;"—and in the close of the preceding year he says,—

"I have been much distressed, also, by the accounts of the alarming agitation which is going on in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire; an agitation not political merely, but social, complaining of the unequal reward of labour, and inveighing against capital and capitalists in no gentle terms. Believing this to be peculiarly our sore spot, any irritation in it always disturbs me; and I have been tempted to write again on the subject, as I did in 1831 in the Sheffield Letters."—Vol. ii., p. 141.

Impressed with these views, he attempted to form a society for collecting information, and directing public attention to the condition of the poor. Even in the short space that has elapsed since Dr. Arnold made this attempt, much has been done to realize his wishes, both by Parliamentary Commissioners and by the efforts of societies and individuals. The evils which he contemplated with so much alarm, have been to a great extent laid

bare. Their intensity has, we fear, been found equal to his most gloomy apprehensions; and, unhappily, the difficulty of the subject has not hitherto receded before advancing knowledge of the real amount and nature of the mischiefs to be remedied. Dr. Arnold did not intend that the proposed society should suggest remedies for the state of the country, and he had no panacea of his own to offer. As we might expect, his mind dwelt more readily upon moral, or more strictly speaking, religious, means of improvement. He saw clearly the vast physical amelioration that would result from the efficient and combined efforts of the really Christian portion of the community, in the discharge of what may be called the social duties of Christianity. His own views led him to look, though now almost hopelessly, to an improved church polity, for the realizing of the noble conception of a people, in their public and social relations actuated by Christian principle, and bound together and sustained by the good offices of their common religion. But, short of this, he looked with hope to every effort prompted by religious motives, or by real sympathy with the wants and feelings of the poor. His object was to improve the tone of feeling of the upper classes towards the lower, rather than to direct it to any one course of action. Feeling the evils of the poorer classes to be manifold, he looked not for one, but for manifold remedies: Religious instruction and superintendence; education, more diffused and of better quality; the removal of unjust restrictions upon industry; the encouragement of economical schemes among the poor—all of these were in his view, as good objects to be attained; but, nearer still, he saw requiring to be broken down, the barrier of pride, and selfishness, and thoughtlessness, that separates the upper from the lower order of society. None of Arnold's sermons are more striking than those, addressed not to his scholars, but to an ordinary congregation, in which he treats of such subjects. There is a sad, and almost prophetic solemnity, in his statement of the distresses of the poor, and of the undutifulness of the rich. The following passage is from a charity sermon, preached on behalf of a school:—

“It is mentioned by the Prophet Isaiah, among the signs of that day when God should come to judge the earth, that ‘the vile person shall then be no more called liberal, nor the churl said to be bountiful.’ He means, I fear, that we, measuring ourselves by ourselves, and not by the standard of God's infinite love, claim the praise of bounty and liberality for some little or some ostentatious acts of kindness, when there are great and numerous evils existing on all sides in our daily path, which, like the Priest and Levite in the parable, we pass by and regard not. There are evils to which custom has so hardened us, that we seem to take them almost as a matter of course;

no man thinks himself wanting in charity, if he goes on his way without stopping or turning to notice them. Such is the state of the poor around us at this hour, both with regard to their moral condition and their physical—their poverty and their ignorance. If we feel this strongly, we shall not only be inclined to give liberally on occasions like the present, but we shall give with a sense of humiliation rather than of pride, when we think how much there is to be done, and how little we do, or have done, towards it. And the same feeling will lower those excessive expectations of gratitude from the objects of our bounty, which can exist only to be disappointed, and, when disappointed, shut up our hearts most unreasonably against the calls of distress for the time to come. The higher we estimate the claims of Christ upon us in behalf of our poorer brethren, the humbler will be our estimate of our kindness towards them, and we shall be contented with a far less ardent expression of gratitude. Gratitude, besides, is paid, we know, not for the service of the hand, but for that of the heart; we are grateful for kindness and for sympathy, much more than for mere benefits conferred on us. And if, on looking into our own hearts, we find much contemptuous, or, at least, indifferent feeling, towards the poor; if, while we relieve them in their worst distresses as objects of our bounty, we feel but little real sympathy and friendship towards them, as towards our brethren in Christ Jesus, we shall be more vexed with ourselves for deserving their gratitude so little, than with them for rendering it to us in too scanty measure.

“For the evils which now beset the relations of the rich and poor with one another in this country, various remedies are, as we know, agitating in men’s minds; and some of these are, in every respect, far worse than the actual state of things. But one remedy there is, full and complete in its operation, and with no shadow of danger or evil attending it—the remedy of a general and earnest application of the principles of the Gospel to our dealings with each other, not only as individuals, but as classes of society. The tamper prevailing amongst us, is a much worse evil than the actual distress suffered by any description of persons, severe as we know it in some instances to be. It cannot be denied that our estimate of the wants of the poor, both physical and moral—of the feelings and pleasures which they may and ought to be rendered capable of enjoying—is commonly fixed much too low: we see that they are, in many points, very unlike ourselves, and we seem to think it natural and fitting that they should always remain so.”—*Sermons*, vol. ii., pp. 398-400.

In 1841, Dr. Arnold received from Lord Melbourne the appointment of Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. This was an office well calculated to give scope for the exposition of many of his peculiar views. His familiar acquaintance with ancient history, and disposition to apply it to the elucidation of questions in modern politics, and to the illustration of modern history, his cherished views in political philosophy and church polity, his apprehensions as to the existing social state, and theories for

its improvement, and his own aptitude and skill as a historian, might all be duly indulged, and all contribute to the interest and usefulness of his lectures. He rejoiced to renew, after so long an interval, a closer connexion with Oxford; and to acquire an influence in the place where he felt that his efforts were most needed. The preparation of his first course of lectures was undertaken with his usual ardour. He writes from Fox How, in January 1842—

“Next week, I suppose, our life will have variety and excitement enough, when we go up to Oxford, with all our family, and are established at our house in Beaumont Street, which we have taken for three weeks. Nevertheless, I prefer writing from the delicious calm of this place, where the mountains raise their snowy tops into the clear sky by this dim twilight, with a most ghost-like solemnity; and nothing is heard, far or near, except the sound of the stream through the valley.

. . . . We have been here more than three weeks, and, as it always does, the place has breathed a constant refreshment on me, although I have never worked harder; having done six of my Lectures, besides a large correspondence about the school matters, as usual in the holidays. I have, in all, written seven Lectures, and leave one more to be written in Oxford, and this last week I hope to devote to my History.”—Vol. ii., pp. 305-306.

His reception at Oxford was highly gratifying. The sense of his unrivalled services to the cause of English education, had become stronger every year, and risen superior to polemical and political differences. His literary works had gained him a reputation, not confined to England, for learning, and for speculative and inventive powers. Oxford was proud of the high name with which he returned to her. A distinguished minority in the University were the friends with whom he had commenced his academical course, and who had watched with delight his career of usefulness and honour, and now rejoiced to receive him back among them to a high and well-earned station.

The appointment of Dr. Arnold to this professorship, was no slight incident in the history of the University. It is interesting to read Mr. Stanley's account as an eye-witness of the sensation produced by his inaugural lecture:—

“His school-work not permitting him to be absent more than one whole day, he left Rugby with Mrs. Arnold very early in the morning, and occupying himself from the time it became light, in looking over the school exercises, reached Oxford at noon. The day had been looked forward to with eager expectation, and the usual lecture-rooms in the Clarendon Buildings being unable to contain the crowds that, to the number of four or five hundred, flocked to hear him, the ‘Theatre’ was used for the occasion; and there, its whole area and lower galleries entirely filled, the Professor rose from his place, amidst the highest University authorities, in their official seats, and in that

clear manly voice, which so long retained its hold on the memory of those who heard it, began, amidst deep silence, the opening words of his Inaugural Lecture.

“ Even to an indifferent spectator, it must have been striking, amidst the general decay of the professorial system in Oxford, and at the time when the number of hearers rarely exceeded thirty or forty students, to see a chair, in itself one of the most important in the place—but which, from the infirmities of the late Professor, had been practically vacant for nearly twenty years—filled at last by a man whose very look and manner bespoke a genius and energy capable of discharging its duties as they had never been discharged before; and at that moment commanding an audience unprecedented in the range of academical memory: the oppressive atmosphere of controversy hanging at that particular period so heavily on the University, was felt at least for the time to be suddenly broken; and the whole place to have received an element of freshness and vigour, such as in the course of the lecture itself, he described in his sketch of the renovation of the worn-out generations of the Roman empire by the new life and energy of the Teutonic races. But to many of his audience there was the yet deeper interest of again listening to that well-known voice, and gazing on that well-known face, in the relation of pupils to their teacher—of seeing him at last, after years of misapprehension and obloquy, stand in his proper place, in his professorial robes, and receive a tribute of respect, so marked and so general, in his own beloved Oxford—of hearing him unfold with characteristic delight, the treasures of his favourite study of history, and, with an emotion, the more touching for its transparent sincerity and simplicity, declare, how deeply he valued the privilege of addressing his audience as one of the Professors of Oxford—how there was no privilege which he more valued, no public reward or honour which could be to him so welcome.”
—Vol. ii., pp. 288, 289.

The Introductory course of eight lectures was delivered early in 1842. They were immediately published, and, we doubt not, have been extensively read and admired. But to judge fairly of their real merits, we must keep in mind the place where they were delivered, and the state of feeling in the University at that moment. That a voice, clear and manly, should be raised within the walls of the theatre at Oxford, to expound with authority, and without compromise or misgiving, the great principles of freedom upon which the English constitution and English character are based, was almost more than could have been hoped for; that it should “fit audience find, *not* few,” was what perhaps Arnold, alone in England, could have accomplished. The certainty that, from him, the principles of freedom must come blended with the loftiest truths of morality and revealed religion, made the standard which he raised, that around which the best spirits of the place might rally, undisturbed by the charge of

latitudinarianism. Arnold's zeal for religion was unquestioned; it exceeded the zeal of the Tractarians. His love of the Church, was second only to his love of Christianity. The only question that could be raised as to the influence which he permitted to religion in forming his views of political relations and national acts, was whether it was not excessive and too direct. Not Mr. Keble himself, had a sense of veneration stronger, or more ready to attach itself to persons and places—to times and things. He was entitled to a hearing even in Oxford; and for one short season he obtained it.

The Lectures make no pretension to extreme profoundness, and still less to elaborate learning and research. But, we think, that, like his later correspondence, they bear, more than any other of the author's works, the marks of maturity of thought—of re-consideration, if we may use the term. It seems as if his experience of human life, individual and national, and the greater calmness and comprehensiveness of view, that mark the advancing years of every really good man—as the eye sees further, and with less of effort, when the evening shadows begin to fall—had been applied to correct and chasten the vigorous and lofty conceptions of his earlier years. If he does not recall what was most doubtful in his speculative views, he appears at least to have become more sensible of the importance of other coincident truths, which materially affect its application. He admits that his peculiar *moral* theory of government, is one “which we can in practice only partially realize;” “that it must not be forced upon a state of things not ripe for it.”—(P. 46.) Now, as we presume the only difference between him and any Christian advocate of another theory, is as to whether his views are not too advanced, to the extent of being applicable to a different dispensation from that under which we live, the question between them not only loses by this admission its practical importance, but it should cease to be agitated. For what Christian does not look forward to a period hereafter, when Christianity shall comprehend every individual, and every relation, of human society? Nothing was likely to have a greater influence upon Dr. Arnold's later consideration of his own theory upon this subject, than the discovery, apparently unexpected, that it was at variance with the opinion of the Chevalier Bunsen. We find him, in 1838, writing to this friend, on whose judgment he so much relied:—

“I thank you very much for your valuable notes on my MS. about the Church. I am sure you will believe me when I say, that on such a matter especially, “*pæne religio mihi est aliter ac tu sentire.*” And in one main point you agree with the Archbishop of Dublin, who is a man so unlike you, and yet so able, that your agreement on any point is of very great weight. You interpret, I think, as he does,

our Lord's words, 'that his kingdom was not of this world.' And you hold that the Church may not wield the temporal sword. *This is undoubtedly the turning point of the whole question; and if you are right in these positions, it follows undoubtedly that the Church never can be a sovereign society, and therefore can never be identical with a Christian State.*"*—Vol. ii., p. 142.

The loftiness and religious tone of Arnold's views, are finely indicated in a passage, where having suggested "that modern history appears to be not only a step in advance of ancient history, but *the last step*;" that "it appears to bear marks of the fulness of time, as if there would be no future history beyond it;" he concludes,—

"But without any presumptuous confidence, if there be any signs, however uncertain, that we are living in the latest period of the world's history, that no other races remain behind to perform what we have neglected, or to restore what we have ruined, then indeed the interest of modern history does become intense, and the importance of not wasting the time still left to us, may well be called incalculable. When an army's last reserve has been brought into action, every single soldier knows that he must do his duty to the utmost; that if he cannot win the battle now, he must lose it. So if our existing nations are the last reserve of the world, its fate may be said to be in their hands—God's work on earth will be left undone if they do not do it."—*Lectures*, p. 39.

We may judge from the following passage, of the boldness with which he confronted the prejudices of the place:—

"We have rather, therefore, reason to be thankful that the struggle did take place actually, when no long war had brought distress upon the whole nation, and embittered men's minds with what

* He did not, however, abandon his theory; and we find a striking illustration of its real tendency, even in this his latest work. In an Appendix to his Inaugural Lecture, we find him driven, apparently by his clearer perception of the "turning point" of the question, and growing sense of the difficulty of his position, to maintain that "all societies of men, *whether we call them states or churches*, should make their bond to consist in a common object and a common practice, rather than in a common belief; in other words, their end should be good rather than truth." "That union in action," he says, "will in the end lead very often to union of belief is most true; but we cannot ensure its doing so; and the social bond" (of churches, he means, as well as states) "cannot directly require for its perfectness more than union of action." (pp. 50, 51.) It was, surely, as a last and failing effort in support of the erroneous part of his system, that Dr. Arnold was led thus to apply to the church, views which were forced upon him in regard to the state; in the exigency of his argument, even seeming to transpose divine truth, and the belief in it, from their place at the *foundation* of the Christian Church. This was ground which he could not have continued to occupy. At the same time, it is to be remembered that the error in the passage to which we have referred, is entirely confined to his polemical notions as to the nature of the church, and does not affect his views of personal religion.

Thucydides calls its rude and violent teaching; but in a time of peace and general prosperity, when our social state was so healthy, that the extreme of political commotion did not seriously affect it; so that although a three or four years' civil war cannot but be a great calamity, yet never was there any similar struggle marked with so little misery and stained with so few crimes, as the great English civil war of the seventeenth century."—*Lectures*, pp. 301, 302.

It was in this season of fresh enterprise and activity, with a new field of usefulness thus opening before him, when his powers seemed to have reached their maturity, and his influence was beginning to be universally felt,—that Arnold's career was to close. We have said that in this last year of his life, we can perceive a greater maturity of intellectual power; something of the same change may be seen in his religious impressions. Analogous to the increased practical wisdom that marks his later speculations in political philosophy, was an increasing sense of the value of those religious doctrines by which the individual believer maintains his hold of the objects of faith. "I am myself," he said, "so much inclined to the idea of a strong social bond, that I ought not to be suspected of any tendency to anarchy; yet I am beginning to think that the idea may be overstrained, and that the attempt to merge the soul and will of the individual man in the general body is, when fully developed, contrary to the very essence of Christianity." Again, a few months before his death, he writes, "As it is, I feel so deeply the danger and evil of the false church system, that despairing of seeing the true church restored, I am disposed to cling, not from choice, but necessity, to the Protestant tendency of laying the whole stress on Christian religion, and adjourning the notion of church *sine die*." We cannot but think that part of the difficulty with which he was here contending, was in his own original idea of the Church as identical with the State; and that the movement in his mind was not merely revulsion from "the false church system," but the approach to a truer and more scriptural notion of the community of believers. At an earlier period, his objections to Romanism were almost entirely absorbed in aversion to the notion of a human priesthood, which he held to be the grand evil of the system. But we now find him becoming more alive to its manifold errors. "Undoubtedly," he writes, in the end of 1841, "I think worse of Roman Catholicism in itself than I did some years ago." And a little after, he says, "I dreamt some years ago of a softening of the opposition between Roman Catholics and Protestants, having been beguiled by the apparent harmony subsisting between them, while the principles of both were slumbering. But I do not dream of it now, for the principles are eternally at

variance, and now, men are beginning to feel their principles, and to act on them."

We refrain from entering upon the touching and elevating scene of his sudden death. An increased intensity of devotional feeling, and more intimate sense of relationship to God and heaven, were the only tokens of the great change that was at hand; as if the veil that separates from the unseen world were being withdrawn. We find very affecting evidence of this state of his mind, in a private journal commenced for the first time within a few weeks of his death, and which is devoted to the expression of his religious aspirations. On the 11th of June 1842, he closed the business of the school for the summer half year; and this, the last evening of his life, was spent in the kindly and cheerful engagements natural to such a season. Before retiring to rest, he wrote in the diary to which we have alluded—

"The day after to-morrow is my birthday, if I am permitted to see it—my forty-seventh birthday since my birth. How large a portion of my life on earth is already passed. And then—what is to follow this life? How visibly my outward work seems contracting and softening away into the gentler employments of old age. In one sense, how nearly can I now say, 'Vixi.' And I thank God, that as far as ambition is concerned, it is, I trust, fully mortified; I have no desire other than to step back from my present place in the world, and not to rise to a higher. Still, there are works which, with God's permission, I would do before the night cometh; especially that great work, if I might be permitted to take part in it. But, above all, let me mind my own personal work—to keep myself pure, and zealous, and believing—labouring to do God's will, yet not anxious that it should be done by me rather than by others if God disapproves of my doing it."—*Vol. ii., pp. 329, 330.*

Next morning he was attacked, for the first time, by the symptoms of Angina Pectoris; and after little more than two hours of suffering, he expired, in the presence of his wife and those of his children who had not preceded him to Fox How for the holidays.

We turn from the life of Dr. Arnold with unmixed admiration of his character, and deep sorrow for his untimely loss; but with the assurance that he has left behind him an influence for great good to his country, and also to a portion of his own Church in the strange and evil times which have come upon her. We would gladly see every influence of this kind widening its circle beyond the particular communion within which the waters have been stirred; satisfied that such extended sympathies are the surest basis for that enlarged Christian union, the call for which has lately become more earnest, and towards which, as their centre, we believe Dr. Arnold's religious opinions and feelings all tended.

- ART. VI.—1. *Travels in Kashmír and the Panjáb, containing a particular Account of the Government and Character of the Sikhs.* From the German of BARON CHARLES HUGEL. With Notes by MAJOR T. B. JERVIS, F.R.S. London, 1845.
2. *Kaschmír und das Reich der Siek*, von CARL FREIHERRN VON HUGEL. In vier Bänden. Stuttgart, 1840–42.

THE Baron Hügel has been called by some of the periodical writers on the Continent, the “second Marco Polo;” and certainly if extent of travel warrant the designation, he is well entitled to its appropriation. His uninterrupted foreign pilgrimage lasted for nearly six years, during which he surveyed a large portion of the globe. Leaving his native country, Austria, he directed his course to the classic shores of Greece. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Egypt, in the exploration of whose wonders he caught the plague, and nearly prematurely reached that bourne from which no traveller returns. He traversed a large portion of the continent of India, and the interesting and beautiful island of Ceylon. He prosecuted his researches in New Holland. He visited the celestial empire of China. He returned again to India; and is perhaps the only individual, after Mr. John Fullarton, who has actually passed, in a continuous journey, from the Cape of Comorin on the south, to the lovely valley of Kashmír on the north. He was thus able to recount the progress of a single year on the 31st December 1835:

“The last day of the year 1834 I passed on my voyage from Manna to Canton, upon the stormy waters of the Yellow Sea; and during the succeeding twelve months how much have I been allowed to see! China and India; the most extensive empires in Asia, the most beautiful by nature, offering new evidences of the majesty of creation, and of the high refinement of ancient civilization. From China in the east, where the vast ocean is the only boundary of this mighty continent, to China in the west, or Tibet, I travelled in a very wide and devious course. I had visited the flourishing settlement of Singapore; the Moluccas now declining; the rich island of Penang; Madras, the theatre of many a European contest; Calcutta, the famous city of palaces; the ancient Brahmanical retreat of Benares; Allahabad, Oude, Agra, Gwalior, and Delhi, still magnificent in its fallen greatness; the Himályas, those giants of earth; the beautiful but melancholy valley, not impossibly the cradle of the human race; finally, I have had a glimpse of Tibet, finishing with a toilsome journey to the ancient Taxila, and the modern Atok.”—P. 234.

The Venetian merchant could scarcely make a higher boast,

after all his wanderings and meanderings among the Tartars and Turkomans, Samarcandians and Saracens, Cathains and Chinese, Indians and Iranians.

The objects which the Baron had in view in his multifarious and extended peregrinations were highly laudable. He travelled as a cosmopolitan student, as a curious observer of men and manners, of nature and art. "My chief purpose," he remarked, when interrogated by the keen-sighted, but one-eyed monarch of the Panjáb, the late Ranjit Singh, "was to make myself acquainted with the most remarkable phenomena, moral and physical, of distant countries." Natural history occupied his chief attention. The collections which he made in that department of science were large and valuable. The *spolia opima* of his journey were admired in India, where curiosities are no rarity; and consisting of upwards of thirty thousand articles, they have greatly enhanced the treasures of the imperial library and museum at Vienna, in which they have been deposited. From our countrymen in the east, he obtained every assistance in the prosecution of his researches; and well did he merit, and richly has he repaid, the attention which he received at their hands. Of all foreign travellers in India, he has proved the most favourable to British interests, candidly admitting the blessings which, amidst all errors and disadvantages, have flowed from our rule, declaring that our empire "bears the promise within it of a long continuance, inasmuch as the exercise of justice and moderation, the maintenance of law and authority, are qualities peculiar to that mighty race, to whom Divine wisdom has intrusted the government and happiness of millions of his creatures." Though his published narrative, comprised in the four volumes which have appeared at Stuttgart, is confined to a small portion of his journey, it is extremely interesting, admirably treating as it does, as of realities, of the very "*quæ loca fabulosus lambit Hydaspes*;" of the delightful valley of the ancient "Kashyapa, the son of Marichi, the son of Brahmá," of whose annals it has been said by a competent judge, that "the only Sanskrit composition yet discovered, to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied, is the *Rájá Tarangíní*, a history of Kashmír;"* of the provinces of India, which alone were conquered by Alexander the Great and his Grecian warriors, and which alone of the whole of India have up to this hour not been trodden by the victorious hosts of Britain, determined to annex them to our gigantic empire. It details in a simple, but pleasing, nay charming manner, the varied incidents of the author's personal adventures. It makes us

* Professor H. H. Wilson. Transactions of the Asiatic Society, Vol. xv. 1.

acquainted with many specimens of our brothers and sisters of the great family of man, of whom our knowledge, independently of its information, is but scanty and obscure. It enables us to survey some of the grandest and most beautiful scenery of the world, as well as to observe the decay and desolation which even in the most highly-favoured regions follow tyranny and oppression. We may learn from it how, even in a single age, a paradise may become little better than a wilderness; how the chosen summer retreat of the voluptuous Moghul sovereigns, which they delighted to adorn with their imperial palaces and gardens, and "magic lakes" and "fairy islets," may become little better than a place of banishment.*

Of the four German volumes, published by the Baron, the first contains his personal narrative of his visit to Kashmir; the second, historical, scientific, and statistical details connected with that country; the third, the personal narrative of his journey through the Panjáb; and the fourth, a glossary and index, or rather gazetteer, treating generally at some length of all the persons and objects mentioned in the work. It is not to the credit of our booksellers that they have been allowed to remain so long untranslated into the language of our countrymen, who ought to have a greater interest in the subjects which they so ably treat than any of the continental nations; and it is much to the praise of Major Jervis,—a distinguished officer of the Bombay engineers, and one of the most accomplished Asiatic geographers of our day,—that his zeal has prompted him to endeavour to supply their lack of service. In the handsome and attractive volume which he has just given us, as the first of a series of "Memoirs, Voyages and Travels illustrative of the Geography and Statistics of Asia," which, if due encouragement be afforded to him, he is ready to publish, he has presented us with a beautiful and spirited version of the whole of the first and third volumes of the Baron, comprising the entire personal narrative, enhanced by valuable and judicious notes, correcting any casual errors which he may have detected, or giving interesting illustrations of the statements of the text. The work is thus complete in itself, and as such, it

* The traditions of both Hindús and Musalmans point to Kashmir as the place of primeval paradise. The Greek *παράδεισος*, the Hebrew פֶּרֶץ, and the Arabic

فردوس are all evidently derived from the parent of the Indo-Teutonic languages. The Sanskrit word *Paradesa*, a "foreign or superior country," is similar in meaning, and is probably the nearest root which can be discovered. Dismissing from our view the legends about Kashmir, which are inconsistent with the locality indicated in Genesis, we have the universal tradition in the East, supported by the agreement of language, that there was a Paradise, and that Paradise was in the East.

may be obtained by purchasers ; while, if they choose, they may, in due time, have another volume on the resources and principal geographical features of the Panjáb, and the recent political events which have occurred within its borders, the materials of which have been supplied by those " distinguished and intelligent persons who are most competent to form a sound and correct judgment of its relations, capacities, and prospects."

In his introduction, the Baron Hügel presents us with a list of the different works from which information may be collected respecting Kashmir. The most important of these, both oriental and occidental, are now before us ; and we are constrained to say, that a fair estimate has, perhaps with one exception, been formed of their merits. The missionary, Dr. Joseph Wolff, alone has his failings exaggerated, and his good but partially admitted. " Whose missionary was he," it is indignantly asked,

" From the Propaganda Fide ? No, first a Jew, then a Papist ; converted in Rome, and now a Protestant. Mr. Wolff is not a delegate either from Rome or the Church of England ; but, according to his own declaration, derives his mission direct from Christ, to spread the knowledge of the Bible among the Jews, and to fulfil this appointment, he has undertaken, at the expense of different zealots, various adventurous and hazardous journeys."—P. 12.

Dr. Wolff did lately seek and obtain episcopal ordination ; but the want of it was scarcely in former times an impediment to his usefulness. If he had been commissioned by the propaganda, whose alumnus at one time he was, he would not, we are persuaded, have more recommended himself to the favour of the Baron than independently of this connexion, he actually did ; for in the course of the work, our author gives him an indirect but unequivocal compliment, which he denies to the agents of that institution. Speaking of himself and Mr. Vigne, he says—

" We agreed to carve the following inscription on a black marble tablet, and set it up on the Chár Chinár island :—' Three travellers in Kashmir, on the 18th November 1835, the Baron Ch. Hügel, from Jamú ; Th. G. Vigne, from Iskardu ; and Dr. John Henderson, from Ladák, have caused the names of all the travellers who have preceded them in Kashmir, to be engraven on this stone.—Bernier, 1663. Forster, 1786. Moorcroft, Guthrie, and Trebeck, 1823. Victor Jacquemont, 1831. Joseph Wolff, 1832.....I need not remark, that in the list I have included no Catholic missionaries."—P. 144.

We are somewhat curious to know the reason of this distinction. Is it because the remarks of the learned Hieronymus Xavier, the " Navarese of high birth, who is supposed to be the very first European who ever had the glory or the courage to penetrate to this remote region," and which are published in that

very scarce work, Hajus de Rebus Japonicis, Indicis, etc. (Antwerp, 1605,) are, as stated in the preface of "no particular value," and that, notwithstanding all the faults of Joseph Wolff, "those who are acquainted with Central Asia and India find in his little work a good deal of useful information?"

Our author was residing at Simla, one of the two English sanatoriums on the mountainous regions of the Himálya, when he made his arrangements for his journey to Kashmír. The permission of Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Panjáb, for him to visit that province, was procured through Captain Wade, the East India Company's agent at Ludíaná; and this obtained, the Baron felt himself at ease. Travelling in India, though attended with considerable exposure as far as the incongeniality of the climate is concerned, and though requiring a good deal of personal exertion and self-denial, is by no means so difficult as is commonly supposed:—

"Once having furnished himself with what is absolutely indispensable, the European journeys through the land like a king; he can go wherever his fancy leads him, and need not trouble himself either about custom-houses, barriers, bridges, hedges, or turnpikes. Nobody inquires his name or demands his passport; no broken wheel stops his way; no full or intolerable inn by the roadside rouses his choler; every European he meets with is his friend, and every other being is his humble servant."—P. 20.

A full purse, a luxurious palanquin, a couple or two of horses, a troop of attendants, and a supply of eatables and wearables, are all that is needful. What the Baron's scanty provisions for his journey actually were, he has himself informed us:—

"Besides tents for my party, preserved meats hermetically sealed in tin boxes, wines and drinks of various kinds, preserved fruits and sweetmeats, I did not fail to provide myself with the Hukáh universally used throughout the East, with some Himálayan ghunts, or ponies, which climb the steepest mountains, and tread firmly on the edge of the most fearful precipices; also with a sedan-chair, or *jampán*, with twelve bearers. Besides my indoor servants, consisting of the three men just mentioned, [a *Khidmatgár*, or butler, a *Masálichí*, or light-man, and a Bráhmaṇ secretary,] a Bháwarchí or cook, with two assistants: a Hukáh-bardár, or servant to attend my pipe; an Abdár for the water; a Dirzí, or tailor, etc., I had a Chobdár, or herald; two Chaprásís, or messengers, having my name engraved in Hindustání and Persian on their breast-plates; two Shikáris, or huntsmen, to slay or stuff beasts; two Páháris, or mountaineers, as butterfly-catchers; two gardeners to collect plants and seeds, two tent-bearers, etc. etc.; in all, thirty-seven servants, sixty bearers, and seven beasts."

This number, however, would appear to have been found insufficient, or some of the servants of the great man must have

had their own attendants too ; for the Baron, when he had performed his first stage, found that he had a " little encampment of one hundred and fifty men." The Romans were, doubtless, completely mistaken when they spoke of their train and baggage, as "*impedimenta viæ*;" and certainly few of them knew the art of "travelling like a king."

The Baron chose his route with a due regard to the season of the year—the near approach of winter ; as he had to start about the middle of October. He determined to enter Kashmír by the lowest range of the Himálayas, that he might not find himself immured in the snows which early descend upon the higher passes. During the whole course of his peregrinations, he proves a most intelligent observer and delightful interpreter of the scenes which presented themselves to his view. Gladly, did our space permit, should we permit our readers to accompany him in all his movements ; but we must ask them to travel over his track *per saltum et volatum*, giving them permission to halt only at the places which they would regret to pass without a glimpse at their peculiarities.

Before they leave the British territories, we set them down at Biláspur :—

" Biláspur lies in a spacious valley, through which the Satlej winds its long and fertilizing course, while, in the distance, high and waving hills, crowned with villages, stretched for several miles, the snowy peaks of the Himálaya being distinctly visible on the horizon. The valley is extremely fertile, and every tropical plant flourishes in richer profusion here, than in most other parts of Hindusthán, as if the Great Author of all Nature had lavished his gifts on it without any reserve. The sun was sinking when first I gazed on this beautiful scene ; the river rolled proudly on beneath the garden where I stood, surrounded on every side by a treasury of fragrant flowers, among which, rich orange and citron-trees entangled with jasmynes, and groups of magnolias, wafted their exquisite perfume around, in the descending dews. The stars and moon rose one by one ; not a breath was felt ; the lofty palms rustled, and gently stirred their leaves, as if some spirit breathed upon them ; the trees were lighted up by fire-flies, and within their deep recesses was heard the soft twittering of the birds, and the shriller tones of a kind of mantia, which has its dwelling in the citron-trees ; in the distance bright lamps shining through the night, pointed out the temple, where loud voices and noisy drums were sounding to the praise of their idols ; the fantastic costumes, the dreamy air, all, all combining together, might well have inspired the coldest spectator to exclaim, as he gazed, This is the very India of which I have dreamed ! But the old traveller in the East knows well that these fair scenes and calm moments are rarely enjoyed ; and I wandered long through the broad terraces of the garden ere I sought my tent."—Pp. 22, 23.

This lovely place has a Rájá of its own, enjoying the protection of our countrymen. The picture which our traveller draws of him suits not a few of the chiefs of India :—

“ The Raja of Biláspur has now attained his thirtieth year,—a period when the understanding and intellect have reached their prime ; but Nature has been a niggard to him in these ; and the quantities of opium he swallows have rendered him a disgusting object, with staring eyes devoid of expression, and a mouth always half open. The extent of his capacity may be easily divined, from the questions he asks of the persons who attend his levee, which are usually of the following nature :— ‘ Are you well ? ’ ‘ How can I be otherwise than well in the Rájá’s presence ? ’ To this, his Highness generally rejoins, ‘ How old are you ? ’ And being enlightened on this point, his next question is, ‘ How many wives have you ? ’ If, as in my case, the stranger answers that he is unmarried, the conversation suffers a sudden check ; and to all the questions which the latter puts in order to while away the time, the Raja turns to the Wazír, that he may prompt some answer, which by good luck may be brought to light after five minutes’ consultation between them.”—Pp. 24, 25.

We carry our readers across the Satlej, the great eastern branch of the Indus, not, however, in the native mode of transit.

“ The natives swim across the stream with the help of an ox’s skin, inflated with wind, in an ingenious way. Having carried this on their shoulders to the shore, they spread themselves upon it on the water, laying fast hold with one hand, while they strike the water with a piece of timber in the other. The sight of a number of these skins, with the head and feet of the beast left on them as in life, constantly floating across the river, is very amusing. Higher up towards the mountains, where the Satlej rushes over rocks deeply embedded, and with amazing force, the passage is made in a basket firmly tied on each shore with ropes which are swung across the stream.”—P. 27.

We are now in the Panjáb, the territory of the independent Sikhs, a vast plain, bounded on the north and north-east by the Himálya range, and lying between the Indus or Atok, and the Satlej, called in this part, after receiving the waters of the Beás, the Ghárá. The word Panjáb, which is Persian, means five

* To this, Major Jervis appends a note sufficiently illustrative of the dignity of Oriental majesty : “ Shortly after the British had captured the fort of Visiadrug—the famous Gheriah captured in 1756 by Lord Clive and Admiral Watson—I was sent by Government in my professional capacity to see to the reparation of its defences, and to take account of its military stores. On entering the inner gateway, I was struck with a little circular flat piece of wood, about three inches in diameter, with a handle, on which were cut in rude relief, Shri Angria. The Brahmin near me smiled at my curiosity, and said, that as his master was very ignorant, and unacquainted with writing, in place of signing passports for the egress of his retinue, they presented themselves before him with a pat of soft clay in their hands, which the chief struck with the instrument in question ; which credential they exhibited to the guards at the several gates.”

waters, or Pentopotamia, the three other rivers which water the country being the Rávi, the Chináb, and the Jelam.* The five rivers have several tributary streams; and united together, they form the Indus, called also the Sind, from its Sanskrit name, Sindhu, and the Atak, (or stoppage,) the northern boundary of the holy land of the Bráhmans. Each of the districts of the Panjáb, which lies between two rivers, is called Dúáb, from Dú, two, and Ab, water. Of these, there are five, the Jalandar Dúáb, between the Satlej and the Beás; the Bári Dúáb, between the Ghárá and the Rávi; the Rakhna Dúáb, between the Rávi and the Chináb; the Jeti Dúáb between the Chináb and the Jelam; and the Dúáb-i-Sind-i-Ságar, between the Jelam and the Indus. The three first are by far the most fertile districts, the others being undulating, with many deep ravines throughout. The last-mentioned is the most extensive. Their united natural advantages are great. The extensive plains which they contain may be made very productive, being watered by the perennial springs of the snowy range, swelling into noble streams, capable of bearing the largest vessels, and favoured with a delightful climate.

The early part of the first day's march of the Baron within the Panjáb, was difficult as far as the road was concerned, and uninteresting in regard to scenery. Before he had arrived at his halting-place, Kumagaheti, however, the aspect of the country began to improve. He had before him a plain which seemed to extend between the Tayuní and Panaulí mountains, as far as the snowy hills in the north-west, and the Bondelah mountain behind Biláspur in the south-west. The view of this plain is remarkably fine. In the foreground lies a forest of splendid Indian fig-trees, under whose shadows hundreds of men and beasts might rest, and whose branches are alive with the feathered creation. The high hills are, in many places, crowned with villages, and the eye ranges over an immense number of plants, the rich natives of the soil. Next day, he had a splendid view of the lofty range of mountains named Mori, covered with their everlasting snows. His tent was pitched for the night near Meyri, a lovely spot. He says—

“I strolled out to watch the sun then going down behind the hills. The scenery was peculiarly wild and romantic. In a deep hollow a

* The Jelam is the Hydaspes or Bydaspes of the Greeks, from *Ἰνδός* and *Vitastá*, its Sanskrit name, which is still used in Kashmír; the Chináb, (in Sanskrit, *Chandrabhága*;) the Acesines; the Rávi, the Hydraotes or Adris, from the Sanskrit *Iravati*; and the Beah, or Satlej, the Hyphasis, or Bibasis, from the Sanskrit *Vipashá*. Accuracy was seldom studied by the Greeks in the names of either places or persons. Our English travellers are not more careful, in general, in giving them, according to any approved system of notation.

stream runs hurriedly along the plain, forming cataracts so closely hemmed in with rocks that it is impossible to approach them; the deep rushing sound betraying their existence long ere they are perceptible. A little further on the river widens; the rocks rising, as it were, into perpendicular walls, the spectator looks down on the water beneath into a deep abyss. Tropical plants wave on either bank, and all looks picturesque and mysterious, not forgetting some little villages reposing peacefully under lofty trees.”—P. 33.

The Baron experienced many petty annoyances, when he was preparing to leave this place next day. It might have been better for him, independently of them, to have sought the rest and enjoyment of the Sabbath—for it was the “Lord’s day”—in its peaceful groves, than to have prosecuted his journey. On Wednesday the 21st October, he reached the celebrated Hindú shrine, called Jwálá-Mukhí, or the mouths of the flame. He did not intrude into the principal temple; but he surveyed it from without, and entered one of the smaller holy places. The interior of the great temple he found divided in the middle by a great stone wall; and in the centre of the fore-court he saw an excavated pit, having seats at either end on which the Fakirs place themselves. A perpetual flame arises from this pit; and similar flames were bursting from the smooth rock where he was standing, to the height of eight inches or less. The little temple which he entered is dedicated to Gogranáth, the patron deity of the Gorkhás, a circumstance which convinced him that, formerly at least, it must have been a place devoted to the Buddhist worship, which recognizes no distinction of castes. He thus describes the curious phenomena, which he there witnessed:—

“On descending a good many steps I saw flames issuing from two places in the perpendicular wall; and, on examining more attentively, I perceived, where the fire was burning, little cavities in the smooth stones, with just the same appearance as when a burning-glass is made to consume wood; the flame issuing, not from any aperture, but from these minute cavities, emits a scent like alcohol burning with an aromatic and most agreeable mixture, which I could by no means identify. Under each of these flames stood a pot of water, of the same temperature as the atmosphere; the condensed residue of the gas thus deposited, takes fire on the application of a light, and burns for more than a minute. The surface of this water I found in continual motion, as though in a state of ebullition, but it is almost tasteless. The fire is of a reddish hue, and gives out very little heat. Altogether this is one of the most extraordinary phenomena I ever recollect to have witnessed; and, no doubt, in distant ages was one of the spots most thronged by fire-worshippers. The sight of this flame rising out of the earth, perhaps long before any building was near it, would doubtless add much to the influence of their superstition on the minds of the attendant worshippers; for this still seems to be the case,

although much of the marvellous is lost by confining the flame within the walls of a temple. In different parts of the building are seated Fakirs of most extraordinary appearance, clothed with the attributes of their deities, and condemned by themselves to pass their whole life motionless as statues. One of them represented Gogranáth himself, but, instead of the folded hands of Buddha, his left arm was outstretched, and resting on a silver pedestal, so cleverly managed that it never can fall off; another was covered with ashes, and looked exactly as though chiselled out of stone, but as he gazed about him with a fearful stare, it seemed to me that his fanaticism had already, or soon would rob him of his reason."—P. 44.

The Baron has given us no explanation of these natural phenomena. They appear to us to be quite similar to those at Báku in the north of Persia, noticed by Mr. Jonas Hanway in his "Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea;" and which are represented by the Pársis as the action of the *Atish-Burjin-Meher*, or unquenchable fire, brought from heaven by Zoroaster. They are doubtless caused, like them, by the ignition of the gaseous currents issuing from apertures in the rocks or ground communicating with the beds of bitumen, or reservoirs of naphtha, whose decomposed carbon and hydrogen form a perpetual stream for consumption. The fire-worshippers of Bombay of the present time, refer to these perpetual fires as a standing miracle. Superstition is always ready to misinterpret and misapply natural phenomena. An officer of the East India Company's Service, a few years ago, found the Bráhmáns of Orissa exhibiting to the people the miracle of causing stones to burn before an idol. The dupes of their fraud had never themselves tested their powers by igniting the coal which they were consuming, and which abounded in their neighbourhood. When Lieutenant Kittoe, the officer to whom we refer, evinced its properties before them, they were perfectly astonished.

On the fourth day from Jwálá-Mukhí, the Baron passed through Narpur, a town of about six thousand inhabitants, two-thirds of whom are Kashmirians.

"Whoever," he says, "has once seen this race of men, will never fail to recognize them by their white skin, their clear, though colourless complexion, their long, projecting, almost Jewish features, with dark brown, or black hair and beard, which distinctly point them out. The dress of the common people merely consists of a white woollen shirt, open in front, with long sleeves; a cloth hanging down from the head behind completes this ungraceful, and generally very dirty costume. The rich have adopted the Indian dress."—P. 55.

The Baron gives a most interesting account of the passage over the Pír-Panjál mountain, which he reached about the middle of November. He suffered much from the cold in its

elevated regions. On the 17th of November he arrived at the town of Kashmír, the Ultima Thule of his wanderings. There is nothing in the approach to it, he informs us, to remind the traveller of the vicinity of a place of note; the hill Takht-i-Sulimán and the fort being the most prominent objects. Fine avenues of plane and poplar are the first signs of the former beauty of this favourite and lovely abode of the Moghul emperors; and then comes the square where the soldiers of Ranjit Singh practised the European tactics which gained him possession of his large dominions. The Jelam winds most picturesquely through the city. The Viceroy's palace in which our traveller was offered accommodation, is beautifully situated on its banks; but being fearfully dirty, he declined the invitation, and pitched his tent in the Diláwar Khán garden. A party of Kashmirian females in boats drew up and sang their Woniimún, or song of welcome; and he unexpectedly met with Mr. Vigne, the English artist and traveller, whose lively volume has been for some time before the public, and Dr. Henderson, a Scot of real originality, who on obtaining leave to proceed from Ludíaná to Calcutta, had turned his face in the exactly opposite direction, and bent at all hazards on geographical discovery, had been wandering about Ladák and Tibet. The truant physician described Tibet as a remarkably poor country, except in precious stones and metals. His road led him over vast mountain passes, the highest of which marked 188 Fahrenheit boiling point; but these again were so overtopped by loftier peaks, that the prospect from those stupendous heights was still very limited. What a magnificent and gigantic range the Himálya must be, the average elevation of its snow-capped summits being 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, and its length, as seen in some places, being at the lowest calculation two hundred and forty miles! Mr. Vigne had been visiting Iskardu, which, as well as Ladák, and Lassa, belongs to the Indian side of the mountain chain, a fact which we can certainly not learn from our common maps.

Our traveller's impressions of his first day in Kashmír, we give in his own words:—

"All that I saw during my first day's stay in Kashmír, was the ruins of what once had been palaces, old dilapidated houses, streets of unexampled filthiness; a population strictly corresponding with them, a large boat full of old fishwomen, who stunned me with their inharmonious voices when they screamed out their wonimún, or song of welcome, from the canal. Such were my first impressions of this long-dreamt-of fairy land; thence, as I gradually turned my disappointed gaze from the works of man to the glorious mountain scenery above, with their thousand peaks of snowy whiteness, their graceful outlines, the harmony and sweet repose which seemed to characterize

the calm, motionless valley; the contrast between simple, majestic, nature, and enterprising, ambitious man, filled my heart with emotions which imprinted the beauties of the first on my memory, and made human works lose every shadow of significance."—Pp. 105, 106.

During the few days the Baron remained at Kashmír, he was extremely busy. The latitude and longitude of the place he found to be $34^{\circ} 7' 36''$ N., and $72^{\circ} 4'$ E. In company with his new European companions, he went to visit the famous lakes in its neighbourhood, which were so highly ornamented by the Moghul sovereigns. Lake Dál, he found divided into several distinct parts. The palaces and pavilions on its borders and islets, though in a state of decay, and the gardens, though in a state of comparative neglect, are still consistent with the beautiful scenery of nature. Our readers are most familiar with the Char Chinár lake,—

"Sunný the lake of cool Cashmere,
With its plane-tree isle reflected clear."

The plane-trees planted by Akbár, about two hundred years ago, to the number of 1200, are still in fine preservation, forming beautiful walks, whose deep shade in summer must be very refreshing. Near the Hirní-Parvat mountain, which terminates the semicircle round the lake on the west, as the Takht-ì-Sulimán does on the east, are the floating gardens, where, on a square of about twenty feet, they raise their melons and cucumbers, the surface of the earth being scarcely above that of the water, a circumstance which seems alone fully to establish the fact that a perpetual calm must prevail on the lake. So regular, indeed, and so gentle, is the movement of the whole body of water, and so very still is the air of the valley, that no flood is ever likely to visit, and consequently to overwhelm these little islands. The best view of the city and valley is had from the Takht-ì Sulimán, which is about 1200 feet high, and divided from the Tibetan range, to which it evidently belongs.

"Motionless as a mirror, the lake lies outstretched below, reflecting the vast chain of the Tibetan hills, while the extensive plain is seen spreading along its shores; and the Jelam winds slowly like a serpent through the green valleys; and to complete the scene, the lofty Pír Panjal, with its countless peaks of snow, forms on one side a majestic boundary."—P. 114.

We may here mention, independently of what we find in this part of the Baron's work, that the whole valley of Kashmír may be estimated at 110 miles in length, by 60 the extreme breadth, its figure being a broad oval. The rule of the Sikhs in this lovely

region is attended with such pecuniary exactions, as to lead our author to say, that "the country is so completely subjugated, that the natives, except a few traders in shawls, are nothing better than so many beggars."

Of the things most deserving of notice within the city, are the seven bridges which span the Jelam, and which are at once the most enduring and the most dangerous; for they have lasted about five hundred years, while a single storm would involve them, and the trees and piles of which they are formed, and the houses which are built upon them, in one common ruin. The masjid of Sháh Hamedán is a modern looking building, the prototype of every mosque in Kashmír, being nearly square, and having the roof supported by slender pillars within. In another mosque lie buried the remains of Zein-el-ab-Ed-Din, the second Muhammadan king, or the eighth according to Abul-fazl, who introduced the love of art into the Kashmír valley, teaching the people to make glass, and bringing weavers from Turkistán, to instruct them in the weaving of wool from the goats of Tibet, into the shawls which are so celebrated. Of the shawl manufactories, as they are at present found, the Baron thus writes:—

"On my way homewards I paid a visit to one of the shawl manufactories; and was conducted through one of the most wretched abodes that my imagination could well picture. In a room at the top of the house, sat sixteen men huddled together at their work, which at this time was shown to me as a *Dúshalá*, or long shawl, valued at three thousand rupees the pair. I made several inquiries as to the nature and extent of their trade, but the master seemed ill disposed to gratify my curiosity. However difficult it may be to arrive at the truth in India, it is still more so here, though for a very different reason. The Indian always accommodates his answer to the supposed pleasure of the inquirer; the Kashmírian is trained to practise the art of concealment, which naturally leads to falsehood on every occasion. The workmen handled the threads with a rapidity which surprised me, moving their heads continually the while. They work in winter in a room which is never heated, lest dust or smoke might injure the material. Generally speaking, their features are highly intellectual and animated."—Pp. 120, 121.

On the 22d of November the Baron broke up his encampment preparatory to his journey to the eastern part of the valley. At the site of Ventipur, the former capital of Kashmír, he found two falling Buddhist temples, which, with other ruins of the same kind throughout the country, are the memorials of the faith which prevailed in the valley before the introduction of the present form of Bráhmaism, which is now there predominant. When Ventipur flourished, 3,000,000 of people inhabited the valley, while now its population does not exceed 200,000. Bij-

bihár is the town at present next in importance to Kashmír. The Jelam near it is studded with little islands; verdant hills slope down to its banks; and the country is enriched by a number of small streams which flow into the large one. Anantnág, or Jelámábád, was formerly the second city of the valley; but the well built and spacious houses in the principal streets are all deserted and in ruins; and the beautiful carved work ornamenting the terraces and windows is nearly destroyed by owls and jackals, the most frequent occupants of the place. The town of Mattan, the road to which winds along the hills, and is shaded by a majestic avenue of plane trees, is exclusively inhabited by Bráhmans. Of Korava-Pandava, an old temple, the erection of which is ascribed to the Pandavas, whose dynasty, according to the native historians, terminated about 2500 years B.C., after having existed for nearly 1300 years, the Baron takes but little notice in his personal narrative; but he gives a plan and description of it in his second volume, which is not yet translated. The architecture appears very ancient; but no notion of its real antiquity is to be formed from the legends current respecting it, for, as the Baron himself states, "just as Solomon is celebrated by the Muhammadans, the Empress Helena in the Holy Land, Charlemagne in Germany, the Cyclops in Italy, and Joseph in Egypt; so every Hindú, from Cape Comorin to Kashmír, ascribes every relic of ancient days to the Pandava dynasty, unless the records of their history pronounce directly to the contrary." Connected with the other places which the Baron visited in this little excursion, there is little worthy of notice. He returned again to Kashmír on the 27th November.

During his preparations for his final departure from this place, he visited Muhammad Sháh of the royal house of Tashkend, and formerly resident in Turkistán. He found a great many of the natives of Yárkand about this personage, pilgrims on their way to Mecca, which they reach more speedily and safely by way of India and Bombay, than by the considerably shorter route of Central Asia and Persia. Some of these pilgrims are very intelligent persons; and, as we ourselves have more than once learned from them by conversation, are most ready to communicate information about the little known countries from which they come. The productions of Yárkand, which were spread out before our traveller, were highly interesting. Thirty-two species of tea brought from the interior of China, by way of Axor and Turfan, on the confines of Turkistán toward China, were shown to him. The natives of Yárkand told him that the caravans go in twenty-eight days from Kashgár to Samarkand; from Kashgár to Yárkand in five days; and from Samarkand to Bokhárá in ten days. It is much to be regretted, when we glean these

notices, that we know so little of the eastern parts of Central Asia, and of the various countries represented in our maps under the indefinite name of Chinese Tartary. It was principally with the view of visiting these lands, that the excellent, and able, and lamented Captain Arthur Conolly proceeded north of the Indus, on that journey which, through the murderous fanaticism of the Khan of Bokhárá, proved fatal to him, determined, as he was, in that spirit of martyrdom, which we have heard him declare he would try to cultivate when in danger, to maintain to the last his profession of Christianity, though with the loss of his life.

The Baron, during his residence at Kashmír, showed every kindness to the natives, generally preserving his temper in his dealings with them, and rewarding them for all their services. He made arrangements for the introduction of the potato among them, furnishing them with quantities of seed, and offering an annual premium to the best cultivator, and may thus have proved himself their lasting benefactor. He passed himself off as an excellent physician. "Strange to say," he observes, when treating of his medical applications, "the natives of Bengal were of all the least affected by the cold and the fatigues from journey, and my only surprise is, how one of the Hindus survived it, seeing that, while they are preparing their food, they throw off every thing except the cloth which is tied round their waist, and the highest castes all eat in this state of nudity. My munshi, a Brahman, never failed to eat his rice thus unclad, even when the glass was at the freezing point; and his health was much better than that of the Muhammadans from the north of India, who could not clothe themselves too warmly." The shawl-merchants, alone, seem to have been too much for the traveller's temper; and he declares that no patience can ever stand out against the torments of making ever so trifling a bargain with these people. The mode of their negotiating he thinks altogether peculiar; but it is common to all the merchants of India in wholesale business. The two parties seated on the ground give their right hand to each other, under a large cloth, without a word being uttered by either of them; and the offer and answer are signified by different ways of pressing the hand. Several days frequently elapse in such dealings, without anything being concluded. The Baron was obliged to leave Kashmír, his purchases being unfinished; but the merchants told him that they would send the articles to Ludiáná within four weeks, and take a bill of exchange payable at Calcutta. There is no difficulty in Europeans managing their money transactions in any part of India. The merchants and shopkeepers, throughout the whole country, are in a certain sense bankers.

It was on the 23d of November that our traveller and Mr.

Vigne left Kashmír, Dr. Henderson having set out alone on the previous day, in the vain attempt to pass over the Hindú Kúsh to Balkh in the middle of winter. They sailed down the river Jelam in boats, remaining in them as long as the cold would permit, and occasionally following them on shore, seeking warmth for their feet by the exercise of walking. The country they found generally marshy, and in many parts uncultivated. The most romantic part of the valley is evidently in the south and south-east, although farther west there is a point which the Kashmírians consider by far the most beautiful part of this region, and which has gained the appellation of the village of roses, the Gul-Mári. At the village of Koshpára, they saw one of the largest plane-trees of the country, which the natives call the "end of misfortune," as on its branches criminals are hanged, a punishment of constant occurrence under the Patán sway, when the smallest offence was visited with death, which is inflicted now only in cases of murder. We are glad to have the Baron's testimony as to the comparative mildness of the government of the deputy of the Sikhs. The first resting-place of the travellers was the Surij Bāgh, near the junction of the Siund and Jelam, and probably on the site of the once famous city of Parihasapur, of the marvels of which the native legends speak so highly. The Baron says :—

"This city was built by the great conqueror Lálitadítya, who reigned from A.D. 714 to 750, and was adorned with many fine temples and monuments ; among others, with a pillar cut out of one stone, twenty-four yards high, at the top of which stood the image of Gáruda, half-man, half-eagle. Sikandar Budh Shikán probably destroyed it, but several fragments were seen in 1727 by Mohammed Azim. Immense images of gold, silver, and other metals, also adorned the interior, but all traces of this splendour have disappeared. The point where two rivers meet is called Prayága, or Sangam, and is always holy. The island at the junction of the Jelam and Siund has been the scene of many a self-immolation, and the Raja Taringini relates that Mitra Serma, the faithful díwan or minister of the great King Lálitadítya, terminated his life here. The sacrifice is made a matter of much ceremony. The man tired of his life, makes his prescribed ablutions before a vast multitude, repeats the prayers required of his sect, and then seats himself in the water, praying all the while, and remaining there uncovered until he is drowned. The most holy stream for these suicides is the Ganges, where the alligators sometimes destroy the victim before the waters. In the Shástras, suicide, on account of grief or illness, is only allowed at the sacred Prayága at Allahabád, where the Ganges and Jamna unite with the invisible Saraswati."—Pp. 159, 160.

The Shástras do not make the limitation as to suicide here referred to. They consecrate places for its practice in almost all the provinces of the country. The desire of obtaining merit, as

well as grief and illness, are with the Hindús rightful motives to the foulest of all foul deeds.

As our travellers continued to follow the course of the Jelam, we need say little of the direction of their route, as they now passed through Kashmír. The Monsbal lake they ascertained to be very deep, with the mountains of Tibet towering above it, and overshadowing the waters far beyond the shore. The Wullar lake, too, they found to be a romantic locality. The account of their ascent of the Nonenwara mountain is most interesting. They commenced their journey by several steep mountains, inferior only to the Pír Panjal, to a height which is reckoned to be 4000 feet. Here they first entered the pine forests. Through these they continued 1000 feet still farther, till they stopped at a narrow slip of level ground scarped perpendicularly on both sides. At 6000 feet they could distinguish the highest summits before them; but they had still 1000 feet to climb. The juniper and saxifrage were observed growing till within 300 feet of the top; but the peaks were quite destitute of vegetation. But we must here let the eye-witness speak for himself:—

“I never shall forget the cold I felt on the summit of that mountain. The north wind cut my face as with a knife, and my very bones seemed turned to ice; my thermometer, notwithstanding, was not lower than 31°. All around me was utter desolation, not a living creature, not a tree, nor sign of vegetation, as far as the eye could reach. Nought else in fact but rocks and ice, and masses of snow-clouds. I had brought every thing necessary to kindle a fire, that I might ascertain the boiling point; and while they were preparing it under a rock 100 feet below the highest peak, I ascended it again to look around me. Diamál, or Nangaparvat, the highest of the chain, rises out of it like a vast pyramid, and was now veiled in clouds, showing little more than its prodigious base. This bounded the prospect towards the N.N.W. and N.E.; farther west, and W.S.W., the Gosieh mountains stretch to the Báramulla chain, and beyond this again was the snowy ridge which joins the Hindú Kúsh. Southwards and S.W. lay the valley, only distinguished by a low stripe of mist, above which appeared the snowy peaks of Pír Panjal, which seemed to form but one part of the great Panjal of Tibet. Between 34° and 35° of latitude, the air is generally most transparent, and this, together with the great elevation of my present position, may account for the apparently interminable distance to which the view reached. Towards the S.W. the prospect was bounded by the Pír Panjal; of course the Indian plain beyond it cannot be reached by the naked eye. In every other direction, mountains towering above mountains were seen to an immense distance. Standing thus on the northernmost point of my wanderings in Asia, my eye involuntarily sought to pierce the veil far beyond those snowy barriers in the west, where Europe and Austria were now so far away, and my heart dreamed of the beloved ones never forgotten there. The mountain tops rose one above the other, like the billows of a stormy

sea, and seemed to shut out all hopes of escaping from their dreary wastes. How fondly did my thoughts then revert to my much-loved home, with prayer, that this day, hallowed in my recollections as the birth-day of my honoured mother, now in her sixty-sixth year, might be blest to her, as well as to her absent, though not forgetful son. A dreadful headach came on while I was on this high point, but I could not make up my mind to leave it until I had ascertained the height of the boiling point. For this purpose I descended 100 feet, where my people had lighted a fire under a projection of the rock. It was a long time ere the ice in our iron pot would melt at all; the rarity of the air causing it to evaporate, without dissolving into water. At last the boiling point reached 188°, or, by the rectification of the instrument + 1·2 °186·8°. The pains in the head, which had seized Vigne also, and all my people, were now so intense, that we hastened to leave our present situation, and I thought that the horror of the people of Kashmír for these mountain passes, which they suppose haunted by evil spirits, were not so unaccountable after all. This was the farthest limit of my travels, and it seemed a consolation that every step henceforward would take me nearer home.”—Pp. 166, 167.

Referring to the lovely valley which these giant barriers, where the spirit of the storm is triumphant, encircle, we see that “sainted Lebanon” is not the only mountain

“Whose head in wintry grandeur towers,
And whitens with eternal sleët;
While summer, in a vale of flowers,
Is sleeping rosy at his feet.”

Báramulla, in whose vicinity is this mountain, is the boundary of Kashmír to the westward. Leaving the Indian paradise at this place, our traveller passed through a rock which, together with the river, forms a strong barrier. If there were any truth in the tradition that the valley has been drained by human ingenuity, that Herculean work must have been performed in this part; but the height of the mountain and the breadth of the bed of the river, preclude the possibility of such a conclusion, except in legendary presumption. The waters with which Kashmír was covered at some quondam geological era, however, must here have forced their exit.

The Baron Hügel is now again in the Panjáb, but far distant from the place at which he left it when entering Kashmír. His journal, instead of getting less interesting than when he sojourned in the Indian fairy-land, actually gets more inviting when he experiences the genial glow of more temperate climes. The fact is, that he chose the wrong season of the year for visiting Kashmír, both for the perception and enjoyment of its beauties, and the pleasurable recording of his impressions.

“The fatigue of mind as well as of body,” he says, “which I had

undergone during my residence in this region, had been almost too much for my strength; the extreme cold of my dwelling-place was enough to counteract any benefit from relaxation. Long residence in India had made me doubly sensitive in this colder clime, and I suffered so intensely from pains in the soles of my feet and palms of my hands, that it was a misery for me to walk. When able to add a little to my diary, it needed much care to keep my enfeebled hands under proper control. But I neither experienced uneasiness or pain when this little kingdom was passed, and we were fairly journeying westward."

We henceforth find him a more lively guide than hitherto, though certainly we have never had reason to complain; but our space forbids us to attempt even an outline of the latter half of his volume. This we much regret, for we conceive it to be far the most valuable part of the work. We must content ourselves with a few general notices gleaned from his pages, and other respectable authorities,* and our own observation of straggling Sikhs. They will refer more to persons than to places; and to persons whose affairs are frequently noticed in the public prints, but whose peculiar position is but little understood.

The kingdom founded by the late Ranjit Singh, of which the principal territory lies within the Panjáb—its exterior provinces being Pesháwar, and Kashmír, now noticed—though it may seem of little importance, compared with the vast territory of Britain in India, is by no means insignificant in its dimensions. It extends from the highest chain of the Himálya, in 35° north latitude, to 28°, and from the 70th to the 79th degree of longitude east from Greenwich. It has possessions, too, on the left bank of the Satlej, which, however, have acknowledged the supremacy of England since the proclamation of May 6th, 1809, when our relations with what are called the protected Sikhs were formed. According to a calculation of Captain Murray, made in 1832, its revenue amounted to 15,881,500 rupees, and its military force to about 85,000 men. Its general capabilities as to productiveness, as far as the Panjáb is concerned, we have already noticed. Of the Jalandar Duáb, which reaches from the mountains to the

* Among these, referring to late transactions, we would mention a clever, judicious, and well-written article, entitled, "The Recent History of the Panjáb," in the second number of the *Calcutta Review*, just come to hand. This periodical, we would here remark, evinces high talent and a decided spirit of philanthropy, and is conducted by gentlemen conversant with the peculiarities of the East, and experienced in dealing with all its public interests, political, financial, fiscal, commercial, literary, religious, and general. It bids fair to secure no small portion of favour even in this country, particularly among the retired members of the public services of India. Several of the articles which it contains are of first-rate quality, while few or none of them fall below mediocrity. Considerable license is to be allowed to the writers in the expression of their views; and this seems necessary in India, where much, for many a day to come, must be said by way of theory, and attempted by way of experiment.

junction of the Satlej and the Beah, Sir John Malcolm says, that it is the most fruitful of all the possessions of the Sikhs; and is, "perhaps, excelled in climate and vegetation by no province of India." Of the part of the province contiguous to Atok, the Baron tells us, that it is level as a sheet of water; and that the Indus frequently inundates the whole plain, though not with the same regularity as the Nile. Its cultivation is greatly neglected. The same remark is true of most of the country which our traveller passed over between Atok and the Jelam, on his march to Wazirabad. Between the Jelam and Chenab is the Jinhat Doab, about twenty-six kos broad, in the direction taken by the Baron. This part of the country has experienced the advantages of a careful husbandry only in a few favoured spots. Toward Lahor, the capital, situated on the banks of the Ravi, there is much improvement, as far as agriculture is concerned. But, viewing matters in their general aspect, it may be safely said, that everywhere justice is yet required to be done to the beneficence of nature; or rather of the God of Providence, by the culture of the soil.

The population of the country has been variously estimated. Sir Alexander Burnes diffidently says, that the Khalsa or Sikh population does not exceed 500,000 souls, while the Muhammadans and Hindús may amount to 3,000,000. The author of the *Adventures of Bellasis* reckons the Sikhs at a quarter of a million, the Musalmáns at half a million, and the Hindús at three-quarters of a million.

The Baron Hügel received great attention from the chief officers of Ranjit Singh, on his journeyings to Lahor, especially from General Ventura, one of the distinguished French officers to whom Ranjit Singh owed the discipline of his troops. From the monarch himself he met with a magnificent reception, and he enjoyed excellent opportunities of becoming acquainted with that remarkable man. His personal appearance he thus describes:—

"Ranjit Singh is now fifty-five years old. The small-pox deprived him, when a child, of his left eye, whence he gained the name of Káná, the one-eyed, and his face is scarred by the same malady. His beard is thin and gray, with a few dark hairs in it; according to the Sikh custom, it reaches a little below his chin, and is untrimmed. His head is square and large for his stature, which, though naturally short, is now considerably bowed by disease; his forehead is remarkably broad; altogether he is the most forbidding human being I have ever seen. His large, brown, unsteady, and suspicious eye, seems diving into the thoughts of the person with whom he converses, and his straightforward questions are put incessantly, and in the most laconic terms."—Pp. 288, 289.

The establishment of the kingdom of Ranjit Singh is intimate-

ly connected with the development of the Sikh religion, and the assumption by its devotees of political power. This form of faith, a species of Hindú neology, admitting its authority but questioning its polytheistical tenets, and modifying and relaxing its rites and ceremonies, with a view to the recognition of the one Supreme, and assimilation to his quiescent bliss by self-denial and meditation in this life, previous to absorption in the next, originated with Nának Sháh, a Kshatriya, who was born in the year 1469, at a small village called Talwandí, in the province of Láhor. Nának, in early life, professed himself a strict religionist removed from the world, and travelled through various countries for the communication of his impressions, and the acquisition of knowledge. The grand attempt which he made as a religious teacher, had particularly in view the union of Hindús and Musalmáns, by binding them over to the concentration of their regard on the points of faith in which they were agreed, especially the unity and spirituality of God, as set forth, however, by the Pantheistic Vedánta, by which system of philosophy he seems to have been principally influenced. "Born," says Sir John Malcolm, "in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Muhammad, and the idolatrous worship of the Hindús, appeared to touch, and at a moment when both these tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity toward each other, his great aim was to blend those jarring elements in peaceful union; and he only endeavoured to affect this purpose through the means of mild persuasion." His followers were called *Shishyas* in Sanskrit, or according to the corruption of the Panjábí language, *Sikhs*, or "Disciples," by which they have continued to be known. He was recognized as their authoritative Guru, or instructor; and his opinions he set forth as the expression of the will of the Divine Being. The record is contained in the *Adi Granth*, or first book, which was partly written by himself. He had two sons, but neither of them did he deem worthy of the succession to his spiritual functions. The gurus by whom he was succeeded, were, in their order, Guru Angad, Amera-Dás, Ráma-Dás, Arjunmal, Har-Govind, Har-Krishna, Tegh Bahádur, and Guru Govind. Of these, Arjunmal, Har-Govind, and Guru-Govind, were the most remarkable for their influence in the Sikh community. The first compiled the *Adi Granth*, now mentioned, including in it the fragmentary writings of his predecessors, and adding to them many traditional doctrines, and historical and legendary notices. The second taught the Sikhs to make war in self-defence. The third instigated them to fight for the acquisition of power, wealth, and territory, beseeching them to wage war particularly against the Musalmáns, who, on their part, seemed determined

not only to oppose their progress, but utterly to annihilate their union. With a view of inspiring them with military courage, he got them to change their designation from that of *Sikh*, a disciple, to that of *Singh*, a lion. While he recognized, in some respects, their original descent from high or low castes, he declared that they were all on a point of equality in the *Khálsa* or state; that their watchword should be *Wah! Guruji ká Khalsa; Wa! Guruji ká Fatah*—"Success to the state of the Guru, Victory to the Guru;" that a weapon of steel should be their symbol, and blue, (now worn principally by the fanatics called *Akáli*, or immortals) their uniform; and that their liberties as to food should be extended to all kinds of flesh, except that of the cow, so sacred in the eyes of the *Hindús*. He instituted the *Gurumata*, or state-council, at which their common affairs should be discussed. He composed an additional work, viewed as sacred by the Sikhs, and known by the name of the *Dashamá Pádshah ka Granth*, or the Book of the Tenth King, so called from himself as the tenth chief of the confederacy. He died, or was murdered, in the year 1708.

The military propensities of *Guru Govind* may, in some degree, be accounted for by the circumstances in which, from early life, he was placed. His father, *Tegh Bahádur*, had been put to death, at *Patna*, in the year 1675, by order of the Emperor *Aurangzib*, the bigoted persecutor of all sects of the *Hindus*. It was on this occasion that *Govind* swore eternal enmity to all *Muhammadans*, and ordered the Sikhs to allow their beards to grow, in open assumption of their privileges. He was able to annoy them only by predatory excursions; and it is supposed that he was taken captive by them, and died a prisoner in their hands, in the *Dakhan*.

The uncertainty connected with the circumstances of his death prevented the nomination of a regular successor. A Hindu *bairági*, or religionist, named *Banda*, assembled a band of Sikhs, and commenced a series of hostilities against the *Musalmáns*, by destroying *Sirhind*. But he was quickly overpowered, taken prisoner, and, by command of *Sháh Alam*, the successor of *Aurangzib*, put to death. *Delhi* was soon the theatre of civil war for the succession of the throne, and the Sikhs resumed their habits of predatory warfare, and gradually and quietly extended their numbers. During the first *Afghán* irruption into *India*, in 1746, they seized the *Jalandar Dúáb*. When *Adina Beg*, in behalf of the *Delhi* power, became the governor of *Lahor*, he encouraged them in their movements, in order to make them a check to the *Afgháns*; but he himself had to call in the active and predatory *Maráthás*, to enable him to recover from them his own districts, which they had appropriated to themselves; and these new allies more than accomplished the object which he had

in view, freeing him alike from the intrusion of the Afgháns and the usurpation of the Sikhs. When they were recalled to the south, however, by the troubles in that quarter, they again seized Lahor. It was twice retaken from them by Ahmad Sháh, during his last incursions into India; but the anarchy that followed his death, and the weakness of the Delhi state, gave them ample opportunities to subdue the Panjáb. In the year 1764, they were divided into twelve *misals*, or military confederacies, having a total of 69,500 horsemen.

Ranjit Singh's ancestors here fall to be noticed. The first individual of them, mentioned in the Sikh annals, is Dísu, a Jat cultivator, and owner of three ploughs. His son, Nodh Singh, embraced the Sikh faith, and became distinguished among the various parties who were carrying on war on their own account. He died in 1750; and his son, Charat Singh, formed a party of his own. Though originally a trooper, he left a revenue of three lakhs of rupees. He was killed by the bursting of a gun at the assault of Jamu, in 1774. His son, Mahá Singh, was then only ten years old. The widow placed herself and the boy under the protection of Jay Singh, the chief of a powerful Misal, till, in 1778, he married the daughter of the commander of Jhínd, and maintained his own independence. His life, from that period, was one unbroken series of attempts at audacious robbery. Mahá Singh was the father of Ranjít, for whom he formed an early alliance, betrothing him, when he was only five years old, to Mehtáb Kunwár, a female of high lineage, whose father had been slain in battle against himself. The mother-in-law of Ranjít, Sadá Kunwár, was a woman versed in cunning and intrigue, and, on the death of Mahá Singh, in 1792, and that of her own father the following year, she secured for Ranjít, who was only twelve years old when he was bereaved of his father, the chieftainship of her husband's Misal, governing it in his name, as did his own mother that of his father. Ranjít murdered his own parent in 1793, and assumed the management of his own affairs, being for many years, however, much guided by the counsels of his mother-in-law. He aspired after increased power, and he gradually became possessed of it. In the years 1796 and 1797, when Sháh Zemán, the blind old monarch of Cabul, invaded the Panjáb, and entered Lahor, Ranjít was pushing his conquests in the country between the Satlej and Jamná; and on the Sháh evacuating Lahor, he took possession of it himself from the Sirdárs who were left in occupation, and, by his address, received it as a grant from the Afghán king. This was in the year 1799. From this time, he carried all before him in the country, having seldom any scruple about the measures which he pursued. When his power had

grown supreme in the Panjáb, through the subjugation of the Muhammadan and Sikh chiefs, who could never unite against him as their common enemy; and when the Hindu and Muhammadan Rájás, in the hilly country between the Himálya and the Panjáb, became his vassals, the Sikhs on the left bank of the Satlej, appealed to the English for protection against his encroachments, and succeeded in getting a treaty concluded in 1809, by which the Satlej was made the boundary of the British territory toward the north-west. To the terms of that treaty Ranjít himself found it expedient to yield. He well calculated the extent of his own power, and he successfully restrained himself when he knew he could not prevail; and it says much for his discretion and good sense that, notwithstanding his propensity for battle and conquest, he contrived to avoid a rupture with the English. He seems to have reposed implicit confidence in their faithfully abiding by their engagements with himself, while he might avoid crossing the Satlej, and to have considered himself at liberty to deal with the tribes to the west of that river as his own tender mercy might dictate. The quarrels of the Saddozáis and Barakzáis in Afghánistán left him without annoyance from that country. In 1809, having been invited by the Khangrá chief to aid him against the Gorkhás, he contrived to seize the territory of him whom he had pretended to befriend. In 1810, he took Bhimbar and Rájáori in the hills flanking the Himályas, from Muhammadan chiefs converted from Hinduism. Multán fell before him in 1818. Kashmír he got possession of in 1819. His supremacy over Pesháwar was established in 1818, the province then becoming tributary to Lahor; and formal possession was taken of it in 1834. In the same year he made a considerable acquisition from the Sindhians; and had sovereign rights granted to him by Sháh Shujah, then seeking re-establishment upon the throne of Cabul, over the provinces which he had conquered. During his acquisition of power, his arms seldom met with a reverse. He considered himself the favourite of Providence; and he made no arrangements for the right consolidation of his kingdom, and its government after his own death. In this respect he differed greatly from Muhammad Ali of Egypt, whom he otherwise greatly resembled in character.

The Sikh State was certainly in the zenith of its glory when visited by the Baron Hügel; and his work will ever be referred to as giving the best illustration of its condition, immediately previous to that decline which is progressing with extreme rapidity. Our traveller seems to have well understood the position of affairs, and in some respects to have anticipated the changes which have recently occurred. Of the *dramatis personæ* who

have figured in the late unexampled tragedies which have been enacted on the banks of the Ráví, he gives us this glimpse,

“ On a chair near the Maharájá, sat Hírá Singh, a youth of sixteen, the son of the favourite Rájá Dhyán Sing, the prime minister; all the other great officers of state were seated on the ground..... The court colour of the Darbár is yellow or green; and the chiefs and officers were all clothed in yellow garments of the wool of Kashmír, except Hírá Singh, who wore a satin dress of light green and pink. There were also present there, Rájá Sushet Singh, the brother of Dhyán and Gulab Singh, Mian or Lord of Jamu; Kushal Singh, called the Jamidár, a Bráhmaṇ, who has been converted some time since to the Sikh faith; this man was formerly a cook in the Maharájá's household, and then a Jamidár or Lieutenant, equivalent to the house steward in a palace. He has retained this latter appellation, though now next to Dhyán Singh, the most powerful of Ranjít's vassals. The eldest son of the Maharájá, Karak Singh, resides at Lahor, but is always overlooked, as his intellect is too feeble to afford any probability of his ever ruling over the scarcely united empire of the Sikhs. His son [Nau] Nihál Singh, promises to be a clever active youth, but as he is no more than fifteen, it depends much on Ranjít Singh's health, whether he will be able to consolidate a party strong enough to enable him to succeed his grandfather, in supercession of his father's right. Shír Singh and Tára Singh are twins, who have never been acknowledged by Ranjít as his sons; the former has distinguished himself as a soldier, but was found very unfit for his appointment of Governor of Kashmír.....Kashmír Singh and Pesháwar Singh, are also called sons of Ranjít, but of them I know nothing. One of the great obstacles to the duration of the empire founded by Ranjít Singh, consists in the imprudence of allowing so much power to accumulate in the persons of his vassals. Guláb Singh, for example, in Jamu, with his brothers Dhyán Singh and Sushet Singh, possess a large district which extends over inaccessible mountains from Atok to Nárpur in the south-east, and thence north to Ládak, besides other large estates in the Panjáb. These brothers, who are powerful in money, troops, and fortresses, would with great difficulty be brought into subjection by the arm of the feeble successors of Ranjít, and several others are similarly circumstanced. Nothing can establish this Prince's dynasty firmly, but an alliance with the Company, which his pride, and the policy of the latter have hitherto precluded.”*—Pp. 287, 288.

With what have been the actings and the fate of these personages since the Baron returned to Europe, both the east and the west have been made acquainted. Ranjít Singh was not spared to see the issue of the unrighteous and disastrous Tripartite treaty,

* In the part of this work from which we here quote, the Baron does not notice the Muhammadan Fakirs, Hákim Aziz-Ed-Din, and Khalifa Sáheb. They are most important personages, but they have been servants rather than nobles at the court of Lahor.

which, in June 1839, was concluded between Sháh Shujah, the English, and himself, with a view to the restoration of the Sháh to the throne of Cabul, a country which had discarded him as its ruler for the period of a generation of men. He was removed from this earthly scene on the 27th of June 1839. Four wives and five slave girls—in observance of the horrid rite of Satí as a part of Hinduism still retained by the Sikhs—devoted themselves to destruction on his funeral pile. The imbecile Karak Singh was placed on the throne, and acknowledged as his successor by the English. His son, Nau Nihál Singh, conspiring with Guláb Singh and his brothers, attacked the palace, cut Charat Singh, one of the ministers, to pieces, and put the Mahárájá into confinement, in which he was destroyed by slow poison, dying in November 1840. The day following his demise, the usual funeral rites were performed, and Satis perpetrated; and Nau Nihál Singh who succeeded him, met immediately with fearful retribution, though not from the hand of man. When he was returning from the ceremonies, seated on an elephant, along with a son of Guláb Singh, the brick parapet of a gate fell and crushed them. The son of the minister was killed on the spot; and the king never spoke again, but shortly expired. A council was held, and it was determined to acknowledge Shír Singh as regent, till the issue of the supposed pregnancy of one of Nau Nihál's widows could be ascertained. Chand Kunwár, however, the mother of Nau Nihál—the Sikh law acknowledging the claims of females to inheritance—through the influence of a party which she had formed, was declared the legitimate successor. Shír Singh failing to unite himself in marriage to her, was nearly assassinated by her hirelings. Most bloody conflicts between their respective parties followed; and Shír Singh prevailed. Chand Kunwár was beaten to death with slippers by her own slave girls. Disorder spread throughout the provinces; and faction and intrigue, which had been ceaseless in their action since the death of Ranjit, continued among all the grandees of the state. Shír Singh first became substantially the prisoner of Dhyán Singh, and Híra Singh, and their confederates; and on the 15th September 1843, he was murdered by the Sindhwálá chiefs. His son, Partáb Singh, and Rájá Dhyán Singh, met with the same fate. The troops having been called to action by Híra Singh, succeeded in overcoming and destroying the murderers, and proclaimed the boy Dhalp Singh Mahárájá, and Híra Singh prime minister. Híra has already, in self defence, destroyed his uncle Sushet, and called out the troops to resist the advances of other opponents. How long, with or for his master, he may be permitted to rule, we cannot tell.

After what has occurred in the Panjáb within these few

years, he would be a bold person indeed who would dare to anticipate the future course of events as far as individual men are concerned. This, however, is apparent to all, that if internal concord be not speedily established within its borders, the rule of the Sikhs must perish. Our country is looking on its present contentions with a watchful, we trust, not with a covetous, eye. After the lessons which have been lately taught us by the disasters in Affghanistan, we should be careful to move only when summoned to the march by the united voice of justice and humanity. Our conquest of Sindh, and our treatment of its former rulers, however, show us how slow we are to learn, and make us doubt the strength of that principle by which our power is actuated when its supposed self-interests are in the way. The Baron Hügel evidently reckons the Satlej a better boundary for our empire than even the Atok; and those who agree with him in opinion may hesitate before they extend it to the latter river, and thus overcome the temptation arising from the desire to acquire new territory. It is only the good of man, requiring no intrinsically evil means for its accomplishment, which, in any circumstances, can warrant us to advance. While we say this, we must add, that for the system of absolute non-interference we are no advocates. States, like individuals, are required to look not only on their own things, but also on the things of others, and may sometimes find it their duty to stem the torrents of blood, and to give liberty to the oppressed, and peace to the distracted without, as well as within, their own territories.

We have already expressed our opinion of the work of Baron Hügel, and given our readers an opportunity of judging of its real merits. We trust that Major Jervis, the translator and able annotator, will be encouraged to lay many similar works before the public. His own Indian surveys, and his statistical, descriptive, and historical papers, printed in Bombay, as well as his learned and interesting address before the geographical section of the British Association in 1838, and the beautiful and accurate maps which he has constructed, show how well he understands the prosecution of geographical research, and how highly he is qualified to edit such a series of memoirs, voyages, and travels, as that of which he contemplates the publication. We heartily wish him success in his undertaking, believing, with Robert Hall, that "whatever tends to render our acquaintance with any portion of our species more accurate and profound, is an accession to the most valuable part of our knowledge;" and with the Major himself, that "geography, while subserving the important purpose of exploring the darkest recesses of Nature, should also light up the darkest retreats of humanity," and this, as he mentions, for facilitating the highest triumphs of Christian philanthropy throughout the world.

ART. VII.—*Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws in Scotland.* 1844.

Remarks on the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Poor Laws of Scotland, presented to Parliament in 1844, and on the Dissent of Mr. Twisleton from that Report. By W. PULTENEY ALISON, M.D., F.R.S.E., &c. 1844.

WHATEVER estimate we may form of Dr. Alison's views on the subject of pauperism, it is impossible to withhold our homage from his thorough devotedness, and untiring perseverance in the cause of humanity. If not always in effect, at least always in purpose, and with the full and honest sympathies of his whole heart, he is the friend of the poor. He may, and we think often does, err in his conceptions of what is best for them in the aggregate, or of what the most expedient and fittest measures are when dealing with indigence as a general question, or as affecting the habits and condition of the population at large. But though his notions are often, his sensibilities never are at fault. Whether or not he at all times judges aright, he is sure at all times to feel aright. On the ground of opinion he may not have acquired the honours of a victory over his antagonists in the field of controversy; but on the far higher ground of benevolence and worth, he has earned a reputation which is above all Greek and all Roman fame. His is .

“An eye for pity, and a hand open as day for melting charity.”

To a mind which entertained the question of pauperism for the first time, we can figure nothing more fitted to overset and to bewilder, than to be at once thrown abroad on the vast and varied miscellany of evidence collected with such immense labour by the Commissioners, and now presented to the public in no less than 2540 folio pages of small print; and, beside the engrossment of manifold notes and lists of cases and written communications of various sorts, setting before us, in the first of these three volumes alone, more than 14,000 separate answers to as many separate questions, while in all the three volumes we have the accumulated produce of an oral examination held upon between one and two thousand witnesses, summoned to attend and to give their testimony, from all parts of Scotland. We are quite sure that any man even of high intelligence, if hitherto quite unpractised in the subject, would, if left to find his own way to some clear and definite conclusion, through the labyrinth into which he had been

cast, be visited by an utter sense of discomfiture and despair. He would not know what to make of the cross and conflicting appearances among which he was involved ; or how aught like light and order could by any possibility be educed from the perplexities of such a chaos. We are not sure, therefore, that the evidence here collected, valuable as it is, and as all facts must be to those who can appreciate them—we are not sure if it will contribute much, if at all, to the spread of right principles and views on this sorely agitated question ; and we greatly fear that it will have no effect to bring the leading controvertists more at one than before. The truth is, that there is not a single champion in this warfare, whatever the side may be which he has espoused, who will not feel himself richer in materials than ever, amid the testimonies which do favour him, and the facts which at least seem to favour him. It is just because there are so many conflicting opinions here brought together, that the conflict, we apprehend, will henceforth become all the more strenuous—for in the voluminous repository before us, we not only have all sorts of sentiment, but cases innumerable which admit all sorts of plausible construction. It is thus that every chieftain who may have heretofore signalized himself in this argument, may here recruit his exhausted forces, and enter anew upon the contest with a larger and more formidable army of supporters. The partizanship, instead of being allayed, will become all the keener in virtue of these publications, because each of the parties will be animated by a greater consciousness of strength in the numerous depositions which can be assumed, and with most perfect ease be assimilated into a consistency with their respective views.

In these circumstances, we should hold it most desirable if the gladiatorship of argument, which we might now clearly see, if still persevered in, will be quite interminable, were for a time at least suspended ; and means or opportunities were devised for bringing the whole question to the test of experience. It were well if in this department of political science, if it may be so termed, such an *experimentum crucis* could be thought of, as is often resorted to in physical science—when in the midst of ambiguous phenomena, our philosophers have to vary their combinations either by detaching old elements or by supplying new ones, so as to eliminate some principle which they are in quest of, or to verify some result which they wish to determine and realize. We hold that such an experiment was at one time attempted, and not only so, but carried to a successful termination, and so as to throw a flood of light over the inner springs of that mechanism, by the bad working of which it is that pauperism is indefinitely multiplied, and by the right working of which it is our confident opinion that pauperism might be wholly averted and done away. But we do

not ask the confidence of the public on the ground of any past experiment, and more especially that it stands alone, although not without the confirmation of several other attempts which fell short of a final and complete success, not because they failed, but simply because they were desisted from. All that we should require of any new Poor-Law, whether for England or Scotland, is that it shall leave scope and opportunity for the repetition of such experiments on certain specified conditions, and by certain competent and authorized persons who may be willing to undertake them. It is not a verdict on the question of pauperism that we at present seek, but truly a different thing; it is liberty for a trial, or for a sufficient number of trials—no doubt in the confidence that on the result of these trials we shall at length obtain a favourable verdict, and a confidence, too, that we must admit to be strong, else the proposal never could be hazarded, for if the experiments should fail, the discredit will be ours; whereas, if they succeed, a moral and economical benefit of the highest order will be achieved for the community at large. With all the assurance that we feel, and have now felt for many years, in the efficacy of a particular system for the management of the poor, we never argued for the enforcement of it over the whole country, by means of an absolute and universally imperative law. Any object of ours would have been completely satisfied, could we only have obtained in its favour the benefit of a permissive law—by which it might be made competent for parishes or localities now under assessment for their poor, on certain conditions, and in certain circumstances, to enter on a retracing process, which will afterwards be described more particularly—and by which, should it succeed, they would get quit in time of their compulsory, and be landed in a voluntary provision for their poor—such a provision, in fact, as still obtains throughout the great majority of our parishes in Scotland. We can imagine nothing better adapted to the measure which we venture to recommend, than such a Board of Supervision as is proposed by the Commissioners to be established in Edinburgh,—a board not of control, but simply of surveillance, and whose duty, therefore, it were to keep a watchful and observant eye over the whole country. We feel sure, on the one hand, that if their regards were to be fastened more attentively on one quarter than another, it would be upon our trial parishes; and, on the other hand, that the conductors of these trials, under the wholesome consciousness of a vigilance both above and around them, would study to make full acquittal of their own undertaking. We should look for the most instructive of all matter in the reports from these parishes to the supervising board in Edinburgh. They would present us with lessons

on pauperism at first hand; and by directing the attention of the public to the study of such lessons, we, in fact, send them to the right school for learning the principles and philosophy, nay, and best practical treatment of this whole question. They are the actual households and habits of the people themselves, which form the right place or proper field of observation on which to become wise in this matter; and what can enlighten us so well on a topic which looks to the general eye so puzzling and mysterious, as just a plain history of the intrusions and doings of our little district managers with the families of their respective charges? The pauperism which seems so hopeless and appalling, when contemplated in connexion with the state of a whole empire, or even a whole city, will, if broken up into separate and small enough localities, and dealt with by the separate efforts of distinct and independent bodies of management, be seen to turn out a very simple and practicable affair.

Could we only prevail so far as to obtain that some such clause or codicil as we now seek, might be applied to the forthcoming Poor-law for Scotland, we should not feel greatly solicitous about the general provisions of the law itself, or contend very earnestly for one law rather than another—whether framed out and out in the terms of the Commissioners' Report, or modified by the corrections of Dr. Alison and Mr. Twisleton. We are so thoroughly persuaded of the inherent and incurable mischief which lies in the very principle of a compulsory provision for the poor, that if we must give way to it, which we fear we must for many years to come,* it signifies little, we think, in what form it shall be imposed upon us. We at the same time are equally satisfied that neither the public nor the Parliament are prepared for any *absolute* legislation in favour of the voluntary system of public or parochial charity; and, therefore, all our demand is for a *permissive* legislation, which might be so guarded, as to secure that the trial shall, in the first instance, be made only in those cases where the success would be most decisive of the principle at issue, and would afford the surest experimental guarantee for the safety of future imitations. What we are most anxious for, is not a law by which the voluntary system of charity shall be established, but a law so constructed as not to prevent any legal barrier in the way of the voluntary system being tried. All we want is, that the lights of all possible experience on this subject shall not henceforth and for ever be foreclosed; and that the

* Not because of any natural necessity for such a law on the part of our people, but because of the strong persuasion that there is such a necessity in the minds of our legislators.

chance of some further enlightenment from this quarter, we mean from the examples and the verifications of actual experience, shall still be left open to us.

Or, on the other hand, are the notions and views both of our rulers, and of such as undertake to advise them, now so settled, and on grounds so clear and conclusive, that the minds of all are thoroughly made up on this said question of pauperism, and they have nothing more to learn? Will any of our statesmen and legislators tell us, whether all the experience of the last half century has made them sensibly wiser upon the subject than before? Many an act, we know well, and act to amend an act, has passed during this period through their hands; and will they tell us how much nearer they have got in consequence, either to a confident and satisfactory determination in their own minds upon the matter, or to aught like an agreement among themselves? Manifold and various have been their successive attempts to rectify, and remodel, and reform, from the days of Gilbert's Act to those of Sturge Bourne's Act, and from the days of Sturge Bourne, to the last and greatest change in the system of English pauperism, and from that again to their present Poor Law Amendment Bill; and will they now let us know whether they have been doing any better than just floundering in the dark from one fruitless expedient to another; or can any of them say that he has yet got hold of the clue which is to guide them through the labyrinth of their ever thickening and accumulating difficulties? Hitherto they have been dealing with the question only in the aggregate, and on the compulsory principle—nor have they yet condescended to look at any dealing with it in little manageable sections, and on the voluntary principle; and the consequence is, we believe, that they occupy a false position for studying the question aright, or for making the right and relevant observations, and founding the right conclusions thereupon. And, accordingly, to pass from their devisings to their doings, we ask if there be aught like confidence or agreement among them in regard to the very last change and reform which they have achieved on the pauperism of England? Or are they at all satisfied with the legislation which they have achieved for the pauperism of Ireland? Or even from our own Commissioners we should like to know if they are quite hopeful, and have no misgivings as to the legislation which they now recommend for the pauperism of Scotland? For ourselves, we have no more doubt than of any futurity which can be named, that after the adoption of all their suggestions, and even with the modifications, if they will, of Mr. Twisleton and Dr. Alison to the bargain, we shall be mortified by the experience of no sensible improvement whatever in the economic state and well-being of our common people. Let their system have as full

a trial, and be left to operate for as many years as they like, we have not the shade of an uncertainty upon our mind, that for aught which it can accomplish, we shall just behold as distempered a commonalty as ever—So that when looking, on the one hand, to the country, we shall there see as great and probably a greater number of wretched and mistorven families; or when looking, on the other hand, to Parliament, we shall there see, that, on this sorely agitated question of pauperism, the men at the helm of our affairs, and in whose hands is the guiding and governing power of the State, are as much at sea as they have been for the last half century, during which period they have been “reeling to and fro, and have staggered and shifted from one thing to another, and are now at their wit’s end.” Meanwhile we have the very strongest conviction, that there is a more excellent way—not a way upon which parishes should be compelled by legal enforcement to enter against their wills, but a way which every parish or locality of a certain description should be at liberty to take, and this not for their own good alone, but for the lessons which they might possibly give forth to the country at large by the exhibition of their own methods, and the demonstration made by them of their perfect ease and safety, and withal benefit, both moral and economical, to the families within their sphere. And we again ask, if either the country, or they who govern the country, are independent of such lessons? Are they indeed so very proficient in this department of human affairs, as to stand in need of no further schooling upon the subject? One might well have expected that it would have been otherwise; and that in the present universal sense of entire helplessness, or at least of great difficulty, there would have been the utmost welcome and even encouragement for all such attempts as had any likelihood of success, or as even by their very failure might have cast some light on the principles of the question. Instead of which they would so engross and monopolize the whole country, or at least every large town by their proposed Unions, on the scheme of a compulsory provision, as most effectually to obstruct, or at least to shackle, every attempt by which to realize and so to demonstrate within the limits of any assumed district or territory, the benefits and the facilities of a voluntary provision. There is no freedom left for the advocates of such a provision to assume their district there, to set up their own management, and to show what can be effected by a system based not on the laws of the State, but on the laws of human nature, and which looks for all its success to the actings and reactings of these in the mechanism of human society.

But we hope to be more intelligible when we come to close quarters with the publications before us. It is our distinct en-

deavour to show that such are the likelihoods of success in local and voluntary managements of the poor, when brought to bear upon small enough districts; and such the strong probabilities, in our apprehension the certainties, of disappointment and defeat, attendant on such wholesale and withal compulsory methods as are here recommended by the Commissioners, and contended for in a still more aggravated form by Mr. Twisleton and Dr. Alison, as to make it in the highest degree advisable, that, whatever system shall be adopted and passed into law, there will at least be embodied in it a permissive clause, by which it shall be made competent, in certain defined circumstances, for such and such localities to enter upon and make full trial of the voluntary system of charity.

But before we proceed to institute our proposed comparison between the compulsory and the voluntary systems, there is one most important concession to the former, in which we are sure that every honest and withal enlightened philanthropist would most heartily concur. Whatever controversies may have arisen, and may yet remain unsettled, on the best method of prescribing for general indigence, there ought to be no controversy on the question of a certain and complete provision, and at the public expense, too, for all sorts of institutional disease. We confess an unconquerable repugnance to any assessment, however small, for the relief of poverty, but along with this, the utmost demand and desirousness for an assessment, however large, so long as the produce of it is rightly expended on the object of public health—and this, whether in the form of medical institutes, as infirmaries, and fever-hospitals, and asylums for the incurable, and the blind, and the dumb, and the lunatic; or in the form of a medical police for ventilation, and cleanliness, and drainage, and enforcement of sanatory regulations, even though for the removal of nuisances, old streets and alleys, and deleterious manufactories had to be bought up and cleared away. The distinction, indeed, is so very obvious between the two cases of indigence and disease, that we shall not repeat here what elsewhere we have so often enlarged upon; nor shall we even be tempted to encroach on the space already too narrow for our remaining argument, by any further observation on Dr. Alison's passing remark, (p. 246,) as if the system of assessment for the one species of human suffering, and of non-assessment for the other, involved in it a logical inconsistency. It may perhaps gratify Dr. Alison to be assured that, if we may judge from our own feelings, the readers of his work cannot fail to rise from the perusal of it with a more intense desire than ever for the extending and the perfecting of all medical charities. We can figure nothing more appalling or more fitted to outrage the humanity of the public, than the evidence which he quotes, and

much more that he has not quoted, on the treatment of the insane—whether of those lunatics whose recovery is possible, or of those who are sunk in hopeless idiocy. These ought never to be mixed up with the inmates of a general or common poor-house; and there ought to be sanative and keeping asylums for both, or houses for the cure of the one, and houses for the perpetual custody of the other. The compassion of the public might be indulged to any extent in behalf of these heaven-stricken patients; and it were pleasure without alloy, the full luxury of benevolence, with nought to mar the delicious sensation, could we behold them in the full enjoyment of a generous and separate provision, so that in respect of room, and air, and cleanliness, and, indeed, all the other items of human comfort, they should forthwith be placed on a higher level than the maxim of a distinction between the pauper and the independent labourer will permit to the poor at large. We have long remarked it as a most grievous inexpediency, besides that it implied a most grievous want of intelligence in the sound principles of the subject, when we saw what is too often realized in our city poor-houses, the fatuous insane littered in straw, and sharing in all the stinted allowances of a mere parish or public receptacle for cases of ordinary destitution. We have read few things more revolting to humanity than the account in the Evidence before us of the treatment, the shameful neglect, we fear the horrid and untold cruelty, to which the insane poor are subjected in various parts of Scotland—a most urgent reason truly for the instant extension of lunatic asylums, till a door wide enough shall be opened, and space ample enough be provided for the accommodation of all, but no reason why it should be converted, as Dr. Alison has done, into a make-weight on the side of a wholly different cause. The controversy respecting general pauperism might continue a *questio vexata* for half a century to come; but that is no reason why the special cases of lunacy, and indeed of all institutional disease, should not, from this moment, be ungrudgingly, nay, most cheerfully met, and that on a scale commensurate to the whole extent of the necessity. And here we are reminded of a conversation which the writer of this article held with one who is now a dignitary in the Irish Church, and who was then a most strenuous advocate through the press and otherwise for the introduction of a Poor-Law into Ireland. By this time the measure was in full progress, and well nigh completed; and we doubt not that the able and impressive representations of this most respected clergyman contributed greatly to the result. Yet when told by us how much and no more we should have liked to be done for Ireland; that is, have planted it to the uttermost with the right asylums for all sorts of institutional disease, but had none for general indigence, he im-

mediately admitted, that had provision, to the extent we specified, been made for it, his country would have required no more. In other words, because we will not discriminate in this matter between the questionable and the unquestionable, must a nation be saddled with a wholesale and precipitate measure, with all its doubtful, and speaking in the terms of our own opinion, with all its mischievous results on the habits and character and real comfort of the people. And, accordingly, while the medical institutes that we ventured to recommend would each have proved a clear accession to the good of humanity, because each *pro tanto*, rendering its own distinct and definite amount of relief for its sufferings—the Poor-Law of Ireland, in the gross, has turned out, what we predicted at a recent meeting of the British Association in Glasgow, a magnificent failure, an addition to the burdens of that sorely unsettled land, without any sensible alleviation either of its miseries or its discontents. Now what we, of all things, deprecate, is a similar legislation for Scotland; and lest we should be hurried into a general assessment, because of the impression made, and most justly made, upon our feelings, by those special and select cases, which, by a partial assessment, or an assessment *ad hunc effectum* can be so fully and satisfactorily provided for. For while we feel aright, let us also judge aright; and making distinction between the things which differ, let us do the unexceptionable thing first, by a right measure for disease, and pause ere we commit ourselves to such a measure for the relief of poverty, as contains within itself the principles of a most hurtful acceleration—aggravating that distemper in the body politic which had far better be left to the *vis medicatrix* of a sounder and better regimen. We therefore exceedingly regret that things so totally diverse, and where, in our estimation, it is so clearly advisable that each should have a separate treatment of its own, should be so mixed together, both in the Evidence here given, and in the Report that is founded on it. We regret, on the one hand, that poor-houses should be sanctified, if we may thus express it, by the proposed admission of the fatuous and the incurable within their threshold, or by the attachment to them of a dispensary, as part and parcel of their establishment; and, on the other hand, that medical charities which might, under proper regulations, be multiplied with all safety, and with so much advantage to the population at large, that these should be desecrated by association with a poor-house, and thus be made to serve as a stepping-stone to general pauperism. We had much rather, that, instead of the cold, and uncertain, and qualified recommendation which the Commissioners have ventured, and but hardly ventured, to bestow on their own general measure, and this we have no doubt because of a felt ambiguity in their own minds as to the rightness

of a compulsory provision for indigence,—we had much rather than this, that they had come boldly, and confidently, and cordially forward in recommendation of a measure on which no ambiguity or apprehension whatever should be suffered to rest, and that is the erection of a full apparatus in the shape of all needful asylums, and institutes, and sanatives for the preservation and recovery of health ; and where, recovery, whether from disease or lunacy was impossible, both for the keeping and the utmost possible comfort of incurables. In this way they would have cleared the outer field of legislation of all human sufferings but one, and so disencumbered the argument from the perplexity of having to do with subjects which are heterogeneous to each other, and which ought to be dealt with severally on the distinct and independent merits of their own. The question as to the best and most expedient method of devising for the relief of poverty would thus have remained as the alone question for determination ; and which, like every other question, would be far more favourably circumstanced for a right solution and settlement, when thus relieved of all mystifying and misleading complication.

But ere we address ourselves to the question in this single and separate form, such is our anxiety for a full complement of right medical institutions in Scotland ; that, as the most impressive argument for these, we present the following extracts from the Evidence.

From H. M'Farlane, Esq., surgeon to the Infirmary, Perth :—

“ Have you found difficulty in disposing of incurable cases from want of an institution in which incurable poor people might be received ?—We have found great difficulty owing to the want of such an institution. When we have taken them in with the view of relieving them, we have found a good deal of delicacy in sending them back to their own wretched places.

“ Where they could not be properly provided for ?—Certainly not. We have kept them in the house sometimes, in order that they might just die in comfort there, rather than send them home to their own places.

“ Do you approve of a poorhouse for the reception of such ?—For the reception of incurable cases it would be a great advantage. There are a great many of those incurable cases among the poor ; and although we cannot hope to get rid of disease entirely, yet you may lengthen their days materially, and render them much more comfortable than they can be living in their own wretched houses.”

Instead of a poor-house for the incurable along with the indigent of Perth, we should greatly prefer a hospital for the incurables of the whole county, and so as to cancel at least one argument for having a poor-house at all.

Again, in the Barony parish of Glasgow, it is the practice to

have boarding-houses for the accommodation of their in-door paupers; and the following is part of the examination of Mr. Campbell, surgeon, respecting one of these establishments:—

“Were you called of late to visit a person named Leech, when fever was in the house in Silver Grove?—I was not called; but Mr Black, the district surgeon, was passing my door, and asked me to go down with him as a friend.

“What did you find when you went there?—Twenty-two children affected with *febricula* or common fever.

“About how long ago?—About the 15th of April.

“To whom did the children belong?—To the parish of Barony.

“And how many rooms were appropriated for their use?—One.

“All were in one room?—All in one room.

“What was its size?—About fourteen feet square, judging according to appearance.”

And why should not fever hospitals be raised ample enough to accommodate all the cases, so as to remove infection not from such receptacles as these only, but from the bosom of families; and then another argument for the erection of poor-houses would be effectually disposed of.

We again read of such miscellaneous cases as are of daily occurrence in medical practice, and where the burden not only of unpaid attendance, but even of providing with the necessary medicines were most shamefully left by the parochial authorities to the practitioners themselves. The following are a few specimens taken from the evidence which bears upon this point, and which cannot be perused at large without a most respectful impression both of the humanity and the intelligence of our medical men.

By Andrew Robertson, Esq., surgeon in Girvan:—

“Has practised in Girvan seven years,—his father has practised there fifty years, and he has a brother, also a surgeon; and most of the sick poor apply to them. Except in one or two cases, *neither he nor his father ever received any remuneration from the session*, or from any other quarter, for attending the poor. By reference to his books he has seen, that sometimes, in a single case, they expend 15s. for medicines, besides giving their attendance gratuitously; and, taking into account attendance and medicines, he thinks his father, brother, and himself, expend L.100 a-year on the poor.”

William Gibson, Esq., surgeon, Dalry:—

“No provision is made for supplying medicines, either from a dispensary or otherwise. *I just pay for the medicines myself.*”

Thomas M'Millan, Esq., surgeon in Wigtown:—

“He has attended the poor in seven parishes, and never got a farthing from the kirk-sessions of any of them. *He never got any*

thing for medicines in any of the parishes, except one year in Wigtown. They had a dispensary, for which he furnished the medicines; and he was paid the first year by subscription. The second year he furnished medicines; but the subscriptions fell off, and he received no payment."

John Gibson, Esq., Provost of Lanark:—

"Witness attended almost all the poor *twenty years, and never received any recompense*. It is only in extreme cases now, if at all, that any thing is paid for medical advice. Witness, some years ago, attended a blind woman, a stranger in this parish, who fell and broke her arm, and paid for her lodging and aliment during her confinement; and being refused any recompense, brought an action before the Sheriff for a guinea and a half as his fees, who decided in his favour; but the heritors having suspended the decreet, witness declined to proceed with the case in the Court of Session, and *was obliged to pay L.5 for a portion of the expenses."*

L. M. Matheson, Esq., surgeon in Portree, Skye:—

"Sees paupers in this part of the country almost every day, *to his serious loss*. Is obliged to give them medicines as well as attendance; has no other way of getting medicines for them. Some are vaccinated, but those medical men vaccinate gratuitously."

But to us the most interesting testimony of this class is that of John Clark, Esq., M.D., surgeon at Scone:—

"I attended Elizabeth Innes in a very bad fever. She became very delirious, and was in a very dirty state. I applied to the clergyman, stating that I had had charge of this poor parishioner for some weeks, but that the case was now too heavy for my single management; and requesting to be provided with a nurse and cordials: *they were refused*. The minister and elders visited, *but did nothing*. There was a report of this poor woman having money in the Savings Bank, which she absolutely denied. The little assistance I asked—a nurse and some food—was pointedly and positively refused. One of the neighbours said, if I would give my attendance, she would act as nurse. I could not decline the offer, which was a generous one. The patient recovered. The woman acting as nurse—the mother of a large family—fell a sacrifice to her generosity: she died of the same fever. I have even been reprimanded in addresses, delivered publicly, for recommending paupers to attention. A great deal was said about breaking down the spirit of Scottish independence," &c.

And why not the very moderate assessment in each parish that would fully remunerate the necessary attendance and purchase the necessary medicines for all such cases? Why subject at all times to one and the same treatment the two distinct objects of disease and indigence? In the examples here given, the medical gentlemen themselves are not all of them exempt from the error of confounding the things which differ. But the most

egregious instance of it were the utterly misplaced reprimand given to Dr. Clark, provided, however, that his recommendation at the time was not of paupers for general relief, but of patients for medical assistance. Let all necessary medical aid be made as free to the common people as their access now is to the common elements of nature—a provision this which at a limited expense could be easily made good for them; and it were no more a breaking down of their independence, than the liberty they have to open their eyes on the light, or to breathe the air of heaven.

But the lesson is brought far more impressively home by the testimonies here given on the subject of lunatics. There is something absolutely hideous in the picture of these wretched creatures huddled together in the same narrow and confined apartment with ordinary paupers, and sharing in all the discomforts of that niggardly regimen, which is inseparable from the administration of a public charity for the relief of indigence.

The following is a brief specimen of the state of the boarding-houses in the Barony, where, though even on the whole favourably reported of, the very mixture of sane with insane is indescribably revolting:—

“Arthur Gilmour, Sherra's Back Land, West Street, Calton. Fourteen women and children (nine women and five children) in the house. Most of the women fatuous, others very old. House consisted of four rooms. First, a kitchen and room off it. In the inner one were two children; it was nicely furnished, bed, table with cloth. In kitchen, three women and a child. On the other side, two rooms of a similar size, filled with beds. One old woman in bed in the inner room, the others up and sitting in the outer room. Although evidently much crowded, the house appeared comfortable, and the inmates well attended to.

“Mrs. Murray, 56, Kirk Street, Calton. Several inmates, male and female. Four rooms, two down stairs and two in the garret. Maniac naked by the fire. Old man ill in bed. No medical man. Directed Dr. Campbell to visit and report on the state of the inmates. Two down stairs rooms. Kitchen and room occupied by Mrs. Murray and husband.

“David Hunter, by Gallogate Toll, Camlachie. Twelve inmates, adults, and two children. Cow keeper. House being whitewashed. Two rooms appropriated to boarders, one for females. Several idiots. One room for males, with two female idiots in it. Very much crowded; the house ill adapted for the purpose. Appearance generally tolerably comfortable. Two children, well cared for. One boy, a foundling, for whom the parish has ceased to pay, was continued to be kept at their own expense.”

But nothing can outpeer in horror the report given by Dr. Hutcheson, Glasgow, on lunatics confined in Arran:—

"Respecting Murchie's treatment of the patients, the most distressing reports were prevalent as to his striking, kicking, and starving them. Some instances of ill usage were mentioned to me as having been witnessed by respectable individuals. It is also reported that he acts as agent in farming out patients, and receives gratuities from those for whom he procures boarders from the parishes.

"John Campbell, about seventeen years of age, is paralytic; has been here about eighteen months. He was transferred by Archibald Murchie to M'Kinnon. He has been subjected to the most cruel usage—beaten with ropes and sticks, both by M'Kinnon and by his wife; and when we went in he was in tears, having just been subjected to the same discipline. Mrs M'Kinnon attempted to deny this; but on being confronted by a neighbour who had frequently witnessed the ill usage, she could not deny it. When we were out of hearing, she said she did not care a damn for what we had said; we would soon be away, and then she would work him. The instrument with which he was flogged we did not see; but we learned it was a cat-o'-nine-tails, made of rope, and that he had been flogged till the blood ran down his legs.

"Mary Galbraith is idiotic, and raves incoherently. She is filthy in her habits. She sleeps in a hole five feet nine inches long, and two feet four inches wide. She has nothing but straw, and a cover. The place is dark, and not ventilated.

"Donald M'Donald, a paralytic imbecile, has been here twelve months. He sleeps in a closet six feet long, five feet ten inches wide, and six feet seven inches high. His bed is five feet eight inches long, and three feet three inches wide. He has no bed-clothes, and no bedding, but filthy straw. The floor was wet, the walls damp; and there was neither light nor ventilation.

"In an appendix, I have given a list of persons of unsound mind resident in Arran, amounting to 118, of whom I received intelligence during my investigation, as well as of five more, since admitted by the parish authorities to have been placed there, making in all 123. I am convinced, however, that the number is much greater.

"Of the 123 patients named, I consider 42 *to be dangerous to the lieges, and consequently unsafe to be at large*. A letter from Mr. M'Kinnon, a respectable inhabitant of the island, gives some account of the annoyances to which people are exposed. From all this, it appears that there has been a deliberate and systematic violation of the law, perpetrated both by parishes and individuals, perpetuating the evils it was intended to guard against; and that it is absolutely necessary, for the safety of the community, and the cure, comfort, and protection of the insane, that some comprehensive and stringent measures be adopted to put an end to a system contrary to sound policy, and repugnant to every feeling of humanity. The attention of the authorities has been directed to the evil; the offending parishes have been compelled to agree to the removal of their pauper lunatics, now in Arran, to the Glasgow asylum; *but it was only the heavy penalties to which they had subjected themselves that made them yield; and some have declared their in-*

tention of finding means to evade the law, asserting that they will not consent to the increase of the rates for the support of the insane poor. Many pauper lunatics are confined in other parts of the country, and are, I am informed, as ill treated as those in Arran."

These last extracts are copied from Dr. Alison's pamphlet.

We can only afford room for one extract more, and that from the highly interesting testimony of Dr Browne, superintendent of the Crichton Institution, Dumfries. The following facts were collected by him in 1840, in a single county town; and we most cordially agree with him in thinking that they illustrate many of the evils that result from the absence of a proper provision for the insane poor:—

" 1. Two respectable tradesmen, whose only crime is insanity, are confined in the jail among felons.

" 2. A woman, still young, has become completely paralytic from having been heavily ironed by her parents for at least ten years.

" 3. A young man, of great muscular strength, is allowed to run about the streets to the danger of the inhabitants; and another powerful young man, although partially disabled by the loss of a limb, is allowed to go at large, and often assaults women and children.

" 4. A woman, the mother of a family, is allowed to run about the country in a state of utter destitution, and often appears in the streets in a state of nudity.

" 5. A man, seventy years old, has been chained to his bed for a large portion of that time, and his daughter, who has been insane three years, goes at large quite unprotected.

" 6. A woman has been confined in a room above fifteen years; and during all this time her cries, said to be dependent on hunger, have been such as to prove painful and offensive to persons in the street."

We understand that the fearful atrocities in the isle of Arran have been meanwhile put a stop to. But where is our security against their revival there, or their continuance in other places yet undiscovered and unknown, away from public notice and public indignation? We cannot doubt, therefore, that the humanity of the general voice, outraged as it must be by these afflicting disclosures, will powerfully second the recommendation of the Commissioners for the extension of lunatic asylums, and we should add, for the multiplication of them where necessary, till room enough was provided for harbouring, and in all possible comfort, these poor unfortunates all over the land. This is clearly a case to which the maxim quoted by Dr. Alison, in p. 136, does not in the least degree apply, even, that "the more you do for the poor the more you will contribute to their increase." If this maxim have ever so worked on the minds either of officials or of the higher administrators of the law, as to have led to this shameful neglect of the insane, let there be instant measures taken for

such a flagrant abuse being conclusively and for ever put an end to. But let care at the same time be taken that neither Dr. Alison nor others shall so avail themselves of the just and generous indignancy which the evidence now adduced is so well fitted to awaken, as that they shall be borne along on the tide of popular feeling to their own ulterior measure of a general and indiscriminate pauperism. Though an incontrovertible argument has here been furnished for the enlargement and multiplication of lunatic asylums, it were a most illegitimate extension of the argument—it were making the conclusion of the syllogism broader than its premises, to convert it, as Dr. Alison fain would, into an argument for the enlargement and multiplication of poor-houses. And here we regret to observe that the Commissioners, too, in their Report, p. xxv, allege as a reason for the establishment of a poor-house in every large parish, that, among other things, it would serve for the reception of incurables. We humbly apprehend that if the right consecutive proposition to the fact of many unprovided lunatics be the establishment of lunatic asylums, the right consecutive proposition to the fact of many incurables, whether dismissed from infirmaries or hopelessly languishing in the households of the poor, were the establishment of hospitals for the incurable,—a great desideratum that would be prized by all medical men, and by none more, we are sure, than by Dr. Alison himself. If it be a *non sequitur* that there be many lunatics, and therefore we must have poor-houses, it is in every way as egregious a *non sequitur* that there be many incurables, and therefore we must have poor-houses. Let there be asylums of complete and ample accommodation for both; but let not the emotions of pity, or even of horror, awakened by the sufferings of these unquestionable objects, hurry us as if by the force of a blind and headlong impulse to the advancing of institutions for other objects not so unquestionable as these. In a cause so sacred as the relief of human suffering, we should be ashamed to allege the argument of economy for any other purpose, than to enlist as many as possible in support of that system which we hold to be best—and best, not for the interests of the privileged few, but for the greatest happiness of the greatest number, or for the general and abiding interest of society at large. It is on this account, and on this alone, that we advert at all to the consideration of expense, or venture to make the statement, which, nevertheless, we do with the utmost confidence, that the whole cost and keeping of a complete apparatus of medical charities—in which category we include asylums for the dumb and the blind, along with those that have been already specified—that an adequate apparatus of medical charities for all the medical wants of Scotland might be erected and upheld by a mere fraction of the expenditure in which Scotland will infallibly be landed, should the English system of pauperism once be fairly and fully introduced

amongst us. We utterly disclaim all anxiety or tenderness for the wealth of the upper classes, and would most cheerfully consent to a tenfold encroachment upon their means, could it be clearly made out that there would accrue from it any sensible augmentation to the enjoyments and virtues of the species. It is not to save the pockets of the affluent, but to save the principles and the habits and the solid happiness of our commonalty, that we resist the imposition of a tax, not for the relief of disease, but for the relief of indigence. Let the one cause then be fairly detached and disengaged from the other, that the field might be cleared for a separate treatment of the separate and now only remaining topic of a compulsory provision for the relief of poverty. We have long held, and still hold, that there is a more excellent way, not because it is cheaper, although it can undoubtedly lay claim to this grosser recommendation also—but because greatly more fruitful of all that is good and desirable both to the poor themselves and to the population at large.

We would now, then, confine our attention to the case of destitution alone; and the first point to which we shall advert, is the deliverance given by the Commissioners as to the inadequacy of the relief at present granted. Their opinion is, “that the funds raised for the relief of the poor, and the provision made for them out of the funds raised for their relief, is, in many parishes throughout Scotland, insufficient.” They at the same time admit that the allowance made by the administrators of the poor’s funds gives, in most cases, but a very imperfect idea of a pauper’s resources and actual means of livelihood. Of these resources and means, they specify nothing more than what little they can earn towards their own subsistence, which would seem to imply that if absolutely able to earn nothing, then the whole of this subsistence must come upon the poor’s funds. And indeed with these data, and no other than what they found upon, we conceive this to be the only alternative. It is precisely what Dr. Alison would urge; and we do think that, in all consistency, they, on their own premises, are fairly shut up unto it,—nor do we see how, on these premises alone, it is possible to escape from the conclusion, that when any applicant for parish relief can do nothing for himself, it is incumbent on the administrators of the parish fund to do all for him.

And it must be acknowledged that the Commissioners are in no want of a basis, and a very extended one too, of most respectable and impressive testimonies on which to found their decision. They have the judgment of many very distinguished individuals, both lay and ecclesiastical, and among the latter some of the most eminent clergymen in Scotland, to keep them fully in countenance. What we want is, that there shall be no halt-

ing between two opinions upon this question; and, more particularly, that a law shall not be given forth that might warrant a larger expectation on the part of the poor, than both the framers and administrators of that law are *bona fide* prepared to realize. Let there be no such jugglery practised on the working classes and the commonalty of Scotland, as a smiling aspect of mercy and munificence towards them in the statute-book, while all is made to frown so repulsively upon them in our courts of administration. Whatever the law is to be, let it not be such a law as shall promise one thing and perform another. If the poor man who can earn nothing for himself, have really as good a right to his comfortable subsistence, as a creditor has to the payment of his debts,—and the law by declaring, as it has done, in his favour, actually does constitute him the possessor of such a right—then, in the name of all that is just and honourable, let the pauper have the same facilities for the prosecution of his right which the creditor has for the prosecution of his. It is not fair-dealing with the humbler classes of society,—first to proclaim by Act of Parliament that such and such are their dues, and then to plant scare-crows in the way of their attainment—such scare-crows as have been devised both by the Poor-law of Ireland, and the reformed Poor-law of England; and in virtue of which the population of both countries have been thrown, and most naturally, into the festerment of an universal discontent. And such infallibly will be the upshot in Scotland, if, after the proclamation of a larger and more liberal system of relief than heretofore, the expectations which it is fitted to awaken, are not followed up; and such a mockery be practised, as that of throwing more widely open the door of public charity, and then, by the rigours of a stinted or severe administration, turning the expectant crowds away from it. We had much rather that Dr. Alison's views should be adopted in their full extent, *provided also that they were acted upon to their full extent*, than that by an ambiguous and mid-way system, which made the word of promise to the ear and brake it to the hope, there should be aught like playing fast and loose with the population. No doubt, we honestly believe that if Dr. Alison's system were acted out, its manifold evils, nay, its total untenableness, would, in the course of a few months, become palpable to the whole community. But far better that the experimental demonstration should be given, and we should become so much wiser in consequence, than that the public understanding should be mystified by a wretched composition between the systems of a voluntary and compulsory provision—whereby the double mischief is inflicted of slackening the energies of the one system and disguising the evils of the other. Infinitely better than this

were a fair and full competition between the two systems, and under the close observation, too, of intelligent lookers-on,—nor can we imagine a wiser expedient for this than what, in our estimation, is so well recommended by the Commissioners, we mean a Board of Supervision, who might receive reports from every separate locality whence they require one,—and we would add, as in so momentous a question as this all should be above board, who might lie open to complaints from all parts of Scotland, so as that they might have the most ample materials before them on which to judge of the operation and merits and results of the respective systems in all different parishes. We are thoroughly aware that the administrators of a fund raised by assessment, doubtless under the shrewd apprehension of a pressure from without that would speedily overbear them, are often glad to interpose every difficulty in the way of application for relief, nay, that they sometimes resort to the unfeeling trickery of such delays and shameful evasions as Dr. Alison has done well to expose. Now we would have all this conclusively done away. Let the compulsory system, so far as recommended by the Commissioners, and either with or without his modifications, be honestly followed out—else its merits or demerits will not have been fairly exhibited. If we are to have a legal system of charity in Scotland, let it be fully acted out—both that we may clearly see (which we should do in a very short time,) what it tends to; and that meanwhile there might be no heart-burning among the people because of its harsh administration, or because of our playing fast and loose with expectations which ourselves have awakened.

How, then, shall we proceed to test the respective merits of the two systems? But let us first, for the sake of convenience, affix its own proper denomination to each of them. We have hitherto been in the habit of distinguishing the one by the epithet of the compulsory or legal, and the other we have sometimes termed the voluntary method of charity. But our objection to the latter appellation is, that it has already become the *vox signata* of another question—that which relates to National Establishments of Religion; and so might operate with a darkening and transforming influence on our present subject, by awakening the prejudices and associations which belong to another subject altogether different from the one that now engages us. It is well, in the management of one controversy, to avoid the use of any name that may have acquired the properties of a symbol or shibboleth in another controversy. But for this, the epithet “voluntary” seems a very good one, and perhaps the best, for the designation of that system of public charity which we advocate. On the consideration now given, however, we shall make it over for the exclusive use of those

who have to do with the ecclesiastical question ; whereas, in the treatment of our own, or the economical question of pauperism, we shall designate the two systems of charity which stand opposed to each other, by the respective epithets of the legal and the gratuitous systems.

In what way, then, shall the comparative merits of these two systems be fully and decisively tried ? The tendency is to make the question between them hinge, but with very imperfect data, on the determination of particular cases. For example, an applicant comes to the parochial or city board of administration, and makes statement there of his necessities—in total destitution, let us imagine, and able to earn nothing. The conception is, that the advocates of a compulsory provision would assign for him a larger allowance, to be defrayed out of a fund raised by assessment, and which might be increased indefinitely ; and, on the other hand, that the advocates for a gratuitous provision would labour to put him off with a smaller allowance, as being aware that the public fund at their disposal, made up of spontaneous contributions from the charitable, was of precarious yet very limited extent, and therefore unable to meet the demands made upon it, unless upon the system of a very rigid and parsimonious administration. And thus it is, that, on looking singly at such a transaction as this, the seeming kindness is all on the side of the compulsory, while the seeming harshness and severity are all on the side of the gratuitous system. And when, after having arrived at this conclusion on the spirit of the respective administrations, we further look to their substantial effects on the comfort of the poor, the judgment is a most natural one—that just as palpably as that half-a-crown in the week can purchase a greater amount of maintenance than a shilling in the week, so must there be less of want and more of sufficiency among the humbler classes of society under the one economy than under the other.

It has been said so often by the advocates of the gratuitous system, that we almost grudge, both for ourselves, and for the sake of our readers, to say it over again—that this humbler ostensible allowance, this shilling a-week, does not represent the whole amount of the benefit which under their system accrues to the poor. In the first place, they contend, that when people are not seduced by the promises of a legal charity from the wholesome and respectable habit of a reliance upon themselves, then, on the strength of their own diligence and their own economy together, far fewer instances will occur of such as are brought to the melancholy plight of a total destitution at the time of life when all strength has forsaken them, and they are able to do nothing for themselves ; or, in other words, of such as are overtaken by the twofold calamity that they neither have anything, nor can earn

anything. But this, though a most important consideration truly, does not just meet our supposition of one who had actually come to the bar of public charity; and with the double calamity, too, upon him both of total want and total helplessness; and in which case—a case sometimes at least of real occurrence under every system, whether it be of greater frequency under one system than another or not—how can we vindicate our own paltry allowance of one shilling a week, as contrasted with the more generous allowance under the other system of half-a-crown? Our reply at this next stage of the argument is, that our adversaries do not take all the resources of an applicant into account, when they admit no other element into their computation than his own earnings. He may have relatives, who, if they did not feel released from their duties by the promises of a legal charity, would have done so much for him. He may have neighbours, who, if not diverted by the same cause from the sympathy and the aid they otherwise had rendered, would have done so much more. There might be wealthy and well-disposed individuals, whose regards under a proper local and parochial arrangement, could be directed to all the more clamant and extraordinary cases; but such private charity *ab extra*, as being more precarious and really in comparison with the others far more scanty in the amount, is what we less count upon and less care for. Our reply therefore in the general is this—Let the principles of prudence for oneself, and of affection, both relative and social, for others—principles inserted, by the strong hand of Nature, in the human constitution, and which Christianity would invigorate still more—let these be kept in free and undisturbed play throughout any aggregate of human beings, and not be enfeebled or paralyzed by the devices of an artificial charity: And our assertion is, that we shall both have fewer poor, and these few more amply provided for, under the system which is advocated by us, than under the system which is opposed to it. Nay, to us it would not be a matter of surprise but expectation, if, under a well-regulated economy such as we should have it, we were enabled to exhibit as the triumphant result of a most easy and practicable management, or as the trophy of its success—that should there ever occur a real case of utter and extreme resourcelessness, where there were no relatives to assist, and no acquaintances to pity or lend a helping hand, we should be enabled, as the fruit of our cheaper though far kinder administration, whenever such an example of unquestionable and well-authenticated want or wretchedness came before us, to deal with it far more generously than would be safe or possible in other circumstances, and so as greatly to outpeer the stinted allowances of a Poor-house.

We are quite aware that all this is denied by our antago-

nists. They tell us of cases, undoubted cases, where an assessment exists, and yet where, within its region, people are to be found who are both industrious and frugal—as if we ever imagined that a compulsory provision for the poor would annihilate these principles; or as if it were not enough for our argument that, as far as the influence of the system was concerned, it tended more or less to reduce and to enfeeble them. And they allege the same thing of the relative affections—as if it had at any time been said that a poor-rate would eradicate these strong instincts of nature, though surely it were most natural to expect that it should reduce the operation of them. And they can also quote examples, too, of countries where the legal system of charity is established, and yet where neighbours still continue to assist each other—as if the deadliest mischief might not ensue, although the habit, at one time vigorous and entire, were not extinguished, but had only been relaxed and become less prevalent or powerful than before. Lastly, they can produce the instances of many rich, who, over and above the levy that is made upon them for the pauperism of their locality, indulge in acts of private generosity besides—as if it were necessary, for the confirmation of our views, that wherever the relief of indigence was enforced by law, not only must benevolence be diminished, but benevolence must wholly disappear. It is sufficient for us that the tendency of things is in that direction, though we cannot help our antagonists denying even this; and it were certainly most difficult to gather the materials for a precise arithmetical refutation of them, from the inner recesses whether of a household or of a neighbourhood. It is thus, that, notwithstanding all which might be concluded from the known laws and likelihoods of human nature, they may yet stand their ground; and on the strength of their alleged instances, who can hinder them from stoutly affirming, that their artificial provision for the destitute has no effect in doing away the anterior natural provision, and not even in lessening the amount of it—that it does not supplant, but only supplements what they get otherwise; and that therefore any aliment which is ordained for them by law must prove a clear addition to the comforts of the poor.

We therefore repeat, that it were well if the *argument* on both sides were now terminated. Surely by this time the controvertists have well nigh said their all; and it were henceforth most desirable that the war of words should give place to a contest of experiences. We in truth care very little whether it shall be the legislation of the Commissioners or that of Dr. Alison which is now to be adopted—provided only that it be such a legislation as will leave room for the lessons and the verifications which might yet be given forth, as the actual results of trials actually made and fully persevered in till they were historically and executively

brought to a conclusion—so that the question at issue might at length be decided, not on the fancies of speculation, but on the findings in act and in effect of a real and practical operation. Since the reasoners cannot settle the difference between them, let the appeal be carried from the reasoners to the doers; and all we want is, that there shall not be such a legislation as to interpose any obstacle in the way of this appeal. The Commissioners are probably not aware of the serious difficulties which their proposed Unions of parishes would throw in the way of making any attempt in large towns to proceed on the gratuitous system, and so as to demonstrate at all events the entire safety, and, as we believe too, the triumphant success of its methods, even in the worst or unlikeliest places that might be fixed upon. The writer of this article did make such an attempt in Glasgow in the poorest quarter of the city, twenty-five years ago, and in a population of about twelve thousand; and his great difficulty, his only one in fact, lay, not in the making of the trial, but in the obtaining of liberty to make the trial. It was to surmount the obstruction which the circumstance of Glasgow being civilly held as one parish, threw in the way of a separate and independent treatment for the single parish of St. John's. The opposition which he had to encounter at the first, and which he used to term the legal or political difficulties of the problem—these he admits were of a truly formidable character, and, save in a conjunction of peculiar circumstances, could never have been overcome. The natural or inherent difficulties of the problem, again, those which had to be encountered in the actual management of parish cases, and converse on the question of their necessities with parish families—these were got through, as all the surviving agents can attest, with a lightness and facility which surpassed all expectation, and proved quite marvellous even to ourselves. In other words, the difficulty, the whole difficulty, lay, not in carrying on the enterprise, but in getting leave to begin it. Now, the proposed law of the Commissioners for the union of parishes, unless it be qualified and guarded in a certain way, may put an extinguisher on any such leave in all time coming. We do not enter upon the merits of the law, nor shall we quarrel indeed with any general law that might be proposed—provided that we can obtain such a permissive clause as might be appended to any law; and the effect of which should be to empower a trial of the gratuitous system in given localities, and on certain specified conditions. It is needless to state in full detail what these conditions ought to be, till we know that the idea of such a permissive and exceptional clause as we have ventured to recommend, will be at all entertained. Let a very general outline, then, of the requisite provision for this object suf-

fice for the present. First, when a given number of persons connected by property or residence with a poor locality, and approved of as competent to their offered task, whether by the magistrates and council in towns, or by the proper local authorities in the country, shall undertake to meet all *new cases* of poor persons, which shall occur within the limits of their assumed district, from means of their own raising—they shall be left for a time to the uncontrolled management of all such cases, subject, however, at all times to the inspection of their proceedings by the authorities of the place, and to the duty of sending reports of these proceedings, whenever required to do so by the Board of Supervision for Scotland. Secondly, when cases of lunacy or fever, or generally of institutional disease and impotency, occur within the said locality, these, with the consent of the families to which they belong, shall be sent each to its own proper hospital or asylum; and if not admitted gratuitously there, shall be paid for by an assessment raised in the usual manner. Third, that the district thus assumed shall have the benefit of the law of residence for their protection against the influx of poor from other parishes, and that these parishes shall have the same protection from the influx of its poor. Fourth, that when the managers of such districts shall recommend the limitation of public, or the suppression of immoral houses, to the proper authorities, their recommendations, save when good cause is shown to the contrary, shall be uniformly acted upon. Lastly, and for the encouragement of poorer localities in towns, those whose expense to the fund raised by assessment, for the seven years previous to their adoption of an independent management for themselves, has exceeded their contribution by the levy to this fund during the same period, shall be wholly exonerated from the assessment, so soon as either their old paupers have all died away, or they have otherwise relieved the general assessment of all further charge on account of them. It were premature to enter on any discussion for the object either of qualifying any of these provisions, or of giving them forth in more explicit detail. Perhaps it were enough if a general power were vested in city and provincial authorities, by which they might grant leave to parties, who will undertake to establish the gratuitous system in particular districts, on such terms as might be agreed upon.

It gave the writer of this Article great pleasure, many years ago, to receive a letter from an English clergyman of talent and energy, and who had paid great attention to the management of the poor, in which this very idea of a *permissive* law, (or, which is the same thing, a permissive clause in the bosom of an imperative law,) is briefly but distinctly brought forward.

"If power," he writes, "by a general bill, was given to vestries to make experiments and adopt measures suitable to themselves, some materials might be furnished for a universal principle. I know a case or two, where the whole property of a parish is in the hands of one person, and that a person who saw and determined to meet the growing evil; and the poor-rate has been reduced to a mere nothing, and that instantly. There is a case you may see of Mr. Estcourt, in the Report for bettering the condition of the poor."

Now, however clear and confident are our own apprehensions as to what this true and universal principle is, we are not for dogmatizing either the public or the Parliament into an immediate verdict in our favour. It is not a verdict that we seek, it is a trial. We would, with all respect, yet with all earnestness, adjure them to leave the matter open for such experiments, as might at least add to our materials for a principle which most assuredly they have not yet found, and ought still to be in quest of. We confess ourselves to have been fairly wearied out by those lengthened ratiocinations, which it is now quite obvious are to have no practical issue; and therefore do we long all the more for the multiplication of proofs, not as argued out, but as worked out into actual results. Our demand now, in short, is not for dogmata on either side of this question, but for doings—and these, too, on both sides of the question. And will any body of Commissioners, whether in England or Scotland, tell us that pauperism is a topic on which their minds are conclusively made up, and that they are quite independent of all further lessons upon the subject—even though experience be the schoolmaster that offers them? Do they stand in no need of materials for a discovery, because, in truth, they have already discovered, and are now in possession of, all that is necessary for the guidance of their future legislation? We have no wish to force any *ipse dixit* of ours on the acceptance of others; and we trust that it may be looked upon as a sufficiently modest request, when the whole amount of it is, that all room and opportunity shall not be cut off for the trial of a process which might lead in its issues to the extirpation, not of pauperism, but of a tax for the expenses of it. This is a proposal which we make all the more readily, and which every one must see might be acceded to all the more safely, if there be a vigilant Board of Supervision to witness and watch over all the proceedings; and so as to satisfy the public that, under such an economy as we have ventured to recommend, the poor, in general, are as comfortable and as well cared for, and the deserving poor a great deal more so, than in most other parishes.

But while we thus desiderate a larger experience under the cover of a permissive law, it is not that we stand in need of it for

our own satisfaction, but for the sake of the public understanding, which is yet very far from being satisfied. In justice to our own views we must aver, that, not our partialities alone, but our most decided convictions, have long been on the side of the gratuitous system—insomuch that without one remainder of fear or misgiving, we feel no doubt whatever that such a tentative process as we now recommend, would very soon make the superior comfort and efficacy of this system quite palpable to the understandings of all. The writer of this article did make the trial twenty-five years ago, and with a success which went far beyond the expectations both of himself and of all his coadjutors—and that too in the midst of such difficulties, as both to have rendered his own undertaking an *experimentum crucis*, and to supply him an *argumentum a fortiori* in favour of all other cases when once these difficulties are cleared away. For, in the first place, the locality on which he operated, the poorest in Glasgow, had a population within its borders of twelve thousand souls—but let this in every future enterprise be reduced to two thousand, the proper maximum for a parish, and what an inconceivable lightening of the task! In the second place, we had to support all our cases of institutional disease, which, in all the new attempts, ought to be otherwise provided for. In the third place, our voice was of no influence for the restraint or the regulation of public-houses—a mighty reform, and by which we might dry up the most deleterious and far the most abundant source of pauperism. In the fourth place, we had no protection against the influx of the poor from other parishes, which greatly exceeded the efflux of our own, and this proved a heavy addition to the expense of our operations. And lastly, though we altogether relieved the assessment in Glasgow from our own poor, yet was not our parish relieved in consequence from its share of the assessment for the general poor of the city—an injustice this, which we have no doubt hastened the termination of our system in St. John's, but not till after a long and prosperous administration of eighteen years; or, in other words, not till after it had given most unequivocal proof of its own efficacy, and that but for the discouragements which were laid upon it, it might have remained a lasting monument, as well as a decisive historical lesson for the truth of that principle, which all the oppositions that have been heaped upon it, have only served the more to confirm and the more to endear to us. In our own minds there remains not the shadow of an apprehension for the success of any similar attempt, made with all the advantages that we now bargain for, on so limited a territory as we have now specified—and this in the very worst and most wretched quarter, whether of Edinburgh or Glasgow, which can possibly be fixed upon. Let it be observed that the existing pauperism is left to

the existing means for the support of it—gradually therefore to disappear with the dying out of the old cases ; and that the management which we have ventured to propose commences only with the new applications. We confidently predict both the final success and perfect facility of this operation ; and that each member of the agency in his own little district will be astonished at the lightness of the task which he has taken in hand. His business, of course, will be to make a thorough investigation of each new case ; and then first to see what the applicant can do for himself, and then what his relatives, and then what his neighbours will do for him. He may even (though this will be seldom necessary,) on the failure of these three resources, anticipate the necessity of bringing him on the local and voluntary fund, by representing his case to some benevolent acquaintance of his own. He will soon be gratified by the discovery of a ready acquiescence on the part of his families in a system of procedure which has so much of conscience. and of the feelings of nature upon its side ; and that by the time the old pauperism has disappeared, the new pauperism, if indeed any at all has been formed, can be amply sustained on the basis of the gratuitous system. So much for one locality, the success in the management of which will induce imitations, progressing from one parish or neighbourhood to another—so as that not by a simultaneous, but by a successive and piecemeal operation, a compulsory provision for the relief of indigence may at length be wholly cleared away.*

But the question requires not only a certain parochial treatment, that it might be rightly conducted in individual localities—it also requires a certain parliamentary treatment, that it might be rightly set agoing over the country at large. And it were well for this latter purpose that legislators at all times understood the difference, both in point of import and effect, between an imperative and a permissive law ; and what the occasions were on which the latter, and not the former, was the advisable kind of legislation. Gilbert's Act is one of the earlier attempts at the reformation of English pauperism ; and, whatever the merits might be of the parochial process laid down, it went right to work parliamentarily—for it was made not an imperative, but a permissive law ; or, in other words, parishes were not required whether they would or not, but only empowered if they would, to adopt its provisions. And accordingly a good many

* We are sensible that our brief and rapid description of this retracing process must give a most imperfect idea of it. But how can it be otherwise within the narrow limits of such an article as ours ; and therefore, although we incur the awkwardness of a reviewer referring to a work of his own, will we venture to state that a more explicit and full description is to be met with in a small volume entitled "On the Sufficiency of the Parochial System without a Poor Rate, for the right management of the Poor."

parishes did adopt them ; but his method was not found to answer, or, at least, did not so take as to induce a very great number of institutions : and thus, after making way through a small part of England, it ceased to be in request, and is no longer regarded as a specific against the disorders of pauperism. And the same of Sturge Bourne's Act, a more recent attempt at reformation—a permissive law, too, or one which but empowered, and did not require parishes to adopt its provisions. It was more full of promise, and more popular than the former, and therefore more extensively acted on ; but it, too, has only had a limited progress, and, after having run its course, is no longer confided in as an infallible cure for the evils of pauperism. Neither of these Acts did harm. The parishes which did not adopt them, could not suffer by them ; and the parishes which did, though not so successful as to hold out a light and an example for the rest of England, enjoyed, during at least the first years of their more careful administration, while the regimen was still new and under trial, a temporary interregnum, to say no more, of economy and good order. But, again, when Mr. Kennedy attempted to reform the pauperism of Scotland some twenty years ago, while we hold him right on the parochial treatment of this matter, we think him to have been very far wrong in its Parliamentary treatment—the Bill which he introduced being for an imperative, and not for a permissive law. And so it called forth a very general resistance in Scotland—the assessed parishes there not being prepared for having the gratuitous system forced upon them, though they could not have objected to such parishes as would, availing themselves of a permissive law, and making the trial of it. And further, it had been well, could our present Home Secretary have adverted to this distinction between the imperative and the permissive, at the time when the proposal was made to him for the introduction of a permissive clause in favour of the gratuitous system into his last Poor-Law Amendment Bill ; and then possibly he might not have rejected it, on the plea, that such a system was altogether foreign to the habits and the inclinations of Englishmen—for though, of the ten thousand parishes in England, only a dozen, *in the first instance*, had acted on the permission, the whole purpose of the clause would have been served by it. It is good to multiply and to vary experiments which can do no harm, and by which at length a light might be evoked upon this question, which all men might see is pre-eminently needed both by statesmen and by the public at large. We do hope, therefore, that one or other of our Scotch members will secure the insertion of some such clause as we have ventured to suggest, in any measure grounded on this Report of the Commissioners which might come before Parliament. It might prove of the greatest eventual

importance. It might afford an opening for such experimental demonstrations as will at length open the eyes of the country, and save us from a very great calamity.

But ere we have brought these observations to a close, let us briefly consider the reasonings of Dr. Alison, in his present work, that we may see whether they are indeed so very strong as to forbid not the establishment only, but even so much as the entertainment and the trial, though in places that are disposed for it, of any system which is opposite to his own.

First, then, he often exemplifies the not unusual practice among pleaders, of so magnifying the topic of controversy, as to invest it with supreme influence, and exclude the consideration of all other influences which can affect the state of society. There can be no doubt, for instance, that the peasantry of our Lowlands are in a higher state of comfort and sufficiency than those in the Highlands of Scotland. But there can be as little doubt, that this is a difference which obtains between them irrespectively of a poor-rate—just as by the operation of causes altogether distinct from the influence of a poor-rate, the hinds of Norway are in a better economic condition than the savages either of Kamschatka or Labrador. But this consideration has no effect on the conclusions of Dr. Alison. So long as he is discussing a poor-rate, it for the time being is all in all with him. The whole of his mind's eye is taken up with it; and so he lays hold of the single county of Berwick, where an assessment has been established for one or two generations, and plays it off against other districts in Scotland which remain unassessed. It would have made a far sounder argument, if, instead of bringing its parishes into juxtaposition with those of the far Highlands, he had attempted an immediate comparison with the parishes exclusively agricultural in the neighbouring county of East Lothian. He reminds us of those reasoners a few years back, who suspended the whole difference between the two populations of England and Ireland, on the presence, in the one country, and the want, in the other, of their own favourite specific of a poor-rate—which specific has now been spread, like a healing plaster, over the whole of Ireland; and we should like to know what its healing influence has been, or if Ireland is a whit the better of it. The truth is, that Father Matthew, and that too out of the resources of the people themselves, or by diverting their own means from a worse to a better channel of expenditure, has done them infinitely more good than ever need be expected from this device, at the best of very doubtful, or as we think, of most mischievous operation. It would have been greatly more logical on the part of Dr. Alison, and his comparisons besides would have been far more instructive, had they been instituted between different parts of a country, either both

with, or both without the regimen of a Poor-Law. He might thus have found, for example, at least a few years ago, that the peasantry of Northumberland were in a far better state than those of Sussex, with this only noticeable difference between them, that, in the latter county, they had proceeded much farther in his own favourite direction, of larger allowances and a heavier poor-rate. Or if he had passed over to Ireland at the time when they had no poor-rate, and compared its province of Ulster with the three other provinces, he would have found the difference between a prosperous and a wretched commonalty—with no other difference to account for it, than that the one region was the seat of a dark and degrading superstition, while in the other he beheld the effects of an active and enlightened Protestantism. Or, in other words, he might thus have learned how much could be achieved by the simple operation of moral causes. The Commissioners have not fallen into this error of Dr. Alison's. They advert, and with sound judgment, to the difference which obtains between the standard of enjoyment in different places, when they tell us:—"It is proper to observe, however, that the condition of the poor should always be judged of with reference to that of the working classes. If this be not attended to, the Notes, particularly those of them relating to cases in the Highlands and Islands, will convey an exaggerated impression of the discomforts of the poor."

But what most of all puts us irreconcilably at variance with Dr. Alison, is his total misapprehension, as we think, of the real state and capabilities of the common people. Because it so happens that the poor of a certain parish are kept in great comfort by the liberality of certain benevolent individuals, he infers (and the inference is altogether his own, not that of the witness on whose testimony he is reasoning) that they are absolutely dependent on these liberalities; and that were it not for this "accident heureux," as he terms it, there would be no security against the evils of their destitution. Now, in opposition to this, we most confidently affirm, that throughout any aggregate of two thousand human beings placed anywhere in our own land—if not at the time in extraordinary circumstances, and not perverted from their natural and ordinary habits by the artificial and injudicious treatment of them—all that is given from without for the relief of their indigence is but the merest bagatelle, when put by the side of what is given and received by the operation of an internal charity among themselves. We say not this to exonerate the rich; nor should we scruple to exact a ten-fold greater liberality at their hands, than they have ever yet been asked to bestow, for the support of those higher charities, which have respect to the health, and the morals, and the Christian instruction of the people at large. But we say it, because we rejoice to believe, that,

throughout the mass of the community everywhere, there do exist the means and the materials of subsistence, nay even of comfort, in far ampler and more equal diffusion than is at all patent to the glance of cursory observers—and this not from any “*accident heureux*,” but from such arrangements of a bounteous Providence as are permanent and well-nigh universal—not an accident, but an essential in the constitution of human society, and the actual ordering of human affairs. We are abundantly sensible that these gifts of a gracious heaven are often miserably abused; but what we contend for is, that from the abuse, and not the absence of them, proceeds far the greatest amount of that want and wretchedness which prevail amongst us. From the very magnitude of the abuse, indeed, we can infer the magnitude of the provision which exists within the limits of every locality. The slowness of perception in this matter, both on the part of sentimentalists and reasoners, is quite marvellous—and that, too, in the face of the most authentic and thoroughly ascertained statements in regard to the consumption of intoxicating liquors. We are told by Sheriff Alison that the sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds is spent every year upon these in the city of Glasgow alone, and this chiefly he says by the lower orders, a sum equivalent to £4 a head, not for each family but for each individual of the population, tantamount to £8000 a year for every plebeian section of two thousand inhabitants: And yet, in the face of this announcement, are we told in effect by Dr. Alison, that but for the “*accident heureux*” of a few resident wealthy among them, there can no security be found against their extreme destitution, but in his favourite scheme of a poor-rate; or, in other words, the unseen thousands which might be better spent go for nothing in his estimation, while the palpable hundreds, whether from the donatives of the wealthy, or from the allowances of a public charity, are all in all with him. Verily the data and the conclusions of these two most strenuous advocates for a Scottish poor-law, hang most loosely together; while, for ourselves, we can at least say that our own doctrine and our own experience are in most perfect keeping the one with the other. The writer of this article had the fortune to be entrusted with the economical management of the poorest locality in Glasgow, and that not of two thousand but of twelve thousand inhabitants, which was cleared of the compulsory provision for its poor in not many months—and this most assuredly without the “*accident heureux*” of large and liberal dispensations from the wealthy, which formed but an insignificant fraction of what the next door neighbours were naturally inclined to bestow, and actually did bestow on each other.*

* The narrative of the whole process is to be found in the work referred to in our last foot-note.

Our experience there has left behind it the indelible lesson of love and respect for the common people, who if but frankly and rationally managed, could be easily rendered the most effective instruments of their own amelioration. There is no difficulty in enlisting their co-operation and good-will in behalf of that which is based on what is right, and which their own consciences must readily go along with. When we and our coadjutors found it so very practicable thus to deal, and thus to succeed with 12,000 people, we cannot but look on the success as certain with localities of two thousand people, and that by very moderate means, and with very moderate trouble in the hands of a much smaller agency than we had occasion to employ. We feel no anxiety respecting the general provisions of the forthcoming Bill, if, by a permissive clause, it will but leave room and liberty for the spread of such undertakings—when it could be made clear as day, that with a system of charity acting in its own proper character, and freed from the enforcements of law, the charity of the statute-book, at least for the relief of indigence, is altogether uncalled for.

But again, if we hold him to be wrong on the arithmetic of the question, or in his computations respecting the amount of *materiel* for charity which exists among the common people—we hold him to be still more flagrantly wrong in the ethics of the question, or, in his imagination, most injurious, we think, and degrading to these said common people, as if such were their circumstances and such their necessities that they ought to be released from the *morale* of charity. When we venture to express our satisfaction and our confidence in that most beautiful law of nature by which the sympathy of neighbours, even in the most plebeian districts, is ever sure to come forth in timely adaptation towards the distresses of its own immediate vicinity, he tells us that this is not a resource which ought to be counted on—for it were allowing the poor to help the poor. Now this is not only what we would allow but would encourage to the uttermost. The kind and the amount of the expenditure quoted in our last paragraph, prove that there is at least a something amongst them which might be applied otherwise; and we should deem it far worse than morbid humanity, we should look upon it as an outrage on the prerogatives of that moral nature which they possess in common with ourselves, did we offer to lay an interdict on any brother of our species, however humble, from making such an application of his means as to himself seemeth good, to the wants and the sufferings of his fellow men. We are aware that, as if to make this view of ours all the more obnoxious, they would accuse us of a something more than simply allowing the poor to help the poor. They express it otherwise, and call it *leaving* the poor to help the poor. Now we are not for leaving or for turn-

ing our backs upon the poor in any way—or, to make use of the significant scriptural expression, we would not have any man to hide himself from his own flesh ; but rather that the moral superintendent of every little district should hold the most frequent converse and companionship with all its families. Only we hold that there were far more of wisdom and correct principle in his management, if, instead of superseding their own spontaneous liberalities, he offered rather to countenance and to share in them—to head their subscription-paper, and to solicit, nay to stimulate, their own little offerings for any case or visitation of distress which may have occurred within the sphere of his superintendence. Each individual contribution might be small, but if invested with aught of the moral grandeur which our Saviour in the gospel has conferred on the widow's mite, every enlightened friend of his species will know how to appreciate and to rejoice in it. But in the aggregate he will find, of these united offerings, to his delight and surprise, that they are not small ; and that the difficulty which perhaps at the outset looked so formidable, is most easily got over, and in a way far more kindly and effective, than by *leaving* it in the usual careless and cold-blooded style to the tender mercies of a poor-house. This method of going to work we hold, in the face of every invective to the contrary, to be greatly the more Christian and the more compassionate of the two, besides that it proceeds on a far truer perception both of human nature and of what is due to it.

Another and frequently reiterated maxim of Dr Alison's is—that the whole burden of this world's charity should not be made to lie on the truly benevolent, but that the selfish should be forced by law to share in it. He is far from singular in this maxim, for in truth it has been an engine of mighty practical operation for speeding onward the pauperism of our land. It is to the influence of this maxim that Ireland is mainly indebted for the introduction of her poor-law—one great object of which was to compel a portion of their wealth from the absentee proprietors. And it is to precisely the same maxim that we can trace the piecemeal and successive entry of the system into our Scottish parishes,—a system which first broke out in plague-spots here and there along the border of contiguous and contagious England, but which has since run, like a spreading leprosy, over an expanse of territory that is every year becoming larger than before. In every instance, we believe, of its having been adopted, the most telling argument in its favour was that it brought in the non-resident and often the unwilling heritors as contributors, whether they would or not, to the parochial fund for the relief of the poor.* Nevertheless,

* The most frequent argument that we heard in Glasgow on the side of assessments was,—how else can we get at Mr Carrick,—a gentleman deceased many years ago and understood, at that time, to be worth half a million.

and in opposition to this maxim, very generally adopted and acted upon as it has been, we must give in our dissent from it. We believe that those who have given way to it, we mean the heritors who to lighten their own burden forced on the exchange of the old gratuitous for the now compulsory system in our assessed parishes, have been signally defeated in their object; and that they will soon find, if they have not already found it, how their own share of the tax for charity will greatly outrun the expense of all their previous free-will offerings in its cause. But this is not our argument, however fit for being addressed to the selfishness of those who seek to be relieved either from the cost of humanity or the labour of it. We have no sympathy with the mongrel benevolence of those who, to ease themselves by getting others to share it with them, have become parties to the introduction of a system which turns what ought ever to have been a matter of love and spontaneous good-will into a matter of fierce and angry litigation—and a system, too, under which the poor of our land will become more worthless and more wretched than before. We can regard them in no other light than, as in effect, the enemies of their country, and the cruellest enemies of the poor, though they meant it not so. We do not seek from them any aid or co-operation; and would gladly blow the trumpet of Gideon, that such faint-hearted warriors might retire from the field of this contest between the good and the evil, and leave us to achieve the victory, though with no other elements to work upon than the intelligence and the capabilities of the people themselves.

The next error that we ascribe to Dr. Alison implies the misconception on his part, not as in the two former instances, of an ethical, but of an experimental truth. He tells, and tells us truly, that a wretched population are generally a worthless population, and that, with the despair of extreme want, both improvidence and crime are most frequently and most naturally associated. He sees, and with just discernment too, the contemporaneousness of these two elements; but he mistakes altogether, we think, the order of their succession, or their order in point of cause and effect. He inverts the right process; and hopes to elevate their character through the medium of a higher physical and economical comfort, instead of raising their comfort through the medium of their improved character and habits. He would, therefore, address himself, in the first instance, to that which, in his estimation, claims the antecedency, and so would propose, as his specific, a larger pecuniary administration, the sure effect of which, in the hands of such a Union Committee as is recommended by the Commissioners, holding distant, and hurried, and superficial converse with a host of miscellaneous cases brought

under their notice, from all parts of the city, would be, as far as worthless recipients are concerned, to inflame and aliment the moral disease, which, with him, is the accompaniment, and with us the cause, of that great evil, in the extirpation of which both of us would alike rejoice. But we, in accordance with our reverse views of the actings and reactings between penury and profligacy, would go otherwise to work,—willing, not to undertake the existent pauperism, but to provide against all the eventual and future pauperism, and this in any district, or any number of districts, however destitute or depraved, which the adversaries whom we challenge, would they only dare us to the proof, might choose to fix upon. Each of these, as we have already said, should not exceed two thousand of a population; and what we affirm is, that no such want, and no such wickedness, exist any where, as should scare us from the enterprise, and without an assessment, of both its moral and economical amelioration. The old pauperism would, in the hands of its present general administrators, be getting lighter and easier every year; and nothing, we contend, will be found lighter and easier, by the local administrators whom we propose, than to restrain the new pauperism within the most moderate and manageable limits, or even to prevent the formation of it altogether. And to appease the suspicion of aught like jugglery or injustice on our part, we invite the utmost vigilance over us of the Board of Supervision. We have no doubt that, under such a regimen, the beautiful and beneficial alliance will often be exemplified between a right moral and a right economical state, or between what may be called the well-conducted and the well-conditioned in the state of families. But Dr. Alison utterly mistakes it, he fails to make a most essential discrimination in this matter, when, because of the connexion which subsists between these two terms, he thinks, that by supplying either of them anyhow, the other will be infallibly made good. It is very true that a plebeian family in respectable comfort, will be very generally found a family of decent and respectable character. But it makes all the difference in the world whether the materials of that comfort have been earned and husbanded by themselves, and so may be regarded as the fruit of their own previous industry and thrift; or whether the very same materials have been reared up by those now larger and more liberal administrations of the poor's-money, for which our antagonists contend. And not only do they overlook this distinction, but what is it they propose?—not to give such allowances as might save from the miseries of want, (the original purpose of a legal charity); but such allowances as might, by a consequent elevation in the circumstances of the poor, induce that elevation in their principles and views, which the more recent advocates

of a compulsory system so vainly reckon upon—as if this moral superstructure were spontaneously to arise from the foundation which they would thus provide for it. Not only will they be disappointed in this, but the enormous expenditure required to make it good, would of itself make it palpable to the whole country, in a few weeks, that matters, under such an economy, could not possibly go on; or, if so committed that we must persevere, then, in a few years, should we find that all the barriers and safeguards of property were levelled to the ground,—the sources of our nation's prosperity wholly swept away.

Yet, however much we hold Dr. Alison to have failed in the particulars just noted, there is one reasoning of his which we regard as wholly incontrovertible. It is when he demonstrates, not absolutely and in itself, but *as against the Commissioners*, the rights of the able-bodied labourer. It is they, in fact, who, by their own concessions, have placed him on this vantage-ground. We do not see, with Dr. Alison, that relief should be granted to the destitute of any class, *in the form of a legal right*; but we see precisely as he does, when he pleads, and that most ably and irresistibly, the at least equal right of the able-bodied labourer, and, therefore, that they who grant the one are fully committed to grant the other also. Where is the difference—for in truth we cannot perceive it—on the ground either of equity or of humane feeling, between the applicant for charity who is not able to work, and the applicant who is not able to obtain work? We conceive alike of both, that they have a full claim upon our humanity, and that in every small enough and well-constituted district, humanity could be made to provide for both in the best way possible. We, at the same time, think that law has done a world of mischief by the way in which she has interfered on behalf of either; and that she overstepped her own proper boundaries, when, in applying her enforcements to the duties which obtain between man and man, she crossed the line which separates between the two virtues of humanity and justice. But she has passed the rubicon; and the inconsistencies and difficulties in which she has been consequently entangled, prove clearly to our apprehension that she has got within a domain through which she cannot clearly see her way, and just because it is not hers. She has now got upon foreign ground; and no wonder that she flounders so from one error to another—striving to keep herself right by what mathematicians call a compensation of errors. We hold one notable example of this to be, that having traversed the limit which Nature has drawn between equity, on the one hand, which is clearly within her province, and benevolence on the other, which, to our eyes, is as clearly beyond it—she, as if fearful of going too far, and half conscious,

indeed, that she had gone too far already, should draw an arbitrary line of her own, and, making a distinction where there is no difference, select as the only objects of her care those who are not able to work, and leave out those who are not able to obtain work to shift for themselves. Another example, fully as egregious, and extending alike to all the three countries, is, that after engrossing a law of charity in her statute-book, and so proclaiming the right of the poor to subsistence, she, and we have no doubt to repair the consequences of her indiscretion, should devise every method in the shape of confinements, and restraints, and the separation of families, for impeding the prosecution of the so ordained right, and making it as unpalatable as they can. If this be not obstructing the course of justice, it is at least obstructing what they themselves call justice, and what they are fast teaching the general population to call justice also—and thus filling the lower orders with interminable heart-burnings. Let us hope that their multiplied experience of evils which they cannot remedy, and of difficulties which they find to be inextricable—evils and difficulties in truth of their own creating, and which, but for their interference, could all be met and provided for in a more excellent way—let us earnestly hope that this experience will at length make manifest to our rulers the great primary and fundamental error into which their predecessors have fallen, and lead them to retire from this field of legislation altogether.

But while we thus admit that Dr. Alison has admirably made out his case against the Commissioners, on behalf of the able-bodied labourers who are out of work, we hold a compulsory provision for them too, to be in the highest degree impolitic and mischievous—and that both on the general grounds, and also on distinct and peculiar grounds of its own. We feel quite sure that a poor-rate acts with adverse and antagonist force against the wholesome practice of accumulation. We know what Dr. Alison would say in rebutting this objection, just as he has in his treatment of all the others—he would allege particular instances against the undoubted general tendency, and could certainly make appeal to the magnificent amount of deposits in Savings' Banks, by the people of assessed England. But the truth is, that the beneficent influence of these institutes has scarcely yet reached down to the inferior, and far the most numerous class of their mechanics and labourers; and their poor-rate is an insuperable barrier in the way of its ever doing so. And what is the consequence? On every adverse vicissitude—and this is constantly taking place in some trade or other—a large number of workmen are thrown out of employment; and, strangers as they are to the habit of saving, to be out of employment is tantamount

to being out of the means of subsistence, and so on the brink of starvation. In this condition, they, under a system of compulsory provision fully and consistently followed out, are admitted to such aid or aliment as either law shall enjoin or managers shall think fit to bestow. It is on the return of better times that this aliment is withdrawn from them; or when wages rise so far, and perhaps a little farther, that they might be about as well subsisted on them alone, as they were under the care and keeping of their parishes. But who does not see that this reflux of supernumeraries, when kept back for a time by the in-door relief of the poor-house, or this keeping of them up, when held on for a still longer time by a supplementary out-door relief—that in either way a most depressing influence is made to overhang the labour-market; and so, in fact, that the scale of remuneration, at least in all the lower walks of labour, comes to be very much regulated by the scale of parish allowances? It is thus that under this insidious economy, the state and condition of the working classes come to be virtually placed under the control and arbitration of the other classes in society. We are far from saying that there is cruelty in the intention of a poor-law; but fitted as it is to ensure and perpetuate the degradation of the lower orders, there is the utmost cruelty in effect—and all the more provoking, that it is cruelty arrayed in smiles, and under the guise of kindness scattering on every side of it the hopes and the promises which it can never realize.

There is surely a more excellent way; and one which, if adopted and persevered in, would place the working classes of our land on a far more stable and elevated platform than they now occupy. We have elsewhere pointed out the effect of a capital in the hands of labourers—not that they might thereby become the employers of labour themselves, but that they might be thereby enabled to negotiate on far better terms, with the employers of labour. We shall not now repeat over again the undoubted operation it would have both in shortening the periods of every great commercial depression, and also in sustaining at a greatly higher level than before the average rate of wages throughout the country. In an article on Savings' Banks, which appeared lately in the *Times* newspaper, a very limited view was taken of the benefit to be derived from these institutions—nay, these were rather depreciated and discouraged, because of the difficulty there is in finding a profitable investiture for the capital that is thus accumulated. Now for ourselves we do not seek, and do not in the least care for such an investiture. And yet, with all strenuousness would we recommend a habit of accumulation both to artizans and operatives in our towns, and to our peasantry in the country—yet this, not that they might become either farmers

or manufacturers themselves; but that on the question of wages they might stand on a firmer vantage-ground with the employers of labour, and secure a far higher remuneration, than if, from hand to mouth, they lay prostrate at the feet of their superiors, and dependent upon them, it may be, for their very next meal. Now this is the position to which, by dint of economy and right conduct, they might make good their ascent—a station of greater independence, and so of command over the labour-market. This is what the advocates of the gratuitous system, who love the poor, and are intent on the greatest happiness for the greatest number, are honestly aspiring after; and rejoice in contemplating as the brilliant perspective, which, as the fruit of their own hard-won and well-husbanded means, is still awaiting the humbler classes of society. But the indispensable habit of accumulation is what will never be generally entered on, till the treacherous, false, fast-and-loose system of degrading and deceitful pauperism be taken out of the way. Then, but not till then, will the workmen both of England and Scotland emerge into brighter days, when the inscription on one of their popular banners, of High Wages and no Poor-rate, shall at length, and after many successive delusions have passed away, obtain its glorious fulfilment.

As in our last article we adverted to the changes that had taken place in the state of Paisley, we beg leave to present an extract from what ourselves wrote of its people about twenty-four years ago.

“There is another and a far more excellent way—not to be attained, certainly, but by a change of habit among the workmen themselves—yet such a change as may be greatly promoted by those whose condition or character gives them influence in society. We have always been of opinion, that the main use of a Savings Bank was, not to elevate labourers into the class of capitalists, but to equalize and improve their condition as labourers. We should like them to have each a small capital, not wherewith to become manufacturers, but wherewith to control manufacturers. It is in this way (and we can see no other) that they will be enabled to weather all the fluctuations to which trade is liable. It is the cruel necessity of overworking which feeds the mischief of superabundant stock, and which renders so very large a transference of hands necessary ere the market can be relieved of the load under which it groans and languishes. Now, this is a necessity that can only be felt by men on the brink of starvation, who live from hand to mouth, and have scarcely more than a day's earnings for the subsistence of the day. Let these men only be enabled, on the produce of former accumulations, to live through a season of depression while they work moderately, or, if any of them should so choose it, while they do not work at all,—and they would not only lighten such a period of its wretchedness, but they would inconceivably shorten its duration. The overplus of manufactured goods, which is the

cause of miserable wages, would soon clear away under that restriction of work which would naturally follow on the part of men who did not choose, because they did not need, to work for miserable wages. What is now a protracted season of suffering and discontent to the lower orders, would, in these circumstances, become to them a short but brilliant career of holiday enjoyment. The report of a heavy downfall of wages, instead of sounding like a knell of despair in their ears, would be their signal for rising up to play. We have heard, that there does not exist in our empire a more intellectual and accomplished order of workmen than the weavers of Paisley. It was their habit, we understand, to abandon their looms throughout the half or nearly the whole of each Saturday, and to spend this time in gardening, or in the enjoyment of a country walk. It is true, that such time might sometimes be viciously spent; but still we should rejoice in such a degree of sufficiency among our operatives, as that they could afford a lawful day of every week for their amusement, and still more, that they could afford whole months of relaxed and diminished industry, when industry was underpaid. This is the dignified posture which they might attain; but only after the return of better times, and through the medium of their own sober and determined economy. Every shilling laid up in store, and kept in reserve for the evil day, would strengthen the barrier against such a visitation of distress and difficulty as that from which we are yet scarcely emerging. The very habits, too, which helped them to accumulate in the season of well-paid work, would form our best guarantee against the vicious or immoral abuse of this accumulation, in the season either of entire or comparative inactivity. We would expect an increase of reading, and the growth of literary cultivation, and the steady advancement of virtuous and religious habits,—and, altogether, a greater weight of character and influence among the labouring classes, as the permanent results of such a system. Instead of being the victims of every adverse movement in trade, they would become its most effective regulators.

“ This is the eminence that the labourers of our nation are fully capable both of reaching and of maintaining. But it is neither the Poor-rate of England, nor the law of Parochial aid in Scotland, that will help them on to it. These have only deceived them away from the path which leads to independence; and amid all the complaints which have been raised against the system of a compulsory provision for the poor, nothing is more certain than that our poor, because underpaid operatives, are the principal sufferers by it. Every other class in society has its compensation. It is paid back again to the manufacturer in the shape of a reduction in the wages of his workmen, and to the landholder by a reduction in the price of all manufactured articles. It is only the operative himself, who appears to be pensioned by it, that is really impoverished. It has deadened all those incitements to accumulation which would have raised him and his fellow-labourers to a footing of permanent security in the state—And, not till their eyes have been opened to the whole mischief and cruelty of this delusion—not till they see where it is that their most

powerful and malignant enemy is lying in ambush—not till they have learned that, under the guise of charity, there has been an influence at work for many years, which has arrested the march of the lower orders to the elevation that naturally and rightfully belongs to them, and till they come to understand that it is by their own exertion and self-denial alone that they can win their way to it—not, in short, till the popular cry is for the abolition, rather than the extension of pauperism, will our labouring classes have attained their full share of comfort and importance in the commonwealth.”

We have only one reckoning more with Dr. Alison. In pages 48, 49 of his work, he makes the following reference to the evidence of one of the witnesses :—

“The defenders of the present system in Scotland can hardly look forward to any abatement of the begging, even among the regular paupers: and, accordingly, Dr. Chalmers stated to the Commissioners—‘In regard to begging, I cannot say that I have the objection to it which some people have. If you have a thorough parochial system, then it may be regulated. I don’t object to parish badges or session badges, keeping the parties within particular walks.’ He says, however, that ‘he thinks mendicity, or begging from door to door, is more demoralizing than a parish allowance; at the same time, he would prefer mendicity to an allowance, because, under a right parochial management, mendicity would be reduced to a mere infinitesimal.’”—Vol. i., p. 373.

“I beg it may be remarked here, that it is only if we have a thorough parochial system, that Dr. Chalmers supposes that mendicity can be properly regulated; and that his preference of this plan of relief, to the parochial allowance under a poor-law, is contingent on there being such a ‘right parochial management as shall reduce mendicity to a mere infinitesimal.’ On this, I have only to observe, that ‘your if is a mighty peacemaker.’ It is really not necessary to speculate on what might be the best mode of proceeding, if such a parochial management existed. Our concern is with a country in which, notwithstanding the persevering exertions of Dr. Chalmers and his numerous disciples, the parochial management in most districts is such, that the great body of the poor, with whose maintenance the parochial authorities are intrusted, are in a miserable state of destitution, and are left dependent for their subsistence, either on certain voluntary charitable institutions, or, more frequently, on ‘the charity of their neighbours, nearly as poor as themselves,’ or on ‘common begging.’”—Pp. 48, 49.

Now, it is very true that the treatment of which he complains proceeds more in the way of a regimen which is progressive in its operation, whereas his own treatment consists in the appliance of medicines which will take instant effect in one way or other. And if we thought that his medicines were really medicinal, or were at all fitted to better the condition of the patient, we could have no objection but the contrary, to the regimen of the one

treatment, and the medicines of the other, being suffered to act contemporaneously and together, on one and the same subject. But it being our honest conviction that his medicines but aggravate and inflame the disease, we cannot consent that the regimen which we think would at length effect its extirpation, shall be counteracted, or rather, as we apprehend, defeated, by such pernicious and unwholesome prescriptions as would not only endanger, but most certainly prove fatal to the success of our own management. Such being our views, it is not to be expected that both our methods will ever be admitted at the same time into the same territory. In the nature of things indeed, such a conjunction is impossible; and yet practically there ought to be no difference betwixt us and Dr. Alison. For what is it that we propose? That our respective methods should be attempted, not upon the same, but upon different subjects—The compulsory system, for example, in Edinburgh at large; the gratuitous in one or more of such districts in Edinburgh, as the philanthropists of another school from that of Dr. Alison shall receive permission to undertake. And, more than this, the compulsory to have the whole management of the existent pauperism; while the gratuitous would have exclusively to do with the fresh and the new families who are yet unsmitten by it. Dr. Alison, we are sure, is not the person who would shrink from such a trial; and it might perhaps make it all the more acceptable to him—that, in the course of a very few months, the means in his hand would become all the more available for that better and kindlier treatment of the already existent pauperism, which his heart is set upon. He is most intently desirous that the paupers now upon the roll shall be more generously provided for; and most certainly so are we—even that they should be seen in full comfort to their graves, were the barrier once set up against the admission of new cases, henceforth to be otherwise met, and as we confidently hope, far more rightly and humanely provided for. The rapid disappearance of the old cases should be followed up, we think, not by a proportionally rapid, but by a slower decline of the assessments—and so as to leave room for a more bountiful entertainment of the cases which remain. It should not be difficult on a footing like this to effect a compromise between the opposite parties. In a larger and more liberal support for the actual generation of paupers, there might be instant gratification to the benevolent feelings of the one—while the other would obtain the liberty it has long sought for, but hitherto in vain, for at least attempting if not doing that to which it stands committed, the rearing up of a better and happier generation.

But we must now hurry over a few remaining topics, and leave others without so much as touching upon them. And first, it

may be said, why so anxious for a permissive clause for the trial of the gratuitous system in places now under assessment—when the adoption of the Commissioners' Report would still leave for a time at least, a great part of Scotland under the full operation of that system, and in a state of entire freedom for the exhibition of its efficacy? Our reply is, that nothing which is done in a country parish can have the effect of an *experimentum crucis*, in opening the eyes of the public either to the principle and philosophy of this great question, or to the practical way of dealing with it in the cases of greatest imagined difficulty. The uniform testimony of those city clergymen who have had charges in both situations, is, that the poor in our towns are greatly worse off than those in the provinces; and therefore, no inference drawn from the success of the gratuitous system in the latter parishes, will ever lead the way for its introduction to the former. And, besides, let it be observed, how any measure of success in the country can be explained away—how, even already, Berwickshire is played off against the rest of Scotland, and with what readiness and plausibility the most partial instances and testimonies can even now be alleged and formed into the basis of an universal doctrine. There is nothing that will so effectually dissipate the sophistry of these explanations, as a few signal and decisive examples of success in places conceived beforehand to be the most unlikely and impracticable. But over and above this, without such a permissive law and its accompaniments as we have ventured to recommend, we have no opportunity for the exemplification of the *retracing process*. Our object is not merely that the gratuitous system shall keep its present ground in Scotland; but that it shall enter on the assessed territory, and by gradual and successive substitutions of itself throughout the various localities, shall at length displace the compulsory provision altogether. But without the legal permission of this, there is no opening for such an enterprise—an enterprise, let it be observed, moreover, in the right conducting of which, the most valuable lessons have yet to be given forth on the management of the poor. Not, most assuredly, as it has been grievously misrepresented, the lesson of leaving them to their own resources, but of guiding them to the right use and application of these resources; of reasoning and convincing them, what it is, and how much it is, they can do for themselves; of pressing home the respective duties which belong to relatives and neighbours; and ever pointing the eye of the general population to that high-road of economy and temperance, which, by the blessing of God, will carry them upward to a stable independence and sufficiency that their own hands shall have won, and their own resolute perseverance in the way of wisdom and sobriety will continue to pre-

serve for them. Now, all this can be done effectively, and kindly, and popularly, by each friendly visiter in his own manageable district; but cannot be done by an Union Committee casting its wide and distant and superficial survey over the city multitude. The charm and the efficacy of our method are essentially bound up with the maxim of "*Divide et impera*"—a maxim which can only be carried into effect by the mighty aggregate being broken up into separate and small enough localities—small enough for each being placed under the bland and companionable and domestic management of one who can convert it into his home-walk, and become the acquaintance and friend of all its families. It will ever be our painful regret, should the door be irrecoverably closed against a system so beauteous and beneficent as this, and so our population be handed over to the heartless and wholesale administrations of a general superintendence. It will indeed prove a melancholy satisfaction, when it turns out, as we predict it infallibly will—if, as the wretched result of an absolute, imperative, and unqualified law, it shall be found of our poor, that, not only are they greatly more numerous, but greatly more destitute and dissatisfied than before.

This article is expanded far beyond our anticipations, else we meant to have closed it with some observations on the total difference, both in principle and effect, between the Jewish and the English Poor Laws. It is a subject that we have treated of elsewhere;* and all we shall therefore say of it at present is, that we should hold it a most blissful commutation, if the modern were exchanged for the ancient Poor Law; and so far from deprecating the introduction of it into Scotland, we should regard it as convertible into the best results on the state and character of her people. We may simply state what the law is—the application of a thirtieth part of the wealth of the country, not for the support of all its poor, but as a provision for certain specified cases—the *Levites* and strangers, and widows and fatherless. We have but room for one remark more. The *Levites* were the chief educationists in Judea; and their fittest representatives in our present day were an adequate number of schoolmasters for the plebeian families of our land.

* "*Sufficiency of a Parochial System,*" &c.—P. 1

- ART. VIII.—1. *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa, &c.* By EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1841.
2. *Bibliotheca Sacra: or Tracts and Essays on Topics connected with Biblical Literature and Theology.* Editor, EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D. New York, 1843.
3. *A Pastor's Memorial of Egypt, the Red Sea, the Wilderness of Sin and Paran, Mount Sinai, Jerusalem, and other principal localities of the Holy Land, visited in 1842; with brief notes of a route through France, Rome, Naples, Constantinople, and up the Danube.* By the Rev. GEORGE FISK, LL.D., Prebendary of Lichfield, Rural Dean and Vicar of Walsall. Second Edition. London, 1844.
4. *Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira, Teneriffe, and along the Shores of the Mediterranean, &c.* By W. K. WILDE, M.R.I.A., &c. Second Edition. Dublin, 1844.
5. *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem.* By W. H. BARTLETT. London, 1844.
6. *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land.* By the Rev. STEPHEN OLIN, D.D., President of the Wesleyan University. With Twelve Illustrations on Steel. Two vols. New York, 1843.
7. *Eothen, or Traces of Travel brought home from the East.* London, 1844.
8. *A Tour in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land, in the years 1841-2.* By the Rev. H. P. MEASOR, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London and Exeter, 1844.
9. *A Visit to the East, comprising Germany and the Danube, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Idumea.* By the Rev. HENRY FORMSBY, M.A. London, 1843.
10. *A Visit to my Father-Land, being Notes of a Journey to Syria and Palestine in 1843.* By RIDLEY H. HERSCHELL, Author of a brief sketch of the Jews, &c. London, 1844.
11. *Three Weeks in Palestine and Lebanon.* Ninth Edition. London, 1841.
12. *Irby and Mangles' Travels in the Holy Land.* Reprinted—Colonial and Home Library. 1844.

THE works named above have most of them appeared within the last two years—all within four; and the list might have been considerably swelled, especially if it had contained all connected

with the same subject that have appeared of late in France, Germany, and the United States. During the ensuing year, as we have reason to believe, the press, at home and abroad, will have disburdened itself of several "Holy Land tours" and "visits;" besides one or more elaborate critical works, the product of years of labour by untravelled scholars. Nor is it by any means all who travel in the East that write and publish "Tours." A few years ago the mist-covered mountains and damp glens of Westmoreland were not much more frequented by summer visitors than are now the scorched table lands and sultry wadys of Judea: scarcely a circle in the upper, literary, and scientific classes can be frequented without encountering some intelligent persons—ladies as well as gentlemen, just returned from a "trip" in which they have jolted it upon camels across the desert—chatted with, or grinned at Bedoween, upon the margin of the Asphaltic Sea, and suffered the martyrdom of a night's lodgement in Tiberias. At the same time, drawings and sketches "taken in Palestine" by professional and by non-professional practitioners, are to be found scattered upon every drawing-room and library table. In the place of Cowper's walk at Weston, "sketched on the spot," or, "the Loggan stone, as seen from beneath," we have now "the peaks of Sinai," or "the mosk of Omar," drawn "by a lady during an excursion," &c. last season! Now all this must mean something; and we may venture an opinion as to what it means; but for the present we merely advert to the practical bearing of the fact of so much travelling, and cross-cutting about, over a surface not exceeding the dimensions of four English counties—upon those bookmaking operations of which the list at the head of this article gives a sample. Even the least cautious of our travellers—such as one or two of those upon whose adventurous productions it will be our duty now to animadvert—find themselves compelled, once and again, to assure the public that they have *not* forgotten that troops of their countrymen have trodden, and are treading the same paths; and may be qualified to attest, or to revise a little, their reports. It will be our own fault, therefore, if we, *i. e.* the stay-at-home folks, do not at length make ourselves well and authentically acquainted with that small surface, and with those sites toward which there is so remarkable a concentration of minds, or at least of eyes and feet, at this moment.

Such a knowledge-topographic of Palestine, and of the scenes of the canonical history, will not, however, *spontaneously* result from all the publishing, nor from all the engraving, nor from all the travelling of the day; nor will it be secured to us simply by the interaction and the corrective influence exerted over book-making travellers, by travellers not making books. Apart from

a perpetually exerted and severe revision of such books—apart from a keen and sifting scrutiny of evidence—apart from a learned collation of ancient and recent evidence, apart from this sort of vigilance always at hand, the actual frequency of travel, and the multiplication of books relating to Palestine, instead of diffusing an authentic body of topographic and antiquarian information, will only deluge us with errors; and not mere errors, but sources of error, affecting some grave questions. We think that, in the course of this article, we shall do this at least—if nothing more—namely, convince our readers, that if they intend to mingle, as readers, in the throng that is rushing toward the “holy spots,” they must “look well about them;” or otherwise they may be robbed, not simply of the conclusion of common sense, but of the principles of rational historic belief; and perhaps even of their faith as Christians!

The tide which, for some time past, has been rolling in upon the shores of the Levant, and running up the Nile, and filling every wady of Palestine, and of Arabia Petræa, has obeyed more impulses than that of the moon; and those who may be inclined to regard this pressing forward toward the Land of Prophecy—this intentness of the European mind upon “the East,” in an almost supernatural light, and as indicative of stupendous events now “at the very doors,” might do well to look a little into the plain facts of the case; and then to set off a something from their reckoning. We are, however, very ready to grant to such persons—that even so much of the now-going travelling, and book-making, and sketching, of which Palestine is the subject, as is fairly attributable to the most frivolous or mercenary motives, may nevertheless, in its ulterior result, bear upon those events of which Syria is likely to be the scene, and the reason. “Journeys,” and “Narratives,” and lithographic illustrations, and woodcuts, of which the motive has been of the most vulgar sort, and which yet have the effect of bringing the mind of the Western nations into perpetual and familiar converse with Syrian scenery, and with canonical sites, may, in the end, or at some not remote crisis of European affairs, very materially influence the feelings, and the political behaviour of all civilized communities. It is by these means that more than a few in England, France, Germany, and the United States, are becoming so vividly and minutely conversant with the surface, and with its natural and artificial objects, that, at the moment of the occurrence of signal events, such persons, and each communicating his impressions to those around him, would feel almost as a man does who, in a foreign land, reads a newspaper-account of what has just happened in his native parish. Many of us who stay at home reading travels, and

looking at views, have already acquired a more exact and picture-like idea of the Holy City, and of its environs, or of the Lake of Galilee, than we possess of Dublin, or of Liverpool, if we have not happened lately to visit those near-at-hand places.

We say, that this familiar knowledge of Palestine, diffused so widely, and by so many divers means, may, and probably will, greatly influence the Western world, at some not remote juncture, even although there be little or nothing of deep purpose, or of rational intent, in the impulse which is thus again "precipitating Europe upon Asia."

The modern facilities of transit and travel are at once the consequence, and the cause of transit and travel; for in this, as in other instances, the demand produces the supply, and then the supply gives rise to a tenfold demand. "Whither shall we turn our step this season?" ask the listless holders of superfluous time and cash: "every thing west of Constantinople has been looked at to weariness:—to Egypt!—to Arabia Petræa!—to Palestine!" Then follow the calculations from which it may be made to appear that such an excursion may be "done for as little" as almost any other four months' excursion; and then the interchanged assurances of "perfect safety" and "comfort." "The Marseilles steamer sails—let us see—on a Monday—reaches Alexandria," &c. &c. And so, and in this lightsome style, is a journey spoken of, and planned, which, to Pococke, Maundrell, and even to Burckhardt, appeared an arduous enterprise, full of peril and of solemn difficulty!

In fact the countries at the head of the Mediterranean, lie just now on the extreme verge of that region which may be traversed with a tolerable degree of security, and without exposure to excessive personal inconveniences or imminent risks. To go *beyond* this range, is an enterprise which must be left, at present, to practised and resolute travellers—to military men, to political agents, to missionaries, and to scientific pioneers. But of course all who possess the means to do so, and who have already seen the sights of Europe, and who *must* go somewhere, will now press upon what we have designated as the verge of practicable, or pleasure-like, travel:—that is to say, they will put themselves on board the steamer to Alexandria at Southampton, or at Marseilles—ascend the Nile to Cairo—cross the desert to Suez or Akaba—*descend* Wady Mousa—visit the city cut out of the rock; thence "go up" to Jerusalem—hurry on toward Beirut, and gladly, after shaking their garments, set foot again upon the welcome deck of the Dardanelles boat;—and then the liberal and book-buying public may think itself very moderately taxed, if it is not called upon to pay the costs of more

than one in a hundred of these trips to the Levant, under the guise of an octavo with "steel plates."

Influences far more serious, and more productive, are, however, at this time, leading travellers to Syria; but we shall reserve to the last, what we may have to say relative to researches carrying on at the impulse of rational and worthy motives, and from which important consequences cannot fail to result. We must, however, first clear the ground a little, by dismissing, with a cursory and well-meant criticism, the representatives or spokesmen of a host of good folks, who, if they did nothing more than empty their own purses, might well be let alone; but they seem to be leading astray the Christian mind at home; as well as affording, by their absurdities, much occasion of triumph to infidels.

These frequenters of the "Holy Land," whom we must arraign, as likely to prejudice truth by their overweening, their fond fancies, and their wild speculations, may conveniently be spoken of under two designations—as, *first*, those who are doting upon the future, and, *secondly*, those who dote upon the past. But what is it, *to dote*, in our present application of the word? We answer—to wed oneself to an unproved, and, for the most part, absurd and presumptuous supposition, or system; and then, to rush forward, reckless of consequences, and heedless of facts, deluded, and deluding, until a single error has swollen to the dimensions of a real impiety; and so has taken to itself the qualities of a pernicious infatuation.

The same writer—and some of those now before us have actually done so—may play his part in both of these modes of folly. Indeed, that same eagerness of temper, and that ambition to be gaped at, and that lack of sound judgment which impels a man to figure on the one ground, is likely enough to lead him to attempt it on the other also. Thus, we find certain devout and not-to-be-daunted champions of "kissed-away stones," proficient also in all the architectural details and decorations of millennial temples and palaces!

Within the last few years, more than a few persons, some of whom stand before the world as authors, have made pilgrimages to the Holy City, impelled, as one might almost think, by a tacit wish to superintend the fulfilment of the prophecies;—or, at least, to be on the spot, and ready to aid and assist in—or to "report" the course of those supernatural events which, according to their chronology, cannot now be delayed beyond a few months! Brains that have become heated in latitude 51, or 56, have gone to gather a still higher excitement beneath the heats of latitude 32! and the extent to which well-educated men have proceeded—in the strength of an inflamed imagination—

seeing what does not exist, and not seeing what does, is at once wonderful and mortifying.

But what are we saying—not that the study of Scripture prophecy, which, if it be studied at all, *must* include the portions that are unfulfilled, is unlawful or unnecessary, or in any way to be reprehended, or repressed. We are prepared to say the very contrary; and not that those who have qualified themselves for the task by arduous studies *at home*, should be blamed for wishing, if practicable, to verify their surmises, and to establish or revise their conclusions, by an actual inspection of the Land of Prophecy;—by no means; for a journey so undertaken, and so provided for, to Palestine, would, very probably, in its results, promote Biblical exegesis; and it might, at the least in some single cases, have the happy effect of sending a man home to his sphere of usefulness, disabused of the bubble speculations which he had taken out with him. To some temperaments the mere jostling in the great world, implied in a long journey—and the steamboat bustle—and the sharp look-out for one's luggage—and the care of one's coffee-pot and tea-canister, and then the 'scapes and annoyances of Syrian travelling—aye, even the flea-torment of a sultry night in a Syrian chamber, would altogether bring a man round about towards the quarter of calm common sense—and far more effectively and speedily do this than could or would have been done by the utmost cogency of an antagonist pamphlet, or even by the searching banter of an ill-tempered reviewer.

What we do mean is this,—that those who set out on their travels to the Holy Land, should remember, before they set out, and while they are abroad, and especially when they return, and are compiling their "Narratives," that the Holy Land *is* A HOLY LAND, and that, in relation to the scenes and sites of the canonical history, and to the ground whereon stupendous acts are yet to be witnessed, men cannot sport nonsense, without doing, or running the risk of doing, serious mischief. To such persons we would take leave to say,—Go, if you please, to Rome, and there blunder on, mistaking Pagan monuments for Christian monuments; or go to the plains of Troy; look about, and pick up Achilles' own shoe-tie! Thence travel on to the swamps where Babylon's glory once dazzled the world; and read its bricks, upside for down; and on your return, ascend the Nile, and find a piece of Pharoah's hand-writing on a papyrus, of the time of Adrian. Go to any of these places, and do any of these things, and be blameless; but when you tread the soil which inspired men have consigned to the religious and *modest* regards of all mankind, then, let your words be few, your fancies silenced, and the flippant conceit of travelling authorship suppressed, by a rational awe—remembering that very slender abilities, and very

moderate acquirements, are more than enough, to enable a man to bring down the scoffs of the irreligious upon sacred truths, as well as to lead the simple out of the path of a Scriptural belief.

Some of the grave writers, whose works are now on our table, would, we dare say, make long faces, in listening to the pleasantries of the facetious author of "Eothen." This gentleman, however, although he jests *on* holy ground, does not, so far as we have seen, jest *with* it; he says nothing—as we remember, tending to shake his reader's faith in Christianity itself, although, as to the "certainty of the spot where the cock crew," he professes himself, indeed, "far from being convinced." Yet he writes in the sincere tone of a believer, though perhaps not himself one of the most devout of persons; meantime, the writers we have now in view—or some of them, do not scruple to turn facts upside down, and inside out, for the support either of some theory of prophetic interpretation, or of some inane superstition; and this unscrupulous behaviour of theirs, set off with an abundance of Scriptural quotations, is generating a wide-stretching suspicion as to Christianity itself, in the hearts of well-informed, but sceptically disposed, men. Such men—unwarrantably, we grant—draw a tacit conclusion from the perusal of such books, which is fatal to their own religious convictions. We must, however, revert to this uncomfortable topic.

But we have named, in the second place, those who are doting upon the past; and a host it is, armed and resolute, and not to be assailed with impunity. If we are to confine our view to recent years, it is the high-soaring Chateaubriand who leads this band of crusaders: Lamartine follows, on the same line: Mr. Newman leads a host of his own; and Dr. Wilde, as we presume, would wish to bring up the rear.

That remarkable event of our times—the revival, everywhere, of what are called "Church Principles"—in other words, the religious system of the Middle ages, involves the adoption, and the defence, of all the more prominent and *Catholic* beliefs—touching tombs, shrines, miracles, relics, to which the "Church" has at any time pledged her honour and credit: and in this instance the "Church" must be understood to mean, as well the Eastern, as the Western—the Greek, as the Romish hierarchies; for in the eyes of the movers of this revival, the one branch is as dear to Catholic hearts as the other, and the filial yearnings of "English Catholics" is as painfully tender toward the one, as toward the other. Now, there is no article of faith, held in common by the two churches, in relation to which there has been a more entire "consent"—none held with a more fervent intensity, than is that of the genuineness of the holy spots, and relics, conserved

at Jerusalem. During the course of more than fifteen hundred years—a term embracing, in the view of modern Catholics, the most *authentic* era of the Christian cycle,—during, we say, this lapse of time, the genuineness of the Holy Cross, and the reality of the principal sites, in and about the church of the Holy Sepulchre, have been affirmed with an unwavering confidence—always—every where—and by every body;—heretics excepted! There is no article of the creed that can challenge for itself a more cordial unanimity of belief than this. Besides, the invention of the Cross, and the consecration of the Sepulchre, stands forward as one of the earliest and the most deliberate and signal of the instances on which the vast hierarchical scheme—Eastern and Western—has rested its claims as a divine and miraculously authenticated institution. Moreover, the alternative in this case is of a kind which excludes a passive neutrality, and which carries with it a far-extending and onerous consequence: for if the three crosses were not the three crosses, and if the “Holy Sepulchre” be not the Holy Sepulchre—then the “invention” is an *invention* indeed, which, considering its peculiar circumstances, and its bearing upon the credit of the Gospel, and upon the moral reputation of public persons, stands without a parallel in awful audacity and impious wickedness. And in fact, if such a conclusion as this must, after all, be admitted, then, and thereafter, it will be almost a desperate undertaking to defend either Vincent of Lerins’ axiom, or the Church of the fourth century, or the Greek Church, or the Romish Church, or “Church principles,” or the “Tracts,” or Mr. Newman; or, in short, anything that is good and holy in a Catholic sense. It has come therefore to be felt, and every year more and more distinctly so, that this particular antiquarian question, and the turn it shall take, is (we intend no play upon the words) an *experimentum crucis*, in relation to the great controversy of our times.

At the impulse of this deep and anxious feeling, several accomplished men have, within the last three or four years, set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land—hoping, not merely to inflame their personal piety by making the round of the sacred spots, and kneeling and kissing where it is orthodox to kneel and to kiss, but to gather some straws of proof—some *new straws*—wherewith, as loyal soldiers of the Cross, they might, on their return, fight the fight of faith, against the Saracen host—American, English, Scotch, and German; to wit, neologists, atheists, and dissenters.

We do not intend, at this time, to enter, in any formal manner, upon this great argument,—concerning the Cross and Sepulchre,—having other objects immediately in view; but inasmuch as the

authors of several of the books on our table do warmly take it up ; and as most of them advert to it, we shall, while glancing at these passages, venture a remark upon a point or two of the evidence, as well as animadvert upon the mode in which the Holy Sepulchre champions of the present day think it good to signalize their zeal.

But, in starting to enter upon this ground, we cannot refrain from an expression of the mingled feeling of grief and shame—of perplexity and alarm, that has attended our perusal of some of the volumes before us. English literature,—and especially so much as is biblical and topographic, is seen and read in Germany ; and, moreover, books of this class, embodying as they do facts and narratives, important or entertaining, are heard of, and sometimes read by many of that now large class of cultured persons, at home and abroad, who, choosing to turn away from that mass of direct and irrefragable evidence which sustains the Gospel history, dwell with malign pleasure upon the dark history of “the Church;” while at the same time they are catching at the indiscretions and follies of their Christian contemporaries, as affording to themselves reason enough for their unbelief. In this view then, mortifying and distressing it is to think that men, occupying responsible positions in the Church,—men who, if one may judge by the alphabetic honours which float at the rear of their names, are well informed persons, and therefore are precluded from the apology of ignorance, should exhibit themselves before the world as the credulous and unscrupulous swallows of the monkish nonsense of the East ; and as the dupes of the most flimsy sort of enthusiasm which a *man* can be moved by, and which is only just pardonable in “ladies under eighteen;” and that these persons—clergy and laity—while they seem, and we doubt not are, sincere in their professed faith as Christians, yet employ their energies, and show themselves all alive, not in defence of the evangelic history, such as inspired men have left it, but of the old wives’ fables of the most debauched periods of church history !

We hold it therefore to be a duty on this occasion, to administer a word of reproof to the parties in question : such reproof, we mean, as any man, whether armed, or not armed, with the authority of “office,” may fairly, and in a spirit of humility and charity, administer to any other man, as a Christian brother or fellow-citizen. It is well felt—as we have just said—by the champions of antiquity, and herein they are not mistaken, that the question concerning the True Cross, and the Holy Sepulchre, intimately touches the very core of the modern “Church-principles” theory ; and that a verdict against both, or either, would go far toward the overthrow of certain assumptions on which that theory has been made to rest. But here a distinction should

be carefully noted. Oxford divines, and their adherents, very naturally wish to make the "Holy Sepulchre" carry the "Holy Cross;" in fact, however, it will not sustain this burden. We mean this—that, even if the genuineness of the sepulchre could be established, the story of the invention of the cross would stand on its own independent evidence; and this evidence is such—it is so flagrantly mendacious, as to have brought upon itself the reluctant disapproval of many who show themselves eager to believe, as far, and as much, as is possible. This "invention," therefore, will remain as a foul blot upon the system, and upon the times, and upon the persons whence it originated. Even Dr. Wilde, ("Narrative," p. 476, note), says—

"With regard to the miracle of the finding of the Cross, I fully agree with those who look upon it as 'a pious fraud:' and this has been, I think, completely established during the late controversy; but I am still slow to believe, that because the reputed finding of the Cross is an idle tale, the antiquity and validity of the Sepulchre and Calvary on that account fall to the ground."

The facetious author of "Eothen," though professing to believe in the Sepulchre, gives in his adherence in a manner which would imply his scepticism as to every thing else—the Cross included.

"A Protestant, familiar with the Holy Scriptures, but ignorant of tradition, and the geography of modern Jerusalem, finds himself a good deal 'mazed' when he first looks for the sacred sites. The Holy Sepulchre is not in a field, without the walls, but in the midst, and in the best part of the town, under the roof of the great church, which I have been talking about: it is a handsome tomb of oblong form, partly subterranean and partly above ground; and closed in on all sides, except the one by which it is entered. You descend into the interior by a few steps, and there find an altar with burning tapers. This is the spot which is held in greater sanctity than any other at Jerusalem. When you have seen enough of it, you feel perhaps weary of the busy crowd, and inclined for a gallop; you ask your dragoman, whether there will be time before sunset to take a ride to Mount Calvary. Mount Calvary, Signor!—eccolo! it is *upstairs on the first floor*. In effect, you ascend, if I remember rightly, just thirteen steps, and then you are shewn the now golden sockets in which the crosses of our Lord and the two thieves were fixed. All this is startling, but the truth is," &c.—*Eothen*, p. 218.

"I concede, however, that the attempt of the Empress to ascertain the sites of the minor events cannot be safely relied upon. With respect, for instance, to the certainty of the spot where the cock crew, I am far from being convinced."—P. 220.

Again, Dr. Olin, the American Wesleyan President, who appears to have adopted it as his rule, in visiting the Holy Land,

to believe every thing which may by possibility be believed, and who "deprecates every tendency to an over-cautious and sceptical criticism," nevertheless is staggered as to the "invention;" and is, though reluctantly, forced to let go his hold of it.

"Nothing," he says, "perhaps has tended so much to throw discredit and contempt upon the claims of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as the mummeries and impudent pretensions that arose from this finding of the Cross by Helena; and it is, perhaps, not to be expected that a traveller who has been shewn this same Cross, or fragments of it, in half the great Catholic churches in Europe, should be able to visit the actual scene of this well-attested, but most improbable transaction—the finding, in an entire state, of an object so perishable in its material and construction, nearly three hundred years after the crucifixion—with a mind free from prejudice, or fitted to appreciate the less questionable traditionary argument in favour of the identity of Calvary."—*Travels*, vol. ii., p. 301.

Mr. Newman, and with him the more resolute of the Oxford Tract writers, stand almost alone in speaking of the "invention of the Cross," otherwise than in terms of indignant contempt; and as the exemplar of the impious frauds of the debauched age in which it was contrived. All the circumstances considered, and the subject thus trifled with—a machination more detestably wicked than this has scarcely ever been carried into effect, or persisted in, and very extensive has been its pernicious influence in vitiating the moral sentiment of the clergy, Eastern and Romish; and in enslaving the people. Nothing short, therefore, of a controversial necessity the most urgent, could impel any one who is surrounded with the light—we do not say of science, which such persons affect to condemn—but of historical criticism—any one, not burying himself in a cell—wherein his complexion has forgotten how to blush; but who every day must be looked at, and must look others in the face;—such a one, to declare himself as the champion of St. Macarius' "Holy Cross!" The inconsistencies—the impudent patchings—the lying style of the narratives of the invention—the enormity of the demand it makes upon miraculous agency—the bad purposes of priestly ambition which it subserved at the moment, and the endless frauds to which it has given rise, are altogether much more than enough to carry a resentful conviction to the mind of every man that is open at all to conviction. In fact, the fable has been abandoned by every body—who dares abandon it; and it is adhered to by those only who have persuaded themselves that, to trample their own reason in the dust, and to prostitute their talents, their learning, and their reputation in the service of "the Church,"—even when the Church flagrantly lies—is an offering, and a self-sacrifice, acceptable to God!

But we return to our position, and we wish to leave distinctly on the mind of the reader the state of the case—namely, that, even could the Holy Sepulchre be authenticated—the “Holy Cross” must remain as a stigma of shame on the front of the churches which have sold themselves to this impiety : but, on the other side, if the Holy Sepulchre be overthrown, it carries with it, in its ruin, necessarily, the “Holy Cross :” and then the two impostures melt into one black spot, which no soap of slimy logic will ever remove from the party to which it adheres.

If we say a word more concerning the Holy Sepulchre ; it is not so much on account of the intrinsic significance of the subject, or its bearing upon the “Church-principles” controversy—as because—and this is evident from most of the works named at the head of this article, not to mention others that are less recent, that a confused notion, or false feeling on this subject, is spreading among Palestine tourists, and is operating to divert them from the rational path of biblical research, and is implicating them in the adoption and defence of topographic absurdities, in a manner, and to an extent, that must weaken our confidence in their reports upon whatever subject. Our main intentions in this article being—to stimulate, and perhaps even to direct such future inquiries as may tend at once to elucidate and to corroborate the inspired writings, we could not well advance, without attempting, at least, to turn readers at home, and tourists, from the worse than idle pursuit of that which ministers to nothing but sentimentalism and superstition.

In support of the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre, there may be adduced the general (though not universal) assent of Christendom, from the age of Constantine to the present time ; but beyond or besides this “consent,” we do not know that *any particle of positive evidence*, or any proof, of whatsoever kind, sustains the affirmative argument ; while, on the negative side, improbabilities—topographical and historical—reach as far as they can to fall at all short of an absolute or physical impossibility. These improbabilities have, in fact, presented themselves in the strongest light to intelligent travellers, and to all persons of ingenuous temper, from an early age to the present day ; and the allegations advanced by Mr. Newman in his Essay, and by some others, that the genuineness of the Sepulchre “has never been doubted or questioned till of late,” is not only untrue, but is notoriously untrue. The staggering difficulty which attaches to the relative position of the Sepulchre and supposed Calvary, and the absurdities that are implied in all the details, have ever been felt, and by more than a few travellers acknowledged, and even by some who were the best disposed toward an implicit belief.

“From hence,” says Lamartine, “a flight of steps, cut in the rock,

conducts to the summit of Calvary, where the three crosses were placed, so that Calvary, the tomb, and several other sites of the drama of Redemption, are united under the roof of a single edifice of moderate dimensions, a circumstance that appears ill to accord with the Gospel histories. We are not prepared by them to find the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, which was cut in the rock, outside the walls of Zion, fifty paces from Calvary, the scene of executions, and enclosed within the circumference of the modern walls; but such is tradition, and it has prevailed. The mind cannot dispute over a scene like this the difference of a few paces between historical probability and tradition. Whether it were here or there, it is certain the events occurred at no great distance from the parts marked out."—Vol. ii., p. 25. (We are compelled at this moment to quote the English translation of Lamartine.)

The balance between "tradition and reason" is here well presented; and we except only against the closing affirmation, in which far more is assumed as certain than we can admit to be so. So early as the seventh century the impracticability of the case seems to have been felt, and a notion consequently entertained, that the then existing city occupied new ground, as compared with the old. This may be inferred from the language of Pope Gregory, (Homil. in Evang. xxxix.,) cited by Mr. Newman and Professor Robinson; but any such supposition, which the necessity of the argument in favour of the Sepulchre demands, is excluded by the natural and impassable limitations of the ground, as well as by abundant historical evidence to the contrary; for if the ancient city were shoved from off the site of the Sepulchre, southward, and far enough fairly to exclude it, it must not only have lost its relative position as to the Temple, but must have dipt into and gone over the valley of Hinnom, which we know it did not. Later writers have not scrupled to affirm that there has been a miraculous transmigration of the Sepulchre into the heart of the city! and some have tortured the course of the ancient walls in a manner so startling and ingenious as to make evident at least the untoward stubbornness of the facts they had to deal with. Among these is the author of a volume published at Florence, 1620,—*Trattato delle Piante ed Immagini de Sacri Edifici di Tezza Santa, &c.* The plates which illustrate this volume indicate much exactness and care, and they well sustain the affirmation that the drawings were executed in Jerusalem by competent persons. Towards the close of the work two bird's eye views of the Holy City are given in the manner that was usual at the time, and partaking of the conditions of a plan and of a perspective view, and, in fact, almost realizing the principle of the modern isometrical perspective. The first of these views, and which appears to have been taken from the brow

of the Mount of Olives, exhibits the actual city as it then was,—presenting the church of the Holy Sepulchre far within the walls. The second is a conjectural plan of the ancient city, as seen from the opposite heights, or over against Hippicus. The designer, in this instance, is compelled by the testimony of Josephus to grant to the (second) wall a curvature toward the north, which he brings round so as to embrace the Latin Convent; but then he bends it suddenly backward,—and for why?—because, unless it be so retroverted, it will not shut out Calvary and the place of the Sepulchre! The wall—so pliable are stone walls!—having thus been made to double at the command of the Church, is permitted to resume its course northward, encircling Bezetha! This plan, with the ingenious disquisition appended to it, furnishes a curious illustration of the force of the difficulty which every rational visiter of the spot has felt, and which the candid have frankly admitted to be in its nature “almost insurmountable.”

But although, on the ground of so many glaring improbabilities, the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre has, from time to time, been called in question, it might long have held its credit, like an insolvent firm, had but the gates of Jerusalem been closed against the American Professor,—for it is he who has at length, and effectively, brought the question before the public; adducing, as he has, in a calm, erudite, and scientific manner, the entire evidence—historical and topographical, which bears upon it. It may indeed seem probable that, in these days of universal research and of frequent travel, the same task would have been undertaken by some other competent person ere long; nor must we deny this general probability; and yet, in looking through the mass of recent books relating to Palestine—English, American, and French, one finds so general a tendency on the other side, to take up and to repeat, almost without thought or question, the stale monkish absurdities current in the Holy Land, that the chance seems small of any disturbance of these senseless superstitions through a course of years to come. What Dr. Robinson says of preceding travellers is quite true also of those who have since followed his track up to this very moment:—

“Since the time of the crusades, from the fourteenth century onwards to the present day, all travellers, whether pilgrims or visitors, have usually taken up their abode in Jerusalem in the convents, and have beheld the city only through the eyes of their monastic entertainers. European visitors, in particular, have ever lodged, and still lodge, almost exclusively in the Latin Convent, and the Latin monks have in general been their sole guides. In this way, and from all these causes, there has been grafted upon Jerusalem and the Holy Land a vast mass of tradition, foreign in its source and doubtful in its character, which has flourished luxuriantly and spread itself out widely over the

western world. Palestine, the Holy City, and its sacred places, have been again and again portrayed according to the topography of the monks, and, according to them alone. Whether travellers were Catholics or Protestants has made little difference. All have drawn their information from the great store-house of the convents, and with few exceptions, all report it apparently with like faith, though with various fidelity. In looking through the long series of descriptions which have been given of Jerusalem by the many travellers since the fourteenth century, it is curious to observe how very slightly the accounts differ in their topographical and traditional details. There are, indeed, occasional discrepancies in minor points, though very few of the travellers have ventured to depart from the general authority of their monastic guides, or even if they sometimes venture to call in question the value of this whole mass of tradition, yet they nevertheless repeat, in like manner, the stories of the convents, or at least give nothing better in their place."—*Bib. Research*, i., pp. 374-5.

These allegations we should find it easy to sustain and to illustrate from the pages of the writers now before us. Even up to this moment, although a note of admiration, implying a little scepticism, is here and there inserted, when some utterly ridiculous tradition is retailed, yet, in the main, that which "the Church" has always piously believed, and which holy monks now affirm, is passively issued anew. But we are confident that as, on the one hand, momentous illustrations and confirmations of canonical history are yet to be gathered from rational and *scientific* researches in Palestine; so, on the other, that the removal, in mass, of the rubbish of church traditions and monkish drivelling is indispensable as a preparative for carrying forward any such researches. With this conviction on our minds, we rejoice to see that even the fond adherents of these church legends are now driven to the necessity of hunting up evidences, better than the ancient tales of the Greek and Latin convents. Dr. Robinson has in fact made an inroad upon this field of folly which can be repelled only by arguments of the same apparent quality with his own; and thus it is that Oxford and Cambridge are, at this time, sending forth their picked men to the Holy Land, by whose means to make head, if it be possible, against these and other bold intruders; and we anticipate the early appearance of volumes in which the American Professor's allegations, whenever they touch the "faith of the Church," shall be "refuted to demonstration!" In fact, his admitted qualifications as a scholar and orientalist, and the scientific perspicacity and coolness of his manner, and the exactness of his details, and the simplicity of purpose he exhibits—impelling him to admit at once, and to announce, any corrections to which his statements may be open, altogether forbid the hope that he may be silenced, or his writings left to die out of mind: and besides, that air of unfeigned and

warm religious belief which gives life to his style, excludes, even with the least charitable of his opponents, the convenient allegation that this "American Professor" who dares to call in question the "Holy Sepulchre," is "a neologist and an infidel." No one can peruse the "Biblical Researches," and not feel himself to be in the company of a Christian man—a sincere believer in whatever commends itself to the convictions of well-disciplined minds; and this confidence is greatly enhanced by the very freedom, not levity, with which, in some signal instances, he propounds, and propounds in all their force, the difficulties that attach to certain points of Scripture history. The reader sees and feels that the writer is one who has dealt honestly with himself, and who may therefore be trusted in as intending to deal honestly with others.

Dr. Robinson, then, whatever may be the issue of the particular controversies which he has handled, and whether or not his sacred topography may hold itself in the main entire, will undoubtedly have succeeded in consigning to its fit place that enormous mass of fraudulent tales, concerning the "Holy Sites," which the Christian nations have so long embraced as authentic. The expulsion, and the utter dissipation of this body of ancient lies must, we are persuaded, ensue, even as an inevitable consequence, to mention no other influences—of those inquiries which the Church is itself promoting. By the "Church"—we do not here intend this or that ecclesiastical incorporation; but the favourers and supporters of the one vast and ancient scheme of tyrannous superstition to which the Greek and Romish communions adhere, and of which, as it seems, a too large proportion of the clergy of the Church of England professes its admiration.

Nothing could be more calm, or more cautious and modest, than was Professor Robinson's mode of treating the monkish legends concerning the "Holy Sites." A full and fair statement of the argument in support of these articles of the convent creed, was followed by an analysis of the evidence, or the assumed evidence, showing its inconclusiveness; and a topographic disquisition, purely scientific in its style, the result of which was, to reduce to the lowest point possible—short of mathematical annihilation, the probability in favour of the site of the Holy Sepulchre. An argument of this sort, and thus conducted, was felt to shake the Church Babel to its foundations; and Mr. Newman quickly came up to the defence, in an essay prefixed to a translation of a portion of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, on the "character and credibility of the ecclesiastical miracles:" a subject than which none can be more *determinative* in the great controversy between the "Church-principles" Church, and the Protestant communions. With the several points dis-

cussed in this essay, we have nothing now to do, any further than to state, that, in his defence of the Holy Cross discovered by the Empress Helena, the writer admits the necessity of first establishing the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre; since it is sufficiently evident, that, if Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, set about digging on a wrong spot, the three crosses which he invented, could be nothing better than inventions!

The tortuous sophistry of this essay, which on one page yields the point in question, and anon assumes it as granted—which bends when bend one must, and then presently stands erect on the same ground,—Professor Robinson follows with patient assiduity, in an essay which appeared in the first number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, (named above), February 1843. From this essay we should gladly cite some passages; but must instead turn to the books before us. We are not about seriously to inculcate—one and all—the worshippers of the “Holy Sites;” but shall urge upon the attention of the more reasonable among them, the unhappy consequence which is resulting indirectly, and yet surely, from the course they are taking.

We should be slow to pick a quarrel with an apparently amiable and entertaining tourist, like the Rev. K. P. Measor, who, we dare say, means no harm, and will, perhaps, start to find himself reprehended; but when men, who ought to know better, coolly repeat as credible, that which has always shocked common sense, and the absurdity of which has of late been fully demonstrated, they indirectly bring Christianity itself under suspicion; and by exhibiting themselves as altogether careless concerning historic proof, and always ready to believe, they suggest a most dangerous inference, which is snatched at by the ill-informed impugnors of the evangelic records. In visiting a place like Jerusalem, and in reporting his impressions there, a man (as we think) owes it to his own reputation, and owes it to Christianity also, which is not “a cunningly-devised fable,” to express in an unambiguous manner, his resentful contempt, of the profane frauds and inanities which swarm upon the soil of Palestine. Now, even if the site of the Holy Sepulchre could be granted, yet the relative position, and the crowded proximity of the several “sacred spots,” all covered by the same roof, glaringly contradict the narratives of the Crucifixion, as well as stultify all inferential reasoning that may be founded thereupon. We personally know those who would have chuckled to attend Mr. Measor in his pious circuit of the holy places. “Here is the garden of Joseph of Arimathea—here the sepulchre in that garden, and here—*overhead* fifteen steps—is Mount Calvary, a place of execution—and here are the holes where stood the three crosses!” “Such

is your Christianity!"—would these persons say—"such the belief, in the nineteenth century, of English clergymen, and of Fellows of Colleges! and so let it be." Thus it is that, in the minds of hundreds, nay thousands of intelligent men, Christian travellers are labouring to fill up the chasm which separates the precious from the vile, in religious history. Writers of this class are doing all they can to make the infidel world suppose that, in their view, the story about the blood of Christ, and the story about the blood of St. Januarius, are equally good, or are nearly of the same quality! Men such as Mr. Measor either do not know enough of the world, or they do not well enough understand what is passing in the minds of those whom they there encounter, to be aware of the fatal influence which their own sentimental credulity is shedding around them.

"Of Mount Calvary," says Mr. Measor, "I have yet said nothing, but, of course, among the many sacred places by which the attention of travellers is engaged, none occupies the attention that this does. In early ages, it was never doubted that the church of the Holy Sepulchre was really built over the exact site of the tomb in which Joseph of Arimathea caused the body of our Saviour to be placed."—*Tour*, &c. p. 181.

But should not a Fellow of King's College have known something about Church History? If he had therein read only a few pages concerning the origin of the church in question, he would have found that, in that earliest of early ages, those who wished to find the Sepulchre, instead of having "never doubted" about the "exact spot," professed and declared before Christendom, that there was no clew whatever by means of which to commence their search, and that, to recover, if possible, some floating tradition, they convened ancient men—Christians, and even Jews; and, therefore, the actual resolution of these doubts, *by miracle*, was spoken of as the greatest of wonders, and a favour the most special accorded to the piety of the empress, or her son! Besides, the identity of the site has, as we have said, been questioned, in almost every age. But Mr. Measor continues:—

"And though monkish credulity, and oftener, perhaps, a wish to gratify the love for the marvellous in the wandering pilgrim, may have induced the guardians of the edifice to multiply the objects of interest within the sacred enclosure, yet *it never was a question* whether the church of the Holy Sepulchre was built upon Mount Calvary."

This is really amazing! That which *was* questioned *at the outset*, and which has again and again been questioned since, has, our tourist assures us, "never been a question!" It is only "later travellers," he informs us, that have brought the matter into doubt! His "own impression is," contrary to the explicit evidence

of Josephus, "that the second wall took a direction such as would leave the church of the Holy Sepulchre without the city." But even if this could be demonstrated, the improbabilities attaching to this site, as that of the crucifixion and sepulture, are not at all lessened. Our tourist seems to have provided himself with that sort of eye-salve which, instead of clearing the vision, dims it, whenever an undamaged vision would, or might, lead to scepticism. In reporting local incongruities the most revolting to common sense, the utmost which he does, in the way of prudent hesitation, is to insert an "it is said;" but often not even so much as this.

"To the north of the Holy Sepulchre is the chapel of the Apparition, and on approaching it is seen the spot where our Saviour is said to have appeared to Mary Magdalene, *the places where they respectively stood* being denoted by small slabs of white marble, the chapel itself marking the place where our Saviour showed himself in order to console his sorrowing and suffering mother. . . . About twenty paces off, immediately in front, *is the place* where the Blessed Virgin stood, and the disciple whom Christ loved, when from the Cross he commended each to one another. . . . In the rock itself are the holes in which the Cross of our Saviour stood, as well as those of the two thieves, that on the right side being occupied by the good thief."—P. 189. And so forth!

All this is very pretty; nor should we think of breaking in upon pious inanities of this sort, if we did not see and know that these puerilities are doing infinite mischief: we do not indeed hope to convince of their error gentlemen of Mr. Measor's stamp; but yet may perhaps succeed in suggesting a caution to some who are preparing to set out on their travels. "It is said,"—and "it is said," but we ask by whom? By those who knew as much about that whereof they so affirmed, as they, or as we do, about the last fashions of the people in the moon: not a whit more! Let us grant to these everything-believing, gentlemen, the very utmost that they can demand—namely, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands upon Calvary: but then, if they would but read the real evidence—we mean the Church writers of the time, they would find that there were not at the first (how should there have been?) any traditions, any traces, any clews, whatsoever, indicating the particular spots of what Lamartine is pleased to call "the drama of Redemption." Does Mr. Measor believe, for one instance, that the spot on which Christ stood when he appeared to Mary Magdalene, was authentically known to Macarius, or to his clergy, in the fourth century? Is it possible to think any such thing? Oh!—but this is carnal reasoning and inconclusive;—for, when fixing these sacred localities, the bishop and the monks were no doubt

divinely guided :—this is an instance in which we should assume that “holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” To this must we come, inevitably, if we determine—like this Cambridge Fellow—to accept as religious realities the current traditions of the Holy City ! In a word, all this worshipping of marble slabs, and this kissing of holy stones, is part and parcel of that great movement of the times, the intention of which is to cut short all inquiry concerning what “the Church says, or has said,”—and to lead men to forget that there is, or can be, any distinction lawfully drawn between the inspired Scriptures, and the traditions of the Church : nor is this all, for, in any instance in which the one authority contradicts, or seems to contradict the other, our modern Churchmen, following herein, close on the steps of their spiritual fathers—the Scribes and Pharisees—make no scruple of setting aside the former, that they may establish the latter. “You proceed hence,” says Mr. Meador—i. e. from Gethsemane, “by a small path to the Mount of Olives, where the scene of our Lord’s Ascension is marked by a church, that was built here by the Empress Helena.”—P. 189. But every reader of the Gospels knows that our Lord ascended from Bethany : the Church, however, has otherwise decided—namely, that he “led his disciples forth,” as far only as to the western brow of the Mount of Olives !

But Mr. Meador is well sustained in his adherence to the all-believing principle ; nor is it English Episcopalians alone who adopt it. Dr. Olin, the Wesleyan President, whom we have already cited as a firm believer in the Holy Sepulchre, exhibits, on all occasions, his leaning toward and his leaning upon, venerable traditions. Accordingly, he heads his pages—“TRADITIONS—THEIR AUTHENTICITY.” Might he not have balanced such a title with another, to wit—“TRADITIONS—THEIR FALLACY ?” In fact, however, he seems scarcely to have asked himself whence such traditions actually proceeded, or what may be their intrinsic value. Those to which Professor Robinson attaches importance are of that kind which the sound principles of historical research authenticate ; and those which he rejects are such as can claim no regard, when traced to their sources ; for example, the ignorance and folly of the foreign monks who have swarmed in Palestine, or the hap-hazard assentations of the Moslem invaders. In many noted instances, if we will but give ourselves the trouble to collate Eusebius and Jerome with the crusading writers, with Abulfeda, and with the monkish authorities of later times, we should find that tradition has been at variance with itself, from age to age ; and that what was unknown and unfixed in the fourth century, has continued to float about, like a mass of sea-weed on the shore, from that

century to this. On more than a few occasions, when Dr. Olin is willing to accept the "concurrent testimony" of "Jews, Christians, and Mahometans," he might, as we humbly think, have done better had he, as when a rogue of a guide attempted to palm upon him a Jewish, for the Samaritan synagogue at Nablous, "walked out into the street," (p. 357,) or, as the case might be—into the fields—the desert, or anywhere, the most remote from the penny-turning knaves—Jews or monks, to whom, with so much amiable simplicity, he surrenders his conscience and convictions. But alas, his actual proceeding in this very instance does but too significantly indicate the general principle, under the guidance of which he travelled in quest of *knowledge*, in "Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land"—namely, to trust himself anew, even to a detected rascal, rather than not bring away some fragment of "venerable tradition."

"We could gladly," says the Doctor, "have discharged this faithless cicerone; *but there was no other at hand*; and as he had failed in his object of diverting a few piastres from the rival sect to his own, and could expect nothing for his trouble unless he should fulfil his engagements to us, we had the more reason to trust his fidelity!" And in fact, there was in this instance little chance of his being a second time tricked: but suppose the case otherwise:—why then Dr. Olin would assuredly have been tricked a second time: or suppose that the trusty creatures who, throughout Palestine, are on the look-out for travellers—one acting for one synagogue, or "holy site," and another for another, had been, notwithstanding the ancient animosity between Jews and Samaritans, so well understood among themselves as to play into each others' hands, when liberal travellers are to be dealt with. In such a supposed case, as in this which our learned traveller reports with so much pious satisfaction, he would have witnessed the edifying spectacle of "a Jew entering a place of worship belonging to the Samaritans." "This," says he, "was a pleasing evidence that though the Jews still 'have no dealings with the Samaritans,' their religious prejudices do not go the length of preventing social intercourse, and of mutual exclusion from their places of worship," P. 358. No, we dare say not; and will venture to assume it as probable that the "religious prejudices" of this simple-hearted servant of the synagogue, strong as they might be, did in nowise hinder him, when, as was natural, he just wished to peep in and see after what fashion the *mi-lords Inglesi* refreshed the palm of his good friend the Samaritan Rabbi! Really we do think that gentlemen intending to travel in countries full of Jews and monks, should lay aside a little of this sort of simplicity, and procure for themselves a grain or two of worldly wisdom.

We are far from intending seriously to quarrel with Dr. Olin : in fact his two volumes well deserve a perusal ; and, if our limits permitted, we could easily convince our readers that they do so. We are compelled however, having a serious purpose in view, to include him, with others, in a sweeping indictment, as aiding and abetting in the now zealous endeavour to reinstate monkish legends throughout the world, and by that means to put out of view what ought to occupy all attention, in relation to Palestine. Well would it be if instructed Christian men, travelling in Palestine, and who seem to think they are upholding religious feeling by assenting to every tale, could discern, in the confusion, the profane riot, the mummeries, and the sheer polytheism that surround the holy sites, what the end invariably is of the endeavour to build faith upon the sands of superstition and imposture. Several of the writers now before us resent indignantly the abominations that are enacted around the "sepulchre;" and yet they themselves corroborate the illusions, and the delusions, whence these disorders directly spring.

A very nice little book, "Three Weeks in Palestine and Lebanon" has been some time before the public ; and, as it deserves, has reached a ninth edition. The writer in describing the orgies of the Passion Week at Jerusalem, seems on the point of saying what he ought to have said ; and yet goes away not saying it.—

"Having despatched a hasty meal, we hurried off to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, to attend the service of the crucifixion. Oh what a scene awaited us! What a Babel of unhallowed discord! The *religio loci*, (the reverential awe,) with which I was at first strongly impressed, was quickly dispelled by the mummeries that were enacted, and the thousand unchristian horrors that assailed us on every side. Well may the Moslem scoff, the infidel point the finger of scorn, at such Christianity as this! It resembles more the rites of Hindoo superstition than the solemn worship of a Christian temple; and from all I saw and heard, I have much reason to fear that the precincts of an idol sanctuary seldom enclosed an assemblage of worse and more unholy passions than were then concentrated upon the very spot where Christ died."—P. 26.

A true testimony indeed ! but does it suggest no inference ? Is there no meaning in the fact—a fact established by unexceptionable evidence, that this same spot, through a course of long centuries, and from the very moment of its designation as the scene of the crucifixion, has been a focus and intense centre of shameless wickedness ? Take the passage we have just now cited, and the purport of which is fully confirmed by every witness of the same scenes, and compare it with the significant admissions of Jerome in the fourth century, and the very explicit allegations of Gregory Nyssen, and then fill up the interval with the reports

of travellers of all ages—the crusading historians especially, and learn in what way the “invention” of the Cross, and the (miraculous) discovery of the Sepulchre, have been practically commented upon, from the first moment to this !

“I asked an Italian monk who stood near me,” says the author of the “Three Weeks,” “how it happened that an altar had been dedicated to both thieves, as it was recorded that one had died reprobate? Oh, replied he, it is not ascertained on which side of our Saviour the penitent thief was crucified; it has therefore been thought expedient to have an altar for each, for fear of a mistake.”—P. 30.

But it *has* been fully ascertained, that wherever superstition bears rule, there folly and knavery on the one hand, and extreme profligacy on the other, closely attend her; and, therefore, one would think, that men going forth from an enlightened Christian country, and finding on any signal spot this company of Satan’s ministers—profligacy, folly, fraud—and superstition, as mistress of the band, should hesitate to give countenance to this evil demon, or to authenticate her delusions by their suffrage: nevertheless, this is what almost every tourist in Palestine is just now eagerly doing! This is the more to be regretted in the instance of those who show that their own piety is of a rational and healthy sort. Thus, the writer from whom we are now citing—

“I have often heard people talk of the imposing effect of the ceremonies of the Romish Church. If by imposing effect, be meant that devotional effect which the worship of the Almighty ought to produce upon the mind, I never yet could discover it, although I have beheld them in their most splendid forms in the finest of earthly temples. Never once have I found my religious feelings excited by them, but on the contrary, depressed. The gorgeous pageant speaks of man, and not of God. How different the simple ritual of our own Church, possessing just sufficient ceremony to keep the worshipper in mind that he is engaged in the most solemn act of his nature, but nothing superfluous, to distract his attention from the great object of his adoration.”—P. 38.

After mentioning the annual miracle of the Holy Fire, the writer says—

“But all this is innocence itself, compared with the abominations that follow. The rites of the Paphian goddess, to whom Hadrian erected a temple on this spot, to destroy its sanctity in the eyes of Christians, are transferred by men, professing to be Christians, to the temple of the living God. What a horrible and soul-sickening profanation! They are, I am happy to say, endeavouring to put an end to these revolting occurrences. Truly ‘the cleansing of the sanctuary’ is as needful for the Christians as for the Jews.”—P. 39.

Not at all improbable is it, that owing to the now very fre-

quent presence of intelligent European travellers, Protestant and Catholic, and to the spread, by their means, of these scandalizing reports of the abominations of the Holy Sepulchre, the authorities of the two Churches, (the two mainly implicated), alive as they now are to what affects their reputation, may, separately or conjointly, employ effective means for driving forth from their common temple the beastly abuses by which it is defiled; and, in fact, that they may at Jerusalem, as elsewhere, yield to the demand of the times for a decent and well-managed religion—sensuous and antichristian, and idolatrous still; but yet “in good taste,” and adapted to the notions and habits of Europe. A reform of this sort—a spiritualizing, and a cleansing of the surface of the ancient superstition, is rendered the more probable—as it has become, on the part of its upholders the more necessary and desirable, by the fact of that wide-spread and potent tendency at this time visible in England, America, France, and Germany, to embrace anew, and to re-instate the legendary religion of the Holy Land. The drift and purport of books such as those now before us, is no doubt well understood at Rome; nor is it unlikely to become intelligible to the heads of the Greek Church. To these authorities it must be, or will soon be obvious, that, if they could only set the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in good order—according to European notions—if they could but fashion this theatre, and its fittings, and its performances, to the nice taste of the “devout ladies and gentlemen” who are flocking, with full pockets, from Southampton and Marseilles, they should open their house to a far better class of customers than heretofore, and should pocket, instead of the piastres of ragged devotees—English sovereigns, and the sovereigns of those who will also spend handsomely at the convents!

We hazard the prediction, that a reform, such as this, will actually be attempted ere long; and the probability of its occurrence incites us the more to exhibit the extent to which this fanaticism, with its absurdities and its *affectations*, is spreading around us. But if this now swelling tide is to be stemmed, it must be by insisting upon a strict regard to facts in whatever relates to the antiquities of Palestine. It is from this sort of dealing with legendary stuff that its admirers flinch. Thus we find Mr. Newman denouncing Professor Robinson’s “measuring tapes,” when they are employed to bring into question the traditions of the Church. Travellers must be required, on every occasion, to state what sort of evidence it is which has determined their opinions; and also, whether they are adducing such evidence at first or at second hand. Much of what we meet with is mere repetition, from book to book, of things never examined. The writer now referred to offends in this way less than some others;

nevertheless, intelligent as he is, and, we should think, well informed, he does thus offend once and again. Quoting Jowett, as advancing the opinion that the massive stones of the Haram wall might have belonged to the Jewish Temple, he says :—

“ But as our Saviour doomed it (the Temple) to utter destruction, and history relates that the ploughshare passed over the beauty of that house, I think the supposition scarcely possible.”—P. 42.

But why not adhere to the actual terms of the canonical document? Our Lord, pointing, no doubt, to the visible structure—to the polished marbles of the eastern front—predicts that “ not one stone” of *that building*—Herod’s temple, should be “ left upon another.” This is no “ dooming of the entire substructure to destruction ;” and most perilous is it thus wantonly to extend the prediction beyond its plain import. Another writer, soon to be mentioned, thinks it further necessary to assume that the very stones of the temple, down to the lowest foundations, were reduced to powder, and scattered to the winds!—thus does over-zeal bring men to utter nonsense, the discredit of which falls upon what is sacred ! And where has the author of the “ Three Weeks” learned this often-repeated story about “ the ploughshare?”—no where, we must tell him, in connexion with the overthrow of the temple by Titus ; and how idle is it to look to the surface of this ancient masonry—far as it is beneath the level on which the temple stood, for the indications of the fire which consumed the cedar roofs of the building ! this conflagration, how terrific soever it may have been, could not have reached, or have scathed, the vast stones of the foundation.

But these zealous gentlemen, anxious to prove that they have no feeling in common with the scepticism of the times, and thinking it a useless trouble to look into Greek and Latin tomes, allow themselves to write and to print *anything* that looks well on the “ believing side ;” for example, this same writer conjectures that

“ These huge stones might possibly have been the preparations of Julian the Apostate, for his impious attempt to nullify the words of the Almighty, by rebuilding the Temple ; and, being left upon the spot when the workmen were miraculously interrupted in digging the foundations, were adapted to their purpose by the builders of the wall.”—P. 43.

In fact, it would not have been necessary that the writer should have opened learned folios in this instance, for the whole of the evidence touching Julian’s frustrated attempt has been adduced by several modern writers,* and might be found in five minutes by any one having access to an ordinary library. Need we say that

* Jortin, Gibbon, Lardner, and many others.

Julian's determination to rebuild the temple, and his summons to the Jews to take part in the enterprise, and the preparations thence resulting, and the abortive endeavours to make a beginning, and the cessation of those endeavours, all fell within the compass of six months ! The enormous stones, many of them twenty-five feet long, ten wide, and five in thickness, were they, we would ask, in the quarry at the time when the emperor's proclamation reached Palestine ? if so, then the miracle of the frustration of his attempt was far surpassed by the miracle implied in such preparations to give it effect ; for by no *human* means could masses like these have been wrought and transported within the space of a few weeks. But, on the other hand, if these prodigious stones were already on the spot, and lying about at the time of Julian's proclamation, and if thenceforward they continued to lie about, until a later period when they were located where we now find them, then it is not clear what they had to do, in any sense, with the apostate's defeated purpose !

It is but justice, however, to say that this writer's zeal does not lead him to forget a due respect for Scripture testimony whenever it clearly rebukes the monkish legends : thus, in mentioning the Church of the Ascension, he says,—“ There is no authority beyond monkish assertions for the occurrence of the Ascension here (on the western brow of the Mount of Olives) ; the relation of St. Luke contradicts it, which says,—‘ he led them forth as far as Bethany,’ &c. ; and he adds,—“ a thousand of these ‘ holy places’ are shown within and without Jerusalem, till we become so tired of them as to cease making further inquiry about them, so utterly absurd are the greater number.” He might safely have added that not so much as one of the *monkish traditions*, connected with the topography of Jerusalem or Palestine, is entitled to the least regard ; and there are very few that are not “ utterly absurd.”

Mortifying it is to find a writer whose general sentiments are sound, yet permitting himself to repeat, as if valid and unquestionable, the often refuted arguments in favour of the identity of the Holy Sepulchre.—P. 66. It is manifest that he has not himself opened the ancient authors to whose testimony he refers. Nor should he have reprinted his little book, *at this date*, retaining a now very superfluous refutation of Dr Clark's futile speculations concerning the site of the ancient city, and which have long ago been consigned to contempt. Undoubtedly he should have taken care, in the late reprint of his volume, to remove from it passages which no well informed writer would at this time venture to advance.

“ Have we not here,” says he, p. 67, “ an unbroken chain of evidence ? ” No chain at all, if we examine its links. The series of writers who repeat, one from another, what the first affirmed,

after a lapse of time, and without any sufficient evidence, cannot, in an historical question, be held to constitute "a chain of proof." Does the author persuade himself that the series of Church compilers,—Sozomen, Theodoret, Nicephorus, &c., can, by their mere number, give any weight to the original testimony, and which, on examination, turns out to be wholly indeterminate?—not staying a moment to institute any such analysis of his proofs, he cites the very authorities that make against his argument: for instance, the Itinerary of the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, whose silence as to the Sepulchre is, the circumstances considered, nearly conclusive as an evidence of the non-existence *then* of the supposed tradition. He cites also Dion Cassius. But what is it that Dion Cassius actually says? Lib. lxi. 12; not, as the author affirms, that Hadrian built a temple and placed a statue over the spot of the resurrection; but that he erected a temple to Jupiter on the site of the (Jewish) Temple:—*καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τόπον, ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἔθετον ἀντρεψίσαντος*. As to the temple of Venus, alleged to have stood on the spot chosen by Macarius, or Helena, or Constantine, this is a point indifferent to the argument, until that has been proved of which there is no evidence, namely,—that the pagan fane was indeed placed on a spot that had *previously* and *authentically* been known as the scene of the crucifixion.

It is precisely by the means of little books like the one now before us, pleasantly written, and which circulate widely, that the young people of our families are led astray, and are prepared to admit, without a question, every baseless assumption which the zealous movers of the modern fanaticism may choose confidently to affirm. We therefore take the occasion to suggest a caution to parents and teachers, on a point intrinsically, indeed, of no importance, but yet likely enough to be made the ground of some fresh-issued religious folly.

Mr. Fisk, author of a "Pastor's Memorial," is evidently a warmly pious, and a right-minded man; and who, imbued with the principles of evangelic truth, takes a right view of the superstitions he witnessed in Palestine; and whether or not fully informed on antiquarian subjects, he affirms nothing in that sort of reckless overdone manner which perpetuates and diffuses error. We heartily wish he had spared the purchasers of his acceptable volume, the many, very many pages of Scriptural quotations. What need can there be to reprint entire chapters of the Bible at this rate? The book, however, cannot fail highly to please the religious community. Mr. Fisk sees things with a fresh, clear intensity of vision; he feels vividly; and he writes naturally. He clearly perceives, and he distinctly states, the just distinction between the well-ascertained Scriptural localities of Palestine, and those which a grovelling and mercenary superstition

has signalized, (p. 249.) Alive, therefore, as he is to this distinction, we shall not quarrel with him for professing that—

“After due consideration of most that has been written on the subject, he is inclined to the belief, that it (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) really stands on the spot which is hallowed in our memories by the name of Calvary.”—P. 251.

He adds :

“But when I saw the near juxtaposition of all these things, and knew that, in order to provide for the structure of the church, the site had to be cut down and levelled ; and when I reflected that, on the very spot a heathen temple had stood, till removed by the Empress Helena, to make room for this church ; and, moreover, when I bore in mind the purpose which all these things were to serve, and the spirit of that Church which thus paraded these objects of curiosity, I did feel that, after all, they might not be what they professed. Yet all this could not do away with the impression that *thereabouts* was, indeed, the scene of our blessed Lord’s precious death and resurrection. But while there, even that impression failed to produce any satisfying effect upon my mind.”—P. 252.

A writer who uses so much caution and modesty, and who refuses to be *cheated* into what he yet wishes to believe, will do no harm, even although mistaken in his conclusions. In perfect good feeling, therefore, we thank him for the pleasure which the perusal of his volume has afforded us. Equally right in principle and Christian sentiment, is the author of the “Visit to my Father-Land”—Mr. Herschell, a Jew, but a Christian, and a Christian minister.

We must say something more about Dr. Wilde’s book, viz. the “Narrative of a Voyage,” &c. A cursory criticism is, however, all which our limits will allow, or which the volume itself seems to us to deserve.

The author does in fact invite, or we should say, provoke, a little scrutiny, by his professions of superior accuracy, and by setting out in the manner of one who is to put the question to rest. Travellers, topographers, critics, translators, and *map-makers* too, have all, hitherto, been in fault ; and so have all men ; and so, as we humbly think, has Dr. Wilde himself—in more instances than a few. He cites Greek, and Hebrew too, as occasion presents itself ; and favours us with “a more critical translation” of certain phrases. With the “text of Josephus,” he is of course familiar, concerning which he is quite right in alleging that, “it has often been tortured and perverted,” (p. 430.) “We now turn,” says the Doctor, “to the text of Josephus, which, as it has often been tortured and perverted, I shall here introduce verbatim.” Very good ; but what is the *text* of Josephus ; and what is that “verbatim” citation of it which must

exclude further torturings and perversions? We should think, the actual words of the historian! But if the "verbatim" means only the verbatim of a translation, well known to the world and not in high repute, then, assuredly, a distinct reference to *that version* should be made. This is but a measure of justice to the less-learned reader, who may go away believing that "old Whiston" is the *real* Josephus. Now we find that the Doctor's citations are "verbatim" from Whiston; to whom, however, he makes no reference. If it were possible to admit such a supposition, we should almost believe that he considered the English Josephus to be *the* Josephus; just as many good folks believe the "authorized version," to be *the Bible*, and the only Bible that has ever existed. What can this mean? "It (Acra) was separated from Mount Zion by a deep but narrow valley, called by Josephus, Tyropæon, and *afterwards* the Valley of Cheesemongers," (p. 425.) Now, we suppose that the valley, called by Josephus—Tyropæon, "came to be called" the "valley of Cheesemongers" precisely at the moment when the "wars of the Jews" was first "done into English;" and in like manner the place called by Josephus ἡ ἄνω ἀγορά, came "*afterwards*," viz. at the very same epoch in English literature, to be called "the upper market Place." Josephus, in naming this valley, Tyropæon, adopted the Greek term which was the equivalent of the vernacular designation, and meaning precisely the same thing—Cheesemakers' mart. Our author does not profess to have *waded through* that "literary lumber," which he thinks can be "equalled only by the rubbish that at present" fills the depressions of the Tyropæon, (p. 473.) But, we can assure him, that by going only ankle deep in the slough of ancient learning, he might have informed himself of the meaning of the word, which after the lapse of centuries "came to be" rendered into English.

An author who professes great exactness and research, should either quote *nothing* at second hand, or if, through want of leisure, want of books, or want of learning, he is compelled to do so, he should very distinctly state the extent of his obligations to his more industrious or more erudite contemporaries. Small matters are not worthy of notice, unless they seem to be *indications*: as, for example, Dr. Wilde, p. 451, cites the words of "that celebrated historian," William of Tyre; and celebrated he is—more than read, we conjecture. Has our author read him? or did he quote from somebody who quotes him? The latter, we assume to be the fact, not simply because the Doctor makes no reference to the place where the passages occur; but because, as we think, unless he had found the two passages in accidental juxtaposition, in some modern book, he would never have introduced the latter of the two, which has nothing to do with his

immediate argument—about the walls of Jerusalem, and which, in the said William of Tyre, is at some distance from the first. The first cited passage, Dr. Wilde, if he has the *Gesta Dei* at hand, will find mid-way in the second chapter of the eighth book; the second—mid-way in the third chapter. He cites, p. 470, St. Cyril, “the first patriarch of Jerusalem;” but who does he intend?—Cyril, *Bishop* of Jerusalem, was not patriarch; for it was not until the next century; and by decree of the council of Chalcedon; (*Actio Septima: Hardonin II.*, 494,) that the bishops of the Holy City attained the object so long desired and aimed at. If it be Cyril of Jerusalem, then we suppose the author alludes to a passage in the 14th Catechetical Discourse, which, however, does not bear the sense that has been put upon it:—it is too long to be here cited, and commented upon.

“We know from undoubted authority,” says Dr. Wilde, p. 474, “that the Romans, who retained possession of Jerusalem after the time of Titus, placed a statue of Venus over the tomb of Christ, and also the fane of Jupiter over the place of the crucifixion.” It happens, however, that this “undoubted authority,” has not merely been *doubted*, but peremptorily questioned; and, in fact, shown to import no such thing; and if our author would have looked a little more carefully into his “authorities,” he would have found it so. We are not sure, however, that he is one easily to be turned aside from his path; for, in a note to his second edition, p. 476, he says:—

“Having carefully perused the various articles that have appeared on this subject since the first publication of this work, particularly those by Dr. Robinson in his ‘Biblical Researches;’ ‘the Essay on the Ecclesiastical Miracles,’ from the Oxford press; ‘The Bibliotheca Sacra’ for July 1843; and also the seventh number of ‘Ancient Christianity,’—and having weighed and considered the arguments pro and con, adduced with such learning and ingenuity by the several writers of those essays, I must confess that, although I have no theory to support, and no superstitious nor religious bias to uphold, I still retain my original opinion.”

Very good:—with some folks, “*my* original opinion,” has more tenacity and sacredness than “a theory;”—or “a superstitious,—or a religious bias;”—or, than even the best evidence to the contrary!

“Many persons understand,” says our author, p. 444, “the denunciation of our blessed Lord, that ‘one stone should not be left standing upon another,’ as applying to the entire city; but this appears to others to have been uttered against the temple in particular; whose demolition is so complete, that I do not suppose one particle of the dust into which its ruins crumbled could now be found. For, independent of the plunder and destruction it underwent when fired by

the Roman soldiers under Titus, we learn that Terentius Rufus tore up the very foundations of the temple with a ploughshare. Jerusalem became heaps," &c.

Flourishes of this sort we should not stop to criticize, if it were not part and parcel of a learned disquisition, intended to set us all right on the subject of the topography of the Holy City, and if it were not, moreover, a sort of sample of the style in which this same subject is dealt with in a large proportion of recent books on Palestine. We must first, then, remind Dr. Wilde of a good rule, in handling biblical questions, namely, not to outrun Scripture itself. The fulfilment of our Lord's prediction, then apparently so improbable, is a point of the Christian Evidences far too significant and serious to be trifled with; and, therefore, if we had it in view to employ the fact, as an element of the argument in support of Christianity, we should view it as a religious duty to pay a scrupulous regard to *the very terms* of the prediction. What our Lord did predict was, that of the Temple, as then visible, every stone should be loosened from its place; *i. e.* that the *structure* should be overthrown; and this has manifestly been fulfilled; and is not this enough? What should impel us to suppose, contrary to the very nature of things, that the stones have melted away like unbaked bricks! and not merely the stones loosened, one from another, and not merely the ruins crumbled into dust, but every particle of these marbles scattered to the winds! And why should all these secondary miracles be imagined? For no reason, except it be to exhibit the exceeding forwardness of one's "zeal for the truth!" Instead of entertaining any such supposition as this, it has always been our belief, that the massive and imperishable materials of Herod's temple, including those of the more ancient structure, and which must have glutted the valleys and fosses on all sides, or on three sides, are now existing in many of the substructures of the city, and might probably be identified as such, not merely by their dimensions, but by the peculiar style of workmanship which they exhibit; nay, recent explorations would suggest the idea, that indubitable marks of allocation and adjustment are yet to reward the industry of antiquarian excavators, and thus, perhaps, furnish striking exemplifications and proofs of the truth of "the things which are most surely believed among us." Our zeal, therefore, and our concern for the honour of the Gospel, instead of its impelling us to dread the discovery of some fragment of Herod's marble, or of some entire stone of the temple, would prompt us in the opposite direction, to use all diligence in discovering, and identifying, any such solid memorials of the "House of God."

But now Dr. Wilde has himself inspected the Cyclopean masonry of the ancient walls, and has described it; and, if

acquainted with the "verbatim" Josephus, he must know that the "buildings of the Temple" were not much less ponderous or less firmly cemented than those of the outer walls; and yet he can imagine such a structure—even down to its solid foundations, to have been torn up with a ploughshare!—first, the temple stones dislodged by a ploughshare; and then reduced to powder; and then this powder scattered by the winds! We can assure Dr. Wilde, that amidst the "lumber of ancient learning," which he so wisely refuses to *wade through*, we have met with many things equally judicious as this, and equally indicative of a determination "not to be outdone" by any body in the telling of a marvellous story!

Dr. Wilde has learned, however, that the pagan giant who effected all this, was "Terentius Rufus:" but who tells him so? Not Josephus, nor any one else! The story of "the ploughshare" is a very questionable one—attaching to the *second* overthrow of the city, in the time of Hadrian.

Dr. Wilde heavily inculcates *all* the Jerusalem map-makers—his predecessors! He introduces, he says, p. 430, a pertinent observation, "because it is a valid objection to *all* the maps, plans, and topographical dissertations that have ever been written upon Jerusalem in this country!"—(*this* country; query, *Ireland*?) We had already glanced at the author's own plan or "map" of the Holy City with mute amazement, but on meeting with this sweeping condemnation, not only of *all maps*, but of all plans and all topographical dissertations, we reverted to the gay frontispiece of the volume with a chill of dismay! What then, is it so, that we have *all* been wrong? Does "a valid objection" lie against *all* that has been said, written, and drawn, relative to the topography of the Holy City? Even so; for the doctor says it? Our first impulse was to set about defending ourselves, and *every body* else, by a laborious process of argumentation; and happening at this time to have under our hands a large collection of "drawings, sketches, plans, measurements," recently taken in Jerusalem by those upon whose accuracy we could well rely, we thought of adducing, from this store, proofs sufficient to sustain something like an apology for the general company of topographers! But we suddenly recollected a paragraph, occurring a few pages before that whereon occurs the passage above cited, which, in whatever way it might consist with the author's allegations, or with "his own plan," would exempt us at once from the task of preparing such an apology.

While, in caustic style, Dr. Wilde denounces, (p. 423,) the carelessness of preceding travellers, he says: "So that, up to a few years ago, no accurate map of modern Jerusalem was in existence. In 1835, this deficiency was supplied by Mr. Catherwood,

who *surveyed* the place, and furnished a plan, of the accuracy of which there can be no manner of doubt." What a comfort is this! But the Doctor adds: "this plan I have adopted as the groundwork of the topography of the ancient city," &c. Here, therefore, we have a ground in common with the author; for, of the *general* accuracy of Mr. Catherwood's plan, and especially as brought to a further point of accuracy by the measurements of "Robinson and Smith," *we* have "no manner of doubt;" or if there had been room for any such doubts, they would have been dispelled in the course of some careful and minute comparisons which we have made of this plan, as published by Professor Robinson, with the drawings and measurements above referred to, in our possession. It is agreed, then, that there *is* a plan of Jerusalem in existence, to which an appeal may safely be made, on any point touching the topography of the Holy City. But if so, then what becomes of Dr. Wilde's "own plan?" Really we do not know what can become of it; and so nicely coloured it is! for it is, as might be expected, utterly at variance with "*all* plans" previously known! and it is also totally unlike, which would not have been expected, that *one* plan, "of the accuracy of which there can be no manner of doubt." In a word, this new plan will not consist with our own unpublished topographical documents: then it contradicts, as well the "*verbatim*" Josephus, as the real Greek Josephus: it throws discredit also upon the description of the city by that "*celebrated* historian," William of Tyre; and, what is worse than all, it sheds darkness and confusion upon the Doctor's own dissertation!

The author of this volume bestows 160 closely-printed pages upon "Jerusalem;" and he undertakes to clear up and to rectify the ancient topography of the city; and he condemns his predecessors wholesale; and he proposes his own plan, aided therein by his friend, (p. 426, note;) and the plan, on which so much hinges, can be reconciled with nothing; no, neither with earlier plans, nor with ancient authors; nor with the *one* "accurate" plan; nor with the dissertation itself! It must not be imagined that "the frontispiece" is a mere decoration, to which little reference is made in "the letter-press," and with which perhaps the author has had little to do: no such thing; for he appeals to it repeatedly, and confidently; and in chastising Dr. Robinson, he concludes his note, p. 430, with a "(see Map.*)" He says of it, that it was "formed by an accurate and laborious examination on the spot;" and, with apparent satisfaction, he appeals, again and again, to his "YELLOW, RED, and BROWN"!

But we must look for a moment to this rare topographic specimen; and should premise that it is an *argumentative* plan,—i. e.

a plan constructed for the purpose of illustrating and establishing the author's "views" on two or three points, some of them retrospective, and some prospective. In order to give our readers, who may not have the privilege to inspect it—and as we have no "permission" to offer a woodcut copy—an idea of this plan, we must beg them to imagine that the plate of any such map of Jerusalem as they may be used to, had been printed upon India rubber paper, and that then it had been subjected to a stretching process in an oblique direction, and just so far as the tenacity of the material would allow, and the necessities of the author's argument demand. If thus thought of, we should scarcely know which most to admire—the elastic consistency of caoutchouc, or, the firm quality of some men's self-esteem.

At a glance, in turning from Dr Wilde's plan to Catherwood's (*i.e.* Robinson and Smith's), instead of that style of scientific precision which indicates a correct knowledge of the *levels*, as ascertained by *actual survey*, and which, in various instances, and some of them very minute, we are able to vouch for, there appears those unmeaning, dumpling-shaped protuberances which belong to mere guess work; and some of these elevations come in the very places where the ground falls into hollows: thus Acra is made to fill up the depression between the Damascus gate and the north-west corner of the Haram; and the "Mount of Offence" stands over against Sion, due south. Then the direction of the Haram wall—a point of much importance, is shifted a point or two nearer to due north than is really the fact. This, however, is a small matter compared with the liberty our learned map-maker has used in dislocating, for the convenience of his theory, the two portions of the city,—Acra and Bezetha,—to the extent of nothing less than an entire change of their relative positions! Acra he has laid down north-west and north of the Haram, while Bezetha takes its place northward and beyond Acra. On what authority has this topographic evolution been effected? We must leave Dr Wilde to answer. He complains that his predecessors have too often "tortured and perverted" the text of Josephus. Be it so; but what does Josephus actually affirm on the point now before us? not that Bezetha was separated from Antonia and the Temple by a width of town, but by a deep ditch! Language cannot be more distinct, and it is impossible to misunderstand it. We will adduce, as well the "verbatim" Josephus as the real. Old Whiston says,—*"It," i. e.* that part of the city called Bezetha, *"lies over against the Tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley (ditch) which was dug on purpose, and that in order to hinder the foundations of the Tower of Antonia from joining to this hill," &c.* The veritable Josephus, Book V., c. IV., s. 2, says thus—

καὶ τέταρτον περιοικηθῆναι λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθ, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀπικεμένον δὲ ὀρύγματι βαθεῖ· διεσφραγίσθη γὰρ ἐπίτηδες, ὥς μὴ τῷ λόφῳ συνάπτοντες οἱ θεμέλιοι τῆς Ἀντωνίας εὐπρόσιτοι τε εἶεν, καὶ ἦσαν ὑψηλοί.

Flagrantly at variance with the "one map" which the author allows to be undoubtedly accurate, and in direct contradiction of the express words of Josephus, he is bold enough to place one entire portion of the Holy City upon the position of another, and then to assure the public that his map was constructed after "an accurate and laborious examination on the spot!" One naturally asks the motive of audacity like this. We are not sure that we have reached the depth of the mystery, but surmise that it will be found couched beneath the "yellow" of the map. It is true that some advantage for his argument in favour of the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre is obtained by means of these daring innovations; but Dr. Wilde thinks himself qualified to present to the world a programme of the "New Jerusalem,"—the city that is to be; and he is perfectly certain that he has accomplished this arduous task in a manner that must approve itself to every reader of Scripture! Having settled all controversies touching the topography of the Jerusalem that *is*, and that *has been*, he goes on to observe as follows, p. 452:—"But there is a topography of Jerusalem to be considered, without which any treatise upon that subject would be incomplete." Now, we humbly think, that his own "treatise" would, in any *good* sense of the word, have been far more "complete" without his twentieth chapter than it is with it. Without it, he would have stood chargeable merely with heedlessness and incompetency: with it, he is open, as we think, to very serious reprehension. The author cannot, in this instance, shelter himself beneath the wing of Mr. Fry, whose work on the "Second Advent" he cites with approval, because he professes to correct the involuntary errors into which that adventurous writer, from the want of "accurate maps," has fallen.

Dr. Wilde starts with affirming, p. 453, that the inspired writers not "only inform us of the rebuilding of the city, according to a precise plan, but they lay down the position of its walls and gates with such accuracy as to preclude the possibility of error or mistake; so that he who takes the Scriptures in his hand, and goes over the ground, may, even now, measure every cubit of the space it is hereafter to occupy." But what if not only "the cubit," by which we are to measure out the New Jerusalem, be still a questionable quantity, but also if the starting points are all undetermined, and the whole subject involved in that obscurity which attaches, as all *wise* expositors have acknowledged, to every portion of unfulfilled prophecy! Our author, p. 438,

cites, *with approbation*, Dr. Adam Clarke, who says, "We really know *scarcely any thing* about these gates, (of the ancient city,) what they were, why called by these names, or in what part of the wall situated. All the places of Jerusalem, its temples, walls, and gates, are mere works of conjecture; and yet how *learnedly* have some men written upon all these subjects." Nevertheless, it is entirely upon the ground of an assumed knowledge of the position of the ancient walls and gates that the prophetic description of the "City that is to be" can admit of explanation; and yet Dr. Wilde finds himself able, on this ground of the merest conjectures, to lay down "*his yellow*," with a firm hand.

If it were worth the time and pains, which certainly it is not, we could further show why the author has contorted the plan of the Holy City after so strange a fashion. In a word, the "New Jerusalem," as he projects it, would not, by any fair means, fit on to the actual Jerusalem! What, then, was to be done? Why, twist the actual Jerusalem until it fits on to the "New Jerusalem!" The prophetic walls,—the "*yellow*," significantly styled on "the map"—"Prophetic ditto,"—are to be of certain dimensions; and they are to be "four square," and to lie east and west, north and south. But the eastern wall of the Temple, which all admit to be such, will not consist with this conjectural plan, without a great deal of management and distortion. If carried straight on, the eastern "*prophetic wall*," i.e. Dr. Wilde's "*yellow*," would dip down into the precipitous part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, cross the brook Kidron, and obliquely ascend the opposite slope. This must not be; and therefore it must have the benefit of a bend where needed, here and there!

But we leave this fearless writer and traveller in the complacent enjoyment, not only of his "*yellow*," but of his "*red*," and of his "*brown*," which, indeed, are not in some places very distinguishable. Perhaps we have allowed too much space to our notice of this volume. Assuredly we should not have brought it forward at all, were it not a sample, and a very characteristic one, of a large class of recent books,—a class against which,—as we think,—the religious community needs at this time to be distinctly cautioned.

The authors of the books above adverted to, as well as others whom we have not in this instance named, seem—two or three only excepted—to have adopted, or silently to have been governed by, a principle of false religious expediency, which might thus be put into words:—"The tendency to unbelief which, in the past era, has prevailed so fearfully, threatening to sweep away as well all religious restraints, as all religious institutions, and which, under a new guise, is again going forth to lay waste

the moral world, must be checked by cherishing the contrary dispositions. What is wanted is a disposition to believe—simply *to believe*—to believe implicitly—to believe as an *impulse*, and as an act of obedience to authority—to believe, *apart from* rational evidence and without it; nay, in opposition to evidence;—to believe when, in believing, ‘carnal reason’ is shocked and outraged:—this is the disposition which the true friends of religion, and the upholders of spiritual authority should now cherish. If in your endeavours to bring men back to piety you go about to *convince them*—if you *reason* with them—if you accumulate proofs, if you appeal to documents, you do but flatter and cherish the very pride whence scepticism springs. Those to whom you address logic—be it sound logic, will retort upon you sophistry; and while they confirm themselves in atheism, will beguile *you* near to the brink of the same abyss. Do not argue, do not reason; but kindle enthusiasm: lure men onward, although it be by false lights: beguile them from off their ground by fictions, by legends, by superstitions; and by *lies*, if nothing else will do: any way bring men within the pale of an obdiential acquiescence, in whatever is, or has been, sanctioned by authority, and which has become venerable by lapse of time!”

A principle such as this, while it has been plainly and boldly avowed in several publications of late, has evidently been adopted and acted upon by many who, perhaps, could not bring themselves to the point of professing their adhesion to a doctrine so vilifying to human nature, and so likely to draw upon its advocates the indignant contempt of sound and cultured minds. Six out of seven of all the recent tourists in Palestine, have practically, if not theoretically, governed themselves by this rule: or, at the least, they have thought it a point of “good taste,” while actually sojourning in the “Holy Land,” as well as for a decent time after their return, to carry pilgrim-gear, and to believe, and to kneel, and to kiss, and to pray, and to weep, and to talk, after the fashion of the country! If an affectation so inane met with no deep analogies in the tendency of things throughout the West, it might well be left, like other affectations, to go out in smoke. But has it not been, by the aid of absurdities, fomented and fermenting, that men, who have known well what they were about, have enchained their fellowmen, and so have built up horrid tyrannies? We do not know that this will actually be done again; but we certainly know there are those about us, who are labouring, and *expecting* also, to do it; nor should we wonder any day to see enter upon the stage, and as the tools of these conspirators, a Peter the Hermit, and a Walter the Pennyless, heading a sentimental crusade to the Holy Land; and should any movement of this sort actually commence, it will

be seen—as we venture to predict, that of all the legendary stuff, relating to holy places, or holy articles or relics—those that are the most grossly absurd—those, the reception of which implies the most abject humiliation of reason, and which most debauch the moral sentiments, and prostitute the intellect—that it will be *such*, which will be selected to be held up as proper incentives to the devout enthusiasm of the western nations. Or if, just at the first, some seemly object of piety should be “invented” and exhibited, the trade will be carried forward in the line of its natural and hitherto invariable tendency toward whatever is the most base and revolting. It may be, that the “True Cross,” snatched from the faltering hands of the Bishop, on the bloody field of Hattin, will be discovered anew in some vault of the East, where it has been miraculously preserved, and restored to its place in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre! Millions of men, flocking from all quarters of the globe, would crowd the soil of Palestine to behold, and to worship “the wood of our salvation.” After a while, and in order to provide something appropriate for the tastes of all comers, there would be shewn also, and in an adjoining chapel, and yet under the same superintendence, such authentic articles as the “comb of the cock that crowed,” the “ear of the high-priest’s servant,” and “the tail of Balaam’s ass.”

But does not the “civilization of the nineteenth century” utterly forbid any such enormities as these to be repeated? We are not quite sure that it does; or if we had ever thought so, events which have marked the last ten years have dispelled so false a confidence in the advance of Truth and Reason. But it is not alone with the view of repelling inane superstitions connected with Palestine, that we should earnestly promote rational researches therein; for another tendency, not less dangerous, perhaps even more so, which such researches may successfully counteract, is at present developing itself. What we now allude to is far less apparent in England than it is in Germany; and it is less *seen* or heard in this country than actually in progress beneath the surface. We refer to those pantheistic mystifications of all *positive* religion, and especially of Christianity as an historical religion, which have long characterized German literature; and an infection of which, in a more or less diluted form, makes itself perceptible in every *Germanized* English circle.

This is a subject far too weighty and too extensive to be here introduced, except only as it stands incidentally related to our immediate topic—Palestine.

The proper antagonist of mystification, on any ground, is a plain statement of intelligible facts—historical or physical. Thus, for example, if it were alleged that the Norman conquest, so called,

is a mere legend, and "a myth," purporting nothing more than the prevalence, in this island about that time, of continental modes and notions, and the subversion of certain insular habits of life,—if this were affirmed, we should go about collecting evidences, visible and palpable, such as should make it certain to all *common* understandings, that William of Normandy was a veritable personage as well as an execrable tyrant; and that Harold and his Saxons were indeed trampled in the dust by Norman horse-shoes. And, in like manner, we should prove that the Gospel is no "myth," but that it is history—it is demonstrable fact,—and it may be shown that those betray it, as well as their own false pietism, who, in the place of a rational persuasion of its historic certainty, would substitute either an implicit credulity, or the jargon of pantheism.

Whoever has been accustomed to meditate upon the Christian system, as manifesting the wisdom of God in the mode of its promulgation, will often have mused with devout pleasure upon this law of the dispensation, namely, that while it propounds itself as a universal code, and as a universal motive, and a universal hope; yet, in the mode of its conveyance to the human family, instead of its assuming an abstract form, and instead of its floating down from heaven, disjoined from all things earthly, it was born just as any merely national and temporary scheme has been born; and this is true, both in the persons of its first preachers, and in every circumstance of their style and behaviour: it came into the very closest contact with the things, and with the persons, and with the places, and with the positions, and the climate of the country and age where and when it appeared. The light of the Gospel was not the universal blaze of the upper heavens—a light—shadowless—colourless—unchanging; but it was as the shining of the sun in his strength upon the familiar objects of earth; its beams, brightening the things near us, and giving life and colour to what we are used to,—sparkling among the flowers beneath our feet, and shedding an equal glory upon things mean and upon things high. The Gospel was, indeed, a light from heaven; but a light resting on a certain spot of earth. If, then, it could be asked, why should Palestine so much engage the serious assiduities of Christian men? the answer is, because Christianity, in every syllable of its documents, bespeaks the place of its origination. It is, indeed, the religion of the world, but it is also the religion of Palestine. It is the religion of all ages; but it is the religion of the times of the Cæsars; and, therefore, while the universality of its ethical and spiritual principles proclaims it, with a voice heard in the depth of every man's conscience, to be "the truth of God"—the specialty of its innumerable alliances with places and circumstances, furnish proofs that are palpable, and irrefragable, and

inexhaustible, of its HISTORIC REALITY ; and it is this voice, and these documentary evidences, that should together sustain each other in the minds of men. When we thus speak of Christianity, we intend, of course, Revelation entire, of which the Gospel is the centre and the substance. The inspired volume scarcely includes a page, and, in a strict sense, not even a line, which does not historically connect itself with Palestine. Of these innumerable and inter-related connexions, a large proportion is of that sort which, supposing the country to be laid open to a course of undisturbed and unrestricted exploration, would be susceptible of an identification, more or less obvious and certain, and which, when so traced, would constitute a vast body, as well of critical *illustrations*, as of argumentative *evidence*, serving, on the one hand, to establish and to bring forcibly home to all minds the historic reality of the Jewish and Christian systems ; and, on the other, to shed light upon a multitude of single passages, the precise import of which no sagacity, no erudition, could otherwise have divined.

How much, within the last fifty years, has already been accomplished on this ground, let those say who are conversant with the state of historic biblical exegesis in the preceding period, and who likewise know what it has become of late years. Yet it must be remembered that, hitherto, European travellers have been permitted to *glance* only at the surface of the canonical sites,—to peep at them, and this very often while in peril of life. Travellers have been compelled to hurry forward, along beaten lines, and in very few instances have been able to explore—to ramble in security, and at leisure, or to excavate—to measure—to collect. On some spots, and those the most significant, a truculent fanaticism denies all access to “infidels,” while the less frequented parts of the country, and, indeed, almost every where beyond the musket range of “our escort,” the Frank who wanders does so at the momentary risk of his life ; for the sinewy Bodoween—the man of tendon and skin, who acknowledges no law but that of force and opportunity—lurks in the hollows. Amid the mountains rebellion is always either actually in movement, or is hatching and ready to move ; while despotic power watches its outbursts. Moreover, awful PLAGUE sits mistress of the cities, not, indeed, round the circuit of the year, but yet so often as to embrace that circuit either with gloomy recollections, or with more gloomy forebodings. Rarely is the traveller, or the resident in these regions, fully at ease ; and even where serious perils are not at hand, annoyances, almost intolerable, so deprive him of the refreshment of sleep, as to render his days feverish and inapplicable.

High praise is therefore due to those, who, amidst disturbing

influences so various, have effected what has actually been done, to lay open the sacred soil to Biblical research; nor can it be doubted that, even during the continuance of Moslem supremacy in the East, and while the many evils, physical as well as political, which are therewith connected, remain in activity, much more will be accomplished of the same sort, by the intrepidity and perseverance of travellers—yet it is certain, and to those best acquainted with Palestine it is manifestly so, that the *harvest* of exploration must await the time when these regions shall come under the tranquil guardianship of a civilized and enlightened—(that is to say, a European)—government; or why should we affect reserve and delicacy on a point so obvious—what we must mean is, under the guardianship (not “perfidy”) but equitable, mild, efficient, intelligent, and Christian, of England.

But when is such a change to take place? We are not prophets; nor shall we risk conjectures founded upon political probabilities; nevertheless, our anticipations of the event very much resemble those of a man who, holding the reversion of an estate, ponders his projects of improvement, sketches his plans, and considers how he shall remove this or that incumbrance, and how turn to the best advantage every expected acre. It is well, such a man may think, it is well to be ready with one’s plan of operations—ready for what may happen any day.

In this instance, we gladly retire from the wide field of political and of commercial speculation, and shall not ask what Palestine may become in the hands of Lord Aberdeen, or of Mr Gladstone, or of the Archbishop of Canterbury; nor, on the other hand, are we sufficiently well versed in the interpretation of “unfulfilled prophecy,” to enable us (consistently with our notions of what is due to religious modesty) to put forward a topography of the New Jerusalem. A hint or two on subjects far less exciting, and less ambitious, is all we shall now attempt.

The actual obstacles in the way of a free exploration of the Scriptural sites and antiquities consist, be it remembered, not merely of the churlish or jealous resistance made by a barbarian government—a government mindless, motionless, blind, and deaf, and to which the intellectual tastes and the scientific zeal of Europe is always an enigma; nor merely in that inefficiency of the *present* government—sadly contrasted with that of the Egyptian despot—which renders the open country everywhere unsafe; but also, and in some signal instances it is the chief obstacle, the Moslem fanaticism, which, even when Pashas have been courteous and inclined toward a heterodox laxity, has forbidden the approach of infidel feet, except, indeed, at the momentary jeopardy of life. Even, therefore, were Palestine to fall, like India, into the hands of England, we could not, so long as the Moslem faith endures,

or not without doing violence to feelings which it is the pride of England everywhere to respect, *openly* infringe upon precincts reserved for the feet of the "Faithful."

We need not, however, stay to inquire what those changes must be which would lay open to our axes and our eyes the holy places of the Holy Land. It is enough for us to know, on the one hand, that, spite of all obstacles, and even bearding the most formidable of them, things have actually been seen, drawn, and measured, which we should not have imagined to be accessible; and, on the other, that we live in an era that is marked by revolutions abstractedly the most improbable, and therefore, and on these two separate grounds, we shall not scruple to speak of even the innermost recesses of Moslem religious jealousy, as if they were about to be spread before us, in all the copious pictorial opulence of illustrated royal octavos! This boldness is not too bold;—or we can not so deem it, when, at this very moment our own table is spread with drawings and plans, recently effected, in the very crypts of El Aksa! and while the tread of "faithful" soles, low echoed through these gloomy vaults!

The core of Palestine—the site of all sites on this earth's surface—the very focus of rational curiosity to Christendom, is the Haram es Sherif—the plateau of the Temple of Solomon, and of the Second Temple, and now of the Mosk, which, next to that of Mecca, most attracts the regards of the Mahommedan world. No historic ambiguity attaches to this ancient area: its original limits are well defined by cyclopean foundations—the masonry of two thousand eight hundred years! An historic chain, no link of which has fallen out, connects the earliest of these centuries with the last, and now, for a long lapse of time, a guardianship—stern, implacable, immoveable—a mindless religious bigotry—a sturdy, heaven-appointed police, has conserved all things within and beneath that enclosure as they were. Intelligent Christians cannot but exult to think that, from this one spot, at least, "Holy Sepulchre" frauds and "Holy Sepulchre" abominations, have been altogether excluded during the last seven hundred years. We bless the Turk who from this mound has held at bay—the Monk! It is a real consolation to think that the ground chosen of God, of old, has been so long preserved from the degrading rites of a polytheistic Christianity.

But what is this site to Christians? Something more, we think, it will prove, than an object of religious curiosity. To us it has always seemed an admissible conjecture, that the lower structures of this vast platform, and the extensive vaults and passages which are known to undermine it, and even to stretch beyond it into the city, would, at some perhaps remote time, yield extraordinary evidences and illustrations of Biblical

history. These surmises, gathering strength from the researches and reports of Mr. Catherwood and others, who, since the time of his perilous survey, have adventured life in the same course, have been corroborated greatly by a leisurely examination of the drawings, plans, and measurements above adverted to; and, that we may dismiss this merely incidental subject as briefly as possible, we will just state the fact, that about three years ago, Mr. William Tipping—an amateur artist, then lately returned from a sketching tour in Egypt and Syria, generously undertook to retrace his steps to the East; and, aided by his already acquired familiarity with the sites of Palestine, to make drawings which should serve as pictorial illustrations of a new translation of Josephus, by Dr. Traill. This arduous service he effected in the most able manner; and returned late in the following year, with a portfolio rich in views and sketches of whatever is most picturesque, or remarkable, between Tripoli and Gaza, or between Acre and the “east country,” beyond Jordan. A calm intrepidity, a correct eye, and a singularly felicitous hand, enabled this gentleman to delineate many things, with exactitude, which others have either trembled to attempt, or have sketched in the loosest manner.

Mr. Wolcott—American Missionary, writing to the Rev. E. Smith—Professor Robinson’s colleague, says, (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, February 1843, p. 41.)

“I am in company with Mr. Tipping, an English amateur sketcher, whom you have met, and who, you are aware, is visiting the country with a view to obtain illustrations for a new translation of Josephus. His object naturally drew him hither, (Sebbeh—the ancient Masada;) and furnished me with a favourable opportunity for visiting a deeply interesting portion of Palestine. His sketches are strikingly faithful, and will be an incalculable acquisition to the forthcoming publication.”

Mr. Tipping spent the winter of 1841-42 in the Holy City, where he acquired the designation, among the people, of “the man who is *writing* the city,” inasmuch as he was daily seen, with his portfolio in hand, assiduously occupied in front of some ancient edifice.

These drawings and sketches, when they come into the hands of the public, as they will enable the antiquary in his study to count and measure the very stones in several of the more important localities of the city, will be his guide in furnishing future travellers with *specific instructions* for prosecuting particular inquiries, or for carrying forward excavations where there may be reason to look for Jewish antiquities.

The massive and extensive structure, or basement, which, dur-

ing centuries, has sustained the great mosk of Omar, and that of El Aksa, with their appurtenances, embodies, in sample or in epitome, many of those objects, scattered over the bordering countries, which must yet engage the assiduous curiosity of biblical students—its cyclopean outer walls—(“the wall lies in its massive original strength, unmoved and immoveable”—*Supplement to Bib. Res.*, p. 11.)—the mysterious pereunial fountain which gurgles up from its rocky depths;—its far-extending subterraneous vaults and passages;—and whatever of antiquarian wealth these chambers may contain. These several objects, on so many accounts worthy of the intense curiosity which they naturally excite, when they come to be explored and delineated at leisure, and when they are collated with analogous antiquities scattered over the Holy Land, and then again with those of Egypt, Petra, and the Haouran, will altogether furnish, as we venture to predict, a palpable commentary upon the history of the people “to whom were committed the oracles of God”—even from the ante-Mosaic era to the conclusion of the apostolic age. And is it too much to surmise, as not wholly improbable, that among the windings, and within the sealed chambers that occupy the basement structure of the Haram, or in deep crypts, artfully concealed within the sides, or beneath the pavement of the dim and spacious walls and corridors of this lower masonry, there may yet lie untouched, and not quite decayed, inestimable relics of the Jewish worship and literature? So much as this we have always imagined to be not altogether unlikely, and every reference to Josephus, concurring with discoveries recently made, strengthens such a belief. Facts have been brought to light—we should say some of them—brought to *twilight*, which stimulate curiosity to the utmost, in this very direction.

Mr. Wolcott, and his friend Mr. Tipping, having, with great difficulty, and at the peril of their lives, found their way into the vaults beneath El Aksa, repeated their furtive visits day after day, until the latter had completed the drawings and measurements which are now before us; and until a day when, hearing a Moslem foot quickly descending into the vaults from the mosk above, they effected a precipitate escape through a broken window. The astounding fact, that these recesses had actually been entered, and surveyed at leisure, by some audacious infidels, spread dismay among the authorities above ground; and effective means were instantly used to render any such profanation hereafter impossible! and closed, at present, are these mysterious chambers: yet not closed for ever—nor for ages to come; the remainder of their “days of darkness” is, we verily believe, fast running out.

The very next day after the first discovery of the entrance,

January 11th, Mr. Wolcott again visited, with Mr. Tipping, the western room, first above described, in which they had noticed a portion of the gateway; and while pursuing their examination, they were enabled, by the aid of a Mussulman boy, to obtain access to the eastern room already mentioned. Here they very unexpectedly found themselves before the entrance of the western half of the double gateway which opens into the said room. They entered the *avenue under the mosk*, and traversed its aisles, taking then but a cursory view. Under date of January 25, Mr. Wolcott writes as follows:—

“I have again visited the passage and gateway under the Haram, for a more particular examination. The evidences of its antiquity are unquestionable. Connected with each gate are two marble Corinthian columns, indicating, as Dr. R. has observed, a Roman origin, and there are also works of Saracenic work, of a still later date. But the foundations are Jewish, and both walls of the passage are composed, in part, of smooth bevelled stones. The arches are of hewn stone, and are the noblest that I have seen in the country. As I walked through the broad aisles, in a stillness broken only by the sound of my footsteps, it was a thrilling thought, that I was treading one of the avenues through which the tribes had pressed to the temple. I seemed to see the throng of worshippers, and to hear their chant: ‘I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord; I will pay my vows now in the presence of all his people; in the court of the Lord’s house, in the midst of thee, O Jerusalem! Praise ye the Lord!’

“I subsequently visited the place with Mr. Tipping, who has taken an accurate drawing of it. We took a few measurements. The bottom of the passage is now lower than the ground without, but as much rubbish has collected here, it must once have been higher.

“Its width is 42 feet, leaving, exclusive of the columns in the middle, about nineteen feet for each aisle. Between the gates is a partition, extending 10 or 12 feet, within, composed of stones of that length, and of great thickness: that of one which we measured was four and a half feet. The two longest stones which I saw were in one of the side walls, each thirteen feet in length, and bevelled. The first column is twenty feet high, and fifteen and a half feet in circumference, and is a single block; its capital being a part of it. Beyond the second column, the floor of the passage is raised several feet: and in the western aisle is mounted by steps. In the eastern aisle in place of steps, is a layer of immense stones, with their ends bevelled, and upon it eight or ten feet back is a wall of mason-work, a little higher than the upper floor of the passage. Of the columns on the elevated portion, only the first is round, and of a single stone, like the lower ones: the rest are square, and built with masonry. The upper end of the western aisle is parted off into a small room. At the head of the eastern is the entrance from above, by a common picket gate, to which a few steps lead down; and through which we

could see the green grass of the Haram. A *Michrâb* (niche of prayer) has been erected here, and another at the foot of the aisle. They have also been placed in the recesses of two doorways, near the bottom, on each side of the gateway, which have been walled up. We have ascertained that the place is still visited for Moslim devotion. We were fortunate enough in finding it vacant. An owl, perched on the capital of one of the columns, and a bat, which flitted across the aisles, were the only living things we saw—representatives of the mournful decay of the glory of the place."

Mr. Wolcott's daring exploration of the Fountain, near the great Mosq, effected about the same time, serves still further to strengthen the belief, that, beneath the plateau of the Temple there are many chambers, intended at the first to be of difficult discovery, and the entrance to which has either been built up purposely, or accidentally closed in the lapse of ages, by the falling in of loosened rocks, or insecure masonry. But should it not be so; or should these dark chambers be found to contain no *specific* treasures, such as we have imagined them to conserve,—nevertheless, the ample site of the Jewish Temple, built about as are its lower portions with immoveable masonry, and so long defended from ransack, and from fruitless curiosity, by the immovable Moslem bigotry—awaits the moment when it shall yield a store, not small or unimportant, of evidences attesting the truth of canonical history, and clearing up its obscurities, and aiding future interpreters in the difficult task of setting off that which is matter of inspiration from that which is not. May it be hoped, that those whose lot and privilege it shall be to enter upon this expected rich field of labour, will be qualified for the task in a manner which hitherto has been very rare among travellers in Palestine. These explorators, beside the obviously necessary accomplishments of scholarship—western and oriental—and beside the calm, lucid, scientific sense, which sees, and sees quickly, what is, and all that is, and nothing more; and beside the patient assiduity, needed so much in any archæological researches, should possess certain moral dispositions, not the most ordinary. When Palestine, and especially when the Holy City come to be laid open—like an ancient folio, long clasped, but at length fairly consigned to eager hands and eyes, the temptation will be vehemently strong to employ the results of such researches in a sinister manner. In the first place, the zealous promoters of the monkish fables, will rush, by scores—like vultures upon a deserted carcass, to the land where, in past ages, so much has been done to cherish these gainful delusions; and which, in the present travelling condition of the world, might easily be rendered incalculably gainful. Next to these speculators upon the credulity of mankind, will come on the troop of *honest* adventurers

upon the ground of "unfulfilled prophecy." But such persons we leave to pursue their course; and well may we so leave them, for assuredly they would pay small regard to the cold cautions which we might be inclined to suggest. A third band will consist of men, more or less accomplished, and of scientific habit; but inwardly and intensely prepossessed with atheistic or neological prejudices, and who, when once it has been announced that "Palestine is open," will start up from their professorial chairs, reckoning with overweening confidence upon the results of a perverted and sophistic ingenuity, as available—like Volney's, for sapping the foundations of religious belief, throughout Christendom. To gentlemen of this class we would say nothing—even if they would listen to us—or nothing but this one word: "Go—and do your worst!"

The class of travellers whose ears we would gain, is (of course) that from whose labours, in the end, we anticipate lasting and invaluable fruits—men, furnished and accomplished, in the fullest sense, but who have already come into the possession, and the tranquil enjoyment of a thoroughly wrought-out conviction of the truth of Christianity—a conviction, sustained and animated by those moral and spiritual perceptions, which, in well-constituted minds, supersede a frequent appeal to merely documentary evidence. But such men will need yet a high quality, of the rarest sort. Many a man may boast the personal integrity which would secure his making an admission that was adverse to his *secular interests*, in some pending suit, or question of right; many—compared with those who possess the intellectual and the moral courage that would carry them forward, unflinchingly, on a path that seemed to be leading them away from cherished sacred truths! Painful occasions are those, where the common impulses of integrity, and the best persuasions of the heart and of the mind, seem to be threatening to come into adverse collision! It is such occasions that try the loyalty of the soul, and its native nobility. Ordinary minds falter and slink away—some into a comfortless silence—some into evasions, shallow and disreputable; while some rush into the jungle of a conventional and professional jargon, where, indeed, they may be safe enough from pursuit.

We look for trials of this kind as not unlikely to beset the path of those who, when the Holy Land has become ours, or is fully accessible, shall institute anew Biblical researches. We predict this, without feeling any alarm as to the ulterior result. Only let it be understood, that antiquarian travellers should not undertake a work which can always be better performed by antiquarian students *not travelling*, and who, in the silence of their studies, come into the possession of the multifarious fruits of travel—narratives, architectural data, drawings, plans, sketches.

The work of reconciling adverse statements, and of clearing up what seem like inexplicable difficulties, is too arduous to be achieved, either during a sojourn in a foreign land, or soon after a return, when the vividness of a thousand bright recollections disturbs the reasoning faculty. To the traveller, setting out to the East, we would say, bring us the *entire* results of your measuring tapes and chains, of your cross-staffs and theodolites; bring us not "incidents of travel," but *scientific reports*; bring us, not "magnificent views," fit, and fit only, to be wrought up into "splendid lithographic illustrations," but elaborate delineations of things as they are; drawings, abhorrent of *embellishments*. Bring us these *materials*, faithfully and fearlessly; fearless of those imputations of atheism and neologism with which good and weak-minded persons at home may, and will assail, the collectors of such evidence—ill as it may comport with the prejudices which, in their view, are inseparable from Sacred Truth.

Thus it was, that when, during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the modern astronomy was making its way into the convictions of intelligent persons throughout the civilized world, it encountered a determined opposition from "the Church,"—the Church, not Papal merely, but Protestant also. Alarmists affirmed the modern astronomy to be irreconcilable with the express testimony of the inspired writers; and they predicted that, if this heresy of the telescope were permitted to gain ground, Christianity and religious faith would be driven from the world! The Church has never shown itself a good prophet, nor was it so in this instance, for the telescope *did* triumph; and moreover, and during the very era of its most splendid achievements, the Gospel also triumphed; and instead of its retreating among the ignorant, it gained for itself a firmer possession of man's rational and moral faculties, than it had held at any former period! But then there resulted, directly and inevitably, from the establishment of the modern astronomy, one momentous consequence, nearly affecting Biblical science; we mean, the tacit admission and the *partial* adoption of a rule of Scriptural interpretation, which common sense might, indeed, long before have suggested, and the want of which had given occasion to that ill-judged and perilous opposition wherewith Churchmen had greeted the early advances of the true philosophy of the universe.

An instance strictly analogous to this; or, as we might call it, a mere repetition—*mutatis mutandis*—of the same conflict, has occurred in our own times, by the well-meant, but ill considered, and ill-omened assault which has been made, and is still made, upon the modern geology, from precisely the same quarter, and under the same influences, and by individuals of the same infirm

temper. Now, in view of this second, and still more signal instance, we confidently anticipate the three results, as in the first,—1st, That the modern geology will not merely keep its ground, but advance on its course: 2dly, That Christianity will nevertheless hold its position, as the religion of the most enlightened communities, and of the most enlightened individuals in these communities, and that it will spread itself over the earth; and then, and as an inevitable, as well as much-to-be-desired consequence of the working of the first of these events upon the second, namely, of geological science upon Biblical interpretation, that the GENUINE RULE of sacred exegesis will be *further* ascertained, and demonstrated, and carried out, with a more extended application to the canonical writings; excluding thenceforward, on the one hand, impracticable and superstitious assumptions, and, on the other, neological evasions of the supernatural import of the Scripture history. We have only to add the expression of our belief that a Third, and a not less signal instance—closely analogous to the two already mentioned, is likely to occur as a consequence of those unrestricted researches—physical, architectural, and ethnical, which the rising curiosity of the European mind must, sooner or later, obtain leave to prosecute in Palestine. The Turk, even if he continues to rule, cannot for ever resist (we speak not of *political* changes) the impetus that is now converging upon the Syrian soil, from England, from America, from France, and from Germany. The Holy Land—its natural surface—its rivers—its depths, and these as far down as excavation may reach, will be spread out upon the library tables of Europe and America. But then, and as a consequence of this unfolding and unveiling of the land of sacred history, there will take place, what we have named as the third, and perhaps it will be the final collision, between certain religious prepossessions, or groundless assumptions, and certain unquestionable facts—physical and archæological. It is this still future collision which, as we think, will bring to maturity, and will fully establish that rule of Biblical interpretation, which every historic document must demand for its true explication.

Whatever attaches to the Inspired Books, *in so far as they are human compositions*—the writings of men, must, sooner or later, be submitted to the authenticated processes of philological and historical criticism, and these processes now await a further knowledge of the native country of the Bible, and of its ancient monuments. These severe analyses—these rigid and fearless scrutinies, cannot but issue in bringing home to the convictions of all men, and with a new and solemn force, a sense of the certainty of whatever is indeed “from Heaven.” And all true religion is from Heaven, and so is all genuine morality; but geography is

not from Heaven ; nor is geology, nor is astronomy, nor statistics ; nor is common and profane history ; nor are topographic surveys ;—all these things, *and things like them*, are “ of men,” and *therefore* are subject to the conditions that *necessarily* attach to whatever is *human* :—these things are progressive ;—they have their period of infancy, their period of rapid development, and their period of ascertained maturity ; and when severally they reach their last and ripened state, whatever belonged to their infancy must, of course, be “ put away,” or if not, they are conserved only by men,—not child-like, but childish.

In any such instance as those to which we have alluded, we are not called upon to relinquish so much as one particle of that which belongs to the substance of REVELATION,—equally illogical and irreligious would be the supposition ! We relinquish, in fact, some too hastily assumed notions of our own, as to what the inspired writers were instructed to teach ; and perhaps the relinquished article is nothing more to be regarded or regretted than an incompetent and faulty rendering of the original text ! In any such case the operation of removing that which is human from that which is divine, instead of its loosening the principle of faith, brings it to cohere more firmly to what is the proper object of faith,—namely, the divine testimony concerning divine things ;—it does not unsettle our convictions, but, on the contrary, it establishes them upon the rock—the very rock, bared of earth and sand. When the Psalmist proclaims this noble and consolatory truth—that “ from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same the Lord’s name is to be praised,”—an announcement containing more of poetry, more of moral impulse, and more of theology, than is found in volumes of pagan poetry, ethics, and philosophy,—David’s notions of the relative position, the magnitudes, and the motions of the earth, and the heavenly luminaries, are *no elements* of the truth so announced, and might now be granted to be utterly wrong, without in the least degree derogating from the heavenly theorem, any more than the badness of the paper upon which our Euclid is printed, or than errors of the press, lower the applicable value of his demonstrations, or throw a doubt upon his methods of proof. All this is now pretty well admitted and understood,—it is a concession that has been wrung from theological persistency by evidences which could not be gainsaid.

Concessions, precisely analogous to this, and yet of a rather more extended application, have, for some while past, been waiting to be allowed and authenticated by Biblical interpreters. Sturdy applicants have knocked, and are still knocking, at the door of theological halls, and when their petition has been listened

to, an inestimable boon will have been received, rather than anything valuable parted with by the authorities.

But what has this to do with Palestine?—much, or so we humbly think. From the unrestrained and thorough examination of the regions round about Jerusalem, and from the turning up of its own rubbish-burdened sites, and from the opening of its subterraneous halls and sealed chambers, facts will be incidentally gathered, small perhaps in their apparent disc, but conclusive and irresistible as to the inferences they support, which shall lead, by a tacit necessity, to the establishment of a matured science of biblical interpretation; and this ripened exegesis will bring with it, not indeed a triumph of neologism or of infidelity, but a final refutation and expulsion of every theory or assumption that is opposed to “the Truth of God.” Thenceforward all men will gladly receive it as certain that “holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,”—this miraculous influence extending to the utmost limits of that which is indeed “from Heaven,” and leaving, liable to its ordinary conditions, whatever, within the area encircled by inspiration, belongs to the range of human knowledge.

ART. IX.—*Essays on Christian Union.* London, 1845.

ON the forenoon of the second day of the bicentenary commemoration of the Westminster Assembly, held at Edinburgh, July 12th and 13th 1843, there stood up one to address the assembly on the subject of Union among Christian Denominations, and during the delivery of his sentiments, which were not trite common-places or pointless generalities, but the vigorous thoughts of a disciplined mind, prompted by a pious and catholic spirit, a gentleman present at the meeting was so deeply impressed by them that he at once formed the idea of carrying out, in more enlarged shape, the hints and suggestions thus brought by Dr. Balmer before the immense audience that filled the Hall. But he, in whose remarks the conception of the book before us originated, has gone to his reward—lived not to see the publication of the volume of which his Essay is an ornament, and the revising of the proof-sheets of which was his last public work in this world. From the inculcation of love on earth he passed into the society of Heaven. His spirit entered into the communion of all that is loving and lovely, while it was yet flushed with the excitement of urging on

the Churches prompt and universal obedience to the new commandment—Love one another.

Amidst the various pleasing fruits of the bicentenary meeting, the publication of this volume is one of the most delightful and appropriate. That meeting was one of union as joyous as it was unexpected. It presented a vision of surpassing beauty to the Christian philanthropist—an omen of future co-operation, yet more extended and fraught with more important results. This collection of Essays exhibits that co-operation in another sphere, and is itself a symbol of the union which the various contributors are labouring to promote. May its wide and rapid circulation accelerate the advent of that happy day when the “truth shall be spoken in love,” and “Ephraim shall not envy Judah nor Judah vex Ephraim.” Our hope is, especially, that in Scotland its projector may see to some extent the realization of that harmony and intercourse which his zealous generosity is so anxious to secure, and to attain which, so far as his own sphere of influence reaches, he may say in the words of the illustrious Calvin on the same subject, *quantum ad me attinet, siquis mei usus foret, ne decem quidem maria, si opus sit, ob eam rem trajicere pigeat.*

It is an auspicious sign for the cause of union when, for present divisions, there are “great searchings of heart”—when the Churches, having drunk into one spirit, anxiously ponder the cause why yet there is “schism in the body,” and its various members have not “the same care one for another,” and begin to reason and feel that, as “envyings, and strife, and divisions are among them, surely they are carnal and walk as men.” The wonder is that the contrast between the spiritual and visible state of the Church has not shamed her into public recognised union in her various branches. The Church is one, professing “one Lord, one faith, one baptism.” The one Atonement is her trust, the one Spirit her purifier, the one grace her sustaining power, and the one heaven her ultimate resting place. The one Faith is the organ of her justification, and love is the index of her sanctification. Partakers of the same nature, and originally under the same curse, rescued by the same redeeming love, and introduced into the same holy fellowship—with similar fears and hopes, professions and duties, the Churches have common sympathies, trials, and enjoyments. In reality they are all one in Christ—members of that body of which he is the head—branches of that vine of which he is the root—living stones in that temple of which he is the foundation. But the frailty and passions of even sanctified humanity have produced jealousies and alienations. These baneful effects were felt in the infant Churches of Apostolic era. There were contentions in the Church of Corinth produced by overweening attachment to good men,—almost canonizing

them ; “ one saying, I am of Paul, another I of Apollos, another I of Cephas.” Similar feuds prevailed in the other Churches. The writings of the Apostolic fathers contain many allusions to such dissensions. Fearful divisions ensued, from corrupting the simplicity of the Gospel, by the introduction of terms and phrases from the current systems of philosophy. One party resiling from the truth in one direction, created another at its remote antipodes. And, in subsequent times, the love of Christ too often degenerated into bigoted attachment to the peculiarities of some creed or symbol ; the love of the brethren was lost in ravening factions ; zeal consumed itself in internal controversy, as if engaged in a war of extirpation against the inhabitants of some modern Canaan, and so the temple of the Lord has presented the melancholy spectacle of a house divided against itself in proud and vindictive scorn. Yet amidst all this “ envying and strife,” followed by “ confusion and every evil work,” the Churches acknowledged their theoretic unity, and not a few were found to exclaim in earnest pathos ; “ Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.” It is refreshing to read the sentiments of the illustrious writers of those early periods, on the subject of these “ Essays.” Again and again does the sacred orator of the Greek Church inculcate the doctrine of unity ; “ the Church,” he says, “ is a name not of separation but of oneness, ὄνομα οὐ χωρίσμου, ἀλλὰ ἑνωσεως. Distance may separate, but the Lord unites.”* Clemens Alexandrinus compares the local separation of the Churches with their real union, to the harmony produced by the varied chords of one musical instrument, while a skilful leader strikes them, and declares again, “ that in the midst of apparent schisms there is substantial unity.”† Basil not unfrequently insists upon all believers being one people, and one Church ; rejoices that the severance of heretics does not destroy the unity of the Church, and feels his heart warming at the thought that Christian societies scattered through such a variety of places, are yet one in Christ, knit together in the bond of charity by the communion of the Spirit, whose office it is to found and perpetuate this holy junction, which is accordingly described by him as ἡ κατὰ πνεῦμα συνάφεια.‡ Cyril’s Catechism taught the youth of Jerusalem to say — I believe in one Holy Catholic Church. Irenæus describes the Church ὡς ἓνα ὄλον διχοῦσα, and as possessing and being animated by, one soul and one heart.§ The Latin Church was not behind its eastern sister. Cyprian’s treatise on the Unity of the

* Chrysostomi Orat. in I Corinth.

† Stromata, VII.

‡ Epist., 192.

§ Advers. Haeres. Lib. I., c. 3.

Church is well known. Many figures are employed by him to express this unity, some of them indeed not the most accurate or felicitous. He compares the oneness of the various ecclesiastical communities to the numerous rays of the sun forming one light ; to the branches of the tree, so united as to be one oak ; to the many rivulets which may be traced to one fountain. Again, he declares that the whole Church is cemented *concordiæ glutine*. Tertullian is no less distinct ; *itaque tot et tantæ ecclesiæ,—una est illa ab apostolis prima* ; and he instances three modes in which this unity displayed itself : *communicatio pacis et appellatio fraternitatis et contesseratio hospitalitatis*.* Augustine is no less full and precise. "In all parts of the earth," he says, "this faith is one, because it is the Christian faith," while he admits that there are "points of minor moment, concerning which the greatest and best may differ without infringing on this unity ; *salva fidei compage*."† He had more correct opinions than some of the Fathers as to the nature of this unity, for he places it in mutual love and in living connexion with Christ the Head, agreeing with the acute Jerome, that the unity and essence of the Church are not kept together by its walls, but by the truth of its doctrines. These men did, indeed, err in their notions of what this unity really consisted in, too often confining it to the uniformity of external order, and arguing its reality chiefly from ecclesiastical descent. The *unitas originis*,‡ which Cyprian reiterates so frequently, is true in itself, but the unity which Scripture describes, is not that of origination from communities Apostolically, but a unity of present connexion and of actual enjoyment—fellowship with one another, in and through the fellowship we have with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ. We have thus a chain of witnesses testifying to the great truth, that the Church of God is essentially one and undivided, in times prior to that delusive unity which the multifarious corporation of Rome has so long imperiously claimed for itself—a unity which it has secured by the repression of mental liberty, by the despotic sway which an organized system of espionage and torture, and pealing anathemas, has obtained over its trembling vassals.

When, again, we turn to the era of the Reformation, we find schemes of union occupying the minds of its leaders, and discover the doctrine of unity clearly laid down in their Confessions. The heart of Calvin sighed after it :

* *Praescript*, c. 20.

† Augustin, *contra Julian*.

‡ How Cyprian's expressions about unity may be easily construed into an advocacy of the Papal claim, may be seen in a recent clever publication, *LA PATROLOGIE*, Paris, 2 vols. 8vo, 1843. It is a French translation of a posthumous German work of the late Professor Moehler of Munich.

"I wish it could be brought about that men of learning and dignity from the principal churches might have a meeting, and after a careful discussion of the several points of faith, might hand down to posterity the doctrine of the Scripture settled by their common judgment. But among the greatest evils of our age this also is to be reckoned, that our Churches are so distracted one from another that human society scarcely flourishes among us, much less that holy communion between the members of Christ, which all profess in words and few sincerely cultivate in fact. Thus it happens that by the dissipation of its members, the body of the Church lies prostrate and mangled. As to myself, could I be of any service I should not hesitate, were it necessary, to cross ten seas for such a purpose. If the question were only concerning giving aid to England, that would be with me a sufficiently powerful reason. Now, when the object is to obtain such an agreement of learned men, upon strict Scriptural principles, as may accomplish an union of Churches in other respects widely asunder; I do not think it lawful for me to decline any labours or troubles."

Cranmer also had a long and earnest correspondence upon the same subject with the Continental Reformers. The confessions of Augsburg, of Basle, of Helvetia, of Belgia, of Scotland, of Westminster, and the Articles of the English Church, all maintain the Scriptural position of unity. The idea was fostered by the greatest and best men of those times, so that we find Bishop Hall preaching before the famous Synod of Dort, and uttering the following eloquent appeal:—

"We are brethren, let us also be associates. What have we to do with the disgraceful titles of Remonstrants, Contra Remonstrants, Calvinists, Arminians? We are Christians, let us also be of one soul; we are one body, let us also be of one mind. By that tremendous name of the Almighty God—by the pious and gentle bosom of our common mother—by your own Souls—by the most holy compassions of Jesus Christ our Saviour; aim at peace, brethren, enter into peace, that, laying aside all prejudice, party spirit, and evil affections, we may all come to a happy agreement in the same truth." *

So that we find all the evangelical Churches agreeing in the Apostolic doctrine, that there is "one body and one spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling." But something more is demanded now from the churches than the abstract recognition of these Christian principles. They are to recognize one another in the application of it. What the deacons of old were wont to say to the communicants *επιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους*, is now addressed to the evangelical churches—"recognize one another"—let not your love be confined in your creed, or be only seen during a momentary resuscitation, "bound hand and foot with

* Acta Syn. Dordrecht. Sess. xvi.

grave clothes." Let not sectarian pride, denominational peculiarity, attachment to the extra-fundamental portions of a Confession, keep you in suspicious and selfish isolation. Let not an invidious and malicious world, viewing your unseemly separations and jarrings in contrast with your cherished standards, exclaim in scorn—" *ridente Turca, nec dolente Judæo*,"—"the voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau." Now, more than ever, is there need for union. While there are so many thousands bowing the knee to stocks and stones, and imploring deliverance from the uncouth idols which their own fingers have framed; while so many myriads are bound in the spell of the oriental impostor, debased by the fables and impurities of the Koran, and preparing themselves for an eternity that can effect nothing but the utter extinction of every moral feeling that yet finds a refuge in the bosom of fallen humanity—an eternity, the only measurements of which are, appetite meeting enjoyment, and enjoyment begetting appetite—and while the sons of Abraham are scattered among the nations, forlorn, neglected, and branded, the veil yet upon their hearts when Moses is read—while such is the fearful aspect of the world, whose successive generations are so swiftly passing into the unchanging and invisible state, surely the Churches will forget the past sectarian strifes, and fixing their gaze on this fearful scene of sin, and woe, and death, will, in the confident reception from one another of solace and excitement, and with uplifted look to the promised Spirit, come with united energy to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

The great "mystery of iniquity" has, also, in our own day unwonted power and life. The wound of the beast, which seemed to be unto death, has been healed. The Propaganda has reserved its grasping claims, and its almost superhuman efforts. Protestantism, too, is threatened on its own territory by the gradual approach of many who professed it, to the ceremonies and doctrines of the Romish Church. It needs union. No longer is it safe to exhibit our divided and fractional strength. We might learn from our implacable enemy. No differences in Rome slacken her speed. Her regular and secular clergy may be in fierce warfare, and Jesuit and Jansenist in deadly conflict—her politics in one country may be in open antagonism to those in another—accommodation to circumstance may modify many of her more absurd and delusive rites and practices in one region, while in another, the most puerile fanaticism may collect unnumbered votaries, such as the vest lately exhibited at Cologne—or the ridiculous phantasies shown in the person of some *Estática*; in one nation schools may be encouraged, and the Bible placed in the hands of the pupils, while, at the same time, the Pon-

tiff issues bulls and fierce fulminations against societies for the circulation of the Scriptures,—yet, in the midst of all these alterations, the spirit of domination and proselytism is uniformly rampant and persevering, ever restless and busy, plotting in the cloister, or haranguing by the altar, manœuvring in imperial cabinets, or whispering its fascinations into the ear of royal devotees at the Confessional. Our common Protestantism must unite us into one phalanx, and though there may be disputes as to modes of discipline or forms of government, or some peculiarities of ecclesiastical framework, ought there not to be a sound and vigorous league in aid of that spiritual freedom which we prize so dearly, for which our fathers bled and died, and in defence of that pure and simple religion which the Papal system has overlaid with meretricious ornament and antichristian enactment. Popery is a system of fatal intervention, a dark cloud, covering the heavens, and overshadowing the earth. The priest comes between the sinner and God, the mass between him and the atonement of Jesus, penance between him and a godly sorrow, auricular confession between him and the throne of mercy, and purgatory between him and the heavenly world. While, for the publication of these unhallowed tenets, and the extension and consolidation of the empire of the triple crowned Man of Sin, the *congregatio de propaganda fide*, has so many presses ever throwing off sheets from types in all languages, and the Briareus of Jesuitism stretches out its hundred arms to encircle the globe, and appears now as a solitary pedestrian in Japan, exploring and noting the field, or a gay traveller in California, following, to all appearance, his own wayward fancy, and anon in the form of a French frigate on the coast of Tahiti, pouring her destructive broadsides on the harmless islanders, and landing sisters of mercy under cover of her guns—and while societies at Paris and Lyons are raising immense sums for foreign enterprise, aided by the intense and picturesque fervour of the *Archiconfrérie au très saint et immaculé cœur de Marie*, it is not only foolish but sinful in Evangelical Protestants to remain aloof from one another on minor pretexts or scruples, when a broad and comprehensive union, such as that which delighted the fancy and inspired the prayers of the first Reformers, might, without sacrifice of principle, be easily secured. It is an unhappy time for the various battalions of an army to be assuming a hostile front to one another, because of some dispute about their respective position or colours, or military equipage, when the enemy is bearing down upon them in a compact mass, and in the full consciousness of prowess.

Above all, the claim of Christ is upon us. It is no sin of little aggravation to set aside his injunctions. The Bible declares that all true Christians are one, “for as the body is one, and hath

many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ. We are all baptized into one body." By what name shall we brand the cruel act of dismembering the body of Christ, or impeding the healthy circulation of that generous sympathy, by which its energies are sustained. The one Church! but composed of repellent fragments, "the eye saying to the foot I have no need of thee." But, as we have said, all the orthodox churches acknowledge the general doctrine of unity—they place it sacredly among their *credenda*, but are loath to give it a place among their *agenda*. How really trivial are the most of the disputes which the Churches have among themselves—on what slight grounds have alienations often been created? It is true, that the cause of a great and vital controversy may be expressed in a single word. Men of latitudinarian minds have sneered at the Homo-ousian controversy. Yet the single letter that divided the disputants was in its insertion the symbol of a denial of the supreme divinity of the Son of God. We refer to separation on secondary matters; to schismatic withdrawal. The denial, obscurtion, or perversion of any of the fundamental truths of Christianity, always demands of the faithful an open departure, a public protest—and in this case, as history attests, the seceders are not the *fugitivi* but the *fugati*. The schism is not with those who leave, but with those who remain. It rests with those who create the necessity of a rupture. The guilt of the breach is with those who compel it. Abundant proof might be adduced to confirm these assertions. But after all—the separating principle in Protestant Christendom is not so much diversity of truth as of feeling. Could they realize their actual relationship, and become more intensely conscious of their unity in Christ, little would remain to be adjusted in order to cement a perfect agreement. Not that we plead for uniformity. It is verily a chimera, and in that Church which boasts of it, it is only a thin veil, scarce covering the various combatants. Pharisee, Sadducee, and Essene, existed also under the inviolate organization of the Jewish system. Rigid uniformity is not anticipated or commanded in Scripture. Neither, on the other hand, would we have such a vague and deceptive basis of union as that which was propounded by Locke, admitting within its ample embrace all who acknowledge the divine origin of Christianity, and bringing into one federal compact men who denied the Lord that bought them, with those that honour the Son even as they honour the Father—those that impugn the atonement, and those that rest on it as the means of redemption by the precious blood of Christ. Neither can we applaud any junction of various Christian bodies, effected by some supreme power, and not willingly formed by mutual assent. The Act of Uniformity under Eliza-

beth "was the great Popish blunder adopted by Protestantism," and so was its namesake under Charles in 1662. The despotic enactments recently made in Prussia have crushed together the two religious parties, not united them, far less, as was anticipated, amalgamated them. No hollow truce can succeed—schemes of "comprehension" have been found impracticable. "The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable." Union formed on a reversal of this inspired sentiment, must proceed on what our German neighbours term *Indifferentismus*. The specimens of "*Irenik*," which have proceeded from the pen of their Court party, during the late excitement, breathe intolerance, and scoff at conscientiousness, and the *Henoticon*, which they sought and obtained, was a royal decree. Some of them would even extend such a junction to Catholicism, and argue for it as a happy reunion,—

"Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis
Complexu in misero, longâ sic morte necabat."

The union which is to be permanent must rest upon a Scriptural basis. It is the expression of Christian love, and that attraction of revealed truth, which one of the Fathers has called *consanguinitas veritatis*. There needs be no compromise, no putting articles into abeyance. We want no solution of heterogeneous bodies, which, when the power that holds them is absorbed, may separate and crystallize in harder and rougher forms. We wish not the various parties to be thrown into a crucible—fused and forced into one mould. Let them agree, in the meantime, to differ in minor things; let them not magnify the smaller matters in which they vary, into higher importance than the momentous truths on which they are agreed. The term Christian is an appellation infinitely beyond Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Congregationalist. What is peculiar and distinctive in each of these parties cannot surely overpower what belongs to their common Christianity, any more than complexional and mental variety destroys the harmony and oneness of family feelings. These sections of the Church are just as solemnly bound to walk together, so far as they are agreed, as to express their differences when they see not eye to eye. Were they but to act on this maxim, union would be sooner consummated. But the latter portion of the sentiment is preferred. They express their differences, and that, in stern and decided language, and forget to give utterance to their coalition on the essential truths of the common salvation. It is this oblivion of duty which is the great barrier to union, a barrier which it is the object of these "Essays" as far as possible, to remove. It is their design to shew the churches how far they are agreed, and that their charity and union ought to be com-

mensurate—an excellent preparative for still further agreement, till, by the teaching of the Spirit, they may, “with one mind and one mouth, glorify God, even the father of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

The plan of the work which has suggested these desultory remarks, has some peculiar recommendations. A prize essay was at first thought of, but the idea was afterwards abandoned. A prize essay on the subject had already been published. It was therefore judged expedient to select the writers from different denominations :—

“Another view which seemed to be of still more importance, was, that although one writer might enforce Christian Union with profound learning and impressive eloquence, he could not alone exemplify that union, while if ministers of different denominations would execute the work in concert, they would so far carry into effect what they proposed, and actually begin the union of which they expounded the nature and obligations. It is a token for good, that all the ministers to whom application was made, entered heartily into the proposed measure, and furnished their respective contributions to this work, though in some instances with great personal inconvenience, owing to the pressure of other engagements.”—*Prefatory Notice*, p. vii.

It might seem a delicate task to select individuals to write in the projected work, as even denominational prominence may not always be accompanied with that intellectual greatness and Catholic feeling which we anticipate in those who contribute to such an object as the one now contemplated. The choice has our hearty approbation. It is not, however, with the principle on which it was made, but with the results of it that we have now to do. It is only necessary to add,—

“The writers of these essays have concurred in the selection and assignment of the subjects, but here their joint responsibility ends. They have appointed no committee of inspection, nor have they so much as read each other’s contributions, so that each is as exclusively answerable for his own statements as if they appeared in a separate and independent form.”—*Prefatory Notice*, p. viii.

The following are the authors, with their subjects :

“I. Introductory Essay, Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., principal and primarius professor of divinity to the Free Church.—II. The Scripture Principles of Unity, Robert Balmer, D.D., (late) Berwick, professor of systematic theology to the United Secession Church.—III. Christian Unity in connexion with the Propagation of the Gospel, Robert S. Candlish, D.D., St. George’s Free Church, Edinburgh.—IV. Union among Christians viewed in relation to the present state of Religious Parties in England, John Angell James, (Rev.) Birmingham.—V. Union among Christians viewed in relation to the present state of Religious Parties in Scotland, David King, LL.D., United Secession Church, Greyfriars, Glasgow.—VI. A Catholic

Spirit: its Consistency with Conscientiousness, Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., tutor to the Independent Theological Academy, Glasgow.—VII. A Sectarian Spirit: its prevalence and insidiousness, Gavin Struthers, D.D., Relief Church, Anderston, Glasgow.—VIII. Unity of the Heavenly Church—influence which the prospect of it should exercise, Andrew Symington, D.D., Paisley, professor of divinity to the Reformed Presbyterian Church.”

It ~~does~~ appear somewhat invidious to speak of the comparative merits of these essays, and criticism is disarmed by the contemplation of that benevolent purpose which their writers, along with the originator of the volume, have in view. But it is curious to trace the workings of different minds, as they turn themselves to the study of the same theme, in its various aspects and relations.

Each essay has its peculiarities. Each is the result of independent thought and application. The short introductory sketch by Dr. Chalmers, contains only a few statements and speculations on the general theme of the volume, especially an amplified description and enforcement of the initial truth, that ere Christians can unite they must be of one mind, and that the phrase to be “of one mind,” includes mutual affection as well as oneness of sentiment. We regret that the veteran divine has not occupied more space. Few could have done it to better advantage. His sanctified eloquence could not have been expended on a nobler theme. He has thrown out a few hints, which, if acted on more extensively, might lead to beneficial results.

The contribution of Dr. Chalmers is perhaps deficient in breadth and proportion. The fault concerns not what he has done, but what he has not done. We rejoice that in other spheres he has done much on behalf of evangelical truth in former days. His fervid genius, unchilled amidst the scientific calculations and abstruse researches of physics and natural theology, and the subtle metaphysics and recondite discussions necessary to overturn infidel sophistries or atheistical fallacies, has struck out many glowing arguments in defence of the sacred volume, both in his *Bridgewater Treatise* and in his *Evidences*, has brought “the stars in their courses” to fight against the enemies of revelation in his *Astronomical Sermons*—and has illustrated with faithfulness the daily pervading influence of Christian Ethics, the every day application of religious feeling and principle to the affairs of ordinary life, in his *Commercial Discourses*. And now, in the placid evening of his existence—the heat and burden of the day being past—when the splendours of intellect are mellowed in the softer radiance of a maturing piety, it was an appropriate task for him to urge on the exhausted and divided Churches, the duty of Christian Union.

The Second Essay, by Dr. Balmer, on the Scriptural Principle of Unity, is distinguished by the combination of those intellectual and religious qualities which eminently characterized him. We are at once struck with the classic chasteness of the composition, the apt and striking quotations from Scripture, the frequent and felicitous references to others who have written on kindred themes, and the enlarged catholic views which are luminously described, sensitively guarded, and feelingly enforced. Dr. Balmer commences with some preliminary remarks on the unity of the Church, and the criminality and mischievous effects of division. He then defines some schemes of union, which are either unwarrantable or impracticable, lays down the scripture principles of Union, argues for forbearance, eschewing latitudinarianism; and lastly, removes some difficulties and objections to the statements which he has made. It is evident from this brief survey, that Dr. Balmer had a wide field before him. To say that he has occupied all of it equally well, would be saying too much. It is only the truth to say, that on every section of it he has made many valuable remarks. The effects of division are always lamentable, and when they are described in specific cases, they are scarcely credible. Thus Dr. Balmer remarks:—

“ It was formerly observed, that there is something exceedingly incongruous in the conduct of those Christians who refuse to sit down together at the table of their common Father; and that to exclude from the Supper of the Lord those whom the Lord himself invites, seems manifestly repugnant not only to the enactments of Scripture, but to the natural perceptions and the instinctive feelings of the new creature. We may pause for a moment to remark a similar incongruity in reference to ministerial communion. There is surely something unnatural in refusing to acknowledge as servants of Christ, and ministers of his word, persons who are evidently accredited by Christ himself. And yet, how extensively has this incongruity been exemplified in our own country! Few evangelical ministers of any denomination, (and it is only of them that we now speak,) but are glad to consult the excellent commentary of Matthew Henry, when preparing for their weekly expositions of Scripture; and few of them but would recommend in the highest terms Dr. Doddridge's invaluable treatise on ‘The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.’ But, suppose that Henry or Doddridge had appeared in Scotland a few years ago, how would they have been treated? Five years ago, Henry would with difficulty have been allowed to deliver one of his inimitable expositions, or Doddridge one of his beautiful and tender sermons, in a pulpit belonging to the Established Church, many as were the excellent ministers it then contained. And fifty years ago, each of these admirable individuals would probably have experienced similar treatment in both branches of the United Secession. Is there not something not only sinful and absurd, but monstrous and shocking in such

exclusiveness and intolerance? Can that, we are ready to ask, be a Church of Christ, which refuses to 'receive' the most honoured of Christ's servants? How was it that conduct so unchristian was not universally execrated as an intolerable disgrace to the Christian name? Is it not lamentable to think, that though there were ministers in these Churches who felt that this part of their ecclesiastical system was indefensible, and who wished for greater freedom, there were many who hardly felt the pressure of their fetters, and not a few who gloried in the yoke of bondage, as a badge of superior strictness and sanctity?

"What, then, let us now ask, what are the leading principles to which we have been conducted by the preceding observations? They are these: That no Church is at liberty to add to the terms of Christian and ministerial fellowship prescribed by Jesus Christ; that every Church therefore is bound to admit to its communion all who give credible evidence that they are his disciples, and to acknowledge as his ministers all whom he evidently acknowledges; and that, walking together in the things in which they agree, Christians should exercise mutual toleration and indulgence in reference to the things about which they differ."—Pp. 57–59.

Dr Balmer condemns uniformity, on the one hand, as chimerical, and, on the other, he reprobates latitudinarianism, as it would confound the Church and the world, destroy the very purpose of the sacred institute, effect a spurious amalgamation, which would bring upon it the curse of him who is the "God of peace and not of confusion," and make the Saviour's sheep like Jacob's flock, "ring-straked, speckled, and spotted." How much the heart of the deceased contributor was set upon Christian Union, and how warmly he would urge it, may be seen from the following extract:—

"Now, of all religious services, there is none better adapted to nourish and express the fraternal affection of Christians than the Lord's Supper—an ordinance in which they are required to profess their attachment to all their fellow-disciples, as well as their gratitude to their common Redeemer and Lord. Contemplating the ordinance in itself, we might naturally expect that it would be the first in which Christians would unite, and the last in which they would separate; for it relates exclusively to those grand and central facts and truths which they hold in common, and partakes in no degree of a sectarian character. How singular, and how melancholy, that by so many religious denominations this order of procedure has been completely reversed; and that the Lord's Supper, instead of being made a bond of union, and a medium of holy fellowship among all the followers of the Lamb, has been converted into a badge of party,—a centre not of attraction and cohesion, but of division and repulsion! How singular, and how melancholy, that nowhere are the members of the same family so reluctant to meet together as at the table of their common Father; that the privilege in which they are most averse to unite is the participation of the memorials of his boundless love!

"It is a just and striking remark, which has been made by some writers on Moral Philosophy, that in ethical, and even in metaphysical speculations, the instinctive principles of human nature, and the indestructible sentiments of the heart, are often a surer guide than the ratiocinations of the intellect; and that the former sometimes keep the inquirer right when the latter would lead him astray. A remark somewhat similar will apply to the question before us, and to many other theological questions. There are certain principles and affections which may be regarded as Christian instincts—as natural and unreasoning propensities of the 'new creature;' and, however incompetent in themselves to guide their possessor, they will sometimes point towards the path of duty when his learning and his reasonings are apt to perplex or mislead him. Among these instinctive principles one of the most remarkable is Christian love—a principle which prompts spontaneously to religious intercourse with Christian brethren. Unless 'the love of many had waxen cold,' there had been fewer divisions among the followers of Christ, and their divisions had not been disgraced by such bitterness and fierceness. And if Christian love glow in the bosom of any man, he will feel irresistibly convinced that the present divided state of the Church is a tremendous evil, though he may not discern distinctly the means of cure; he will probably feel, too, that it is at once unnatural, preposterous, and sinful to avoid all fellowship on earth with those with whom he hopes to be associated for ever in heaven; and he will cherish an unutterable longing for that bright and blissful day when 'Jehovah shall bind up the breach of his people, and heal the stroke of their wound.'"—Pp. 52-54.

The theme of the next Essay in the volume, is Christian Union in connexion with the Propagation of the Gospel. This has been intrusted to Dr. Candlish. The paper begins with describing division as a prime element of weakness in the Christian cause, and then points to that desire of union now so generally felt—a desire full of good omen, yet liable to be perverted and abused. The Essay then slides into a paraphrastic descant on the 17th chapter of the Gospel of John. Paragraphs occur in the course of the exposition of great beauty and power, but the general theme of Union is not kept exclusively in view. Scattered thoughts occur upon it, but it is not made a theme of close and continuous argument and appeal. It gleams occasionally through the illustrations of our Saviour's prayer, which Dr. Candlish has given, and the touches of power and eloquence which almost every page presents, make us the more regret that the author did not carry the purpose of his introduction into the body of his contribution. "Argument may be worked in fire," and the logic of Dr. Candlish is radiant with glowing thoughts; its flashing scintillations take the form of striking imagery. His style suits itself to his ideas, and whatever be its faults, it is always lucid, generally correct, and adapts itself to his thoughts, either in the plainer and

more succinct order in which they are delivered, or in the more involved and parenthetical form in which the sentences are frequently moulded.

After showing the duty and advantages of union, and describing the malignant result of sectarian bigotry and exclusiveness, it is natural to ask, what is the present position of the Churches in these realms, what keeps them apart, what sections of them are disposed to co-operation, and on what grounds, and to what extent may a coalition be anticipated? We must meet the various parties, and bring them into actual contact. Union in the abstract is a pleasing theme, and has a romantic tinge. It may be portrayed in the brightest colours, and urged in the most persuasive strains. But we must leave the regions of sentiment, and come down to those of actual ordinary existence. We must pass in review the various sects which fill the land, ascertain their views and tendencies, and learn what barriers are in the way to recognized union and concert. Nor must this survey be made with eager haste, or impatient and superficial scrutiny. A delicate and cautious charity must guide such movements. Rough and irascible remarks, even under the plea of candour and honesty, may produce repugnancy; rash and premature effort will not only defeat its own purpose, but retard the expected era of concord and peace. The Apostolic mandate, "above all things, have fervent charity among yourselves," must be the regulating principle in this investigation. This important task in the present attempt to promote "brotherly kindness and charity," has been committed to Mr. James of Birmingham, and Dr. King of Glasgow—to the former in reference to religious parties in England, and to the latter in relation to religious parties in Scotland. We may premise of both, that they have executed their commission in a spirit of truth and love, "nothing extenuating, nor setting down aught in malice." At the same time they cannot be accused of attempting to heal the wound of the daughter of Zion, slightly, saying "peace, peace, when there is no peace." They make full allowance for denominational variance, yet insist on the superior value of Christian principle common to all who "hold the head." It may be that they make too little account of the perverseness of human nature when nursed in a favourite system, and that in the spirit of a bold confidence, they annihilate too sweepingly all opposing obstacles—yet we always admire the faith which says, "What art thou O great mountain, before Jerubbabel thou shalt become a plain"—and which regards obedience to none of Christ's commands either as impossible or impracticable. We are happy in turning attention to the concluding remarks in the Essay by Mr. James, in which he pleads so powerfully for the Churches to

cherish the only principle that can overcome every difficulty in the way of union, viz. to cultivate a spirit of fervent piety, and abound more in prayer for the influences of the Spirit. No mere human device can succeed. The demon of discord will not be so exorcised. Turning his fierce glare on every expedient of man to expel him, he has replied in scorn, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?" "Truly this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting." The Essay of Mr. James begins by remarking on the state and feeling of religious parties, glances then at the consolations which good men enjoy in the present divided and alienated condition of the Church, describes the nature of that union which is contemplated, and proceeds to speak of the importance of it for England. Many excellent and sagacious observations will be found in the historical survey which Mr. James gives of the various attempts that have been made to effect ecclesiastical union. Then he reviews and describes the various parties which may be expected to unite. He seems to do justice to all of them.

We do not pronounce too high a eulogy on Mr. James's Essay when we declare it to be admirably fitted for promoting the great end which this volume has in view. Its holy catholic spirit will give it acceptance with the Churches, while its unction, and fervour, and spirituality will commend it to the consciences of all who read it. In a literary point of view also, it is worthy of high praise. It is more nervous and masculine than some of his other productions, and has fewer of those *dulcia vitia* which usually cleave to his style. In fine, it breathes the spirit of the Apostolic benediction, "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

Dr. King, as the coadjutor of Mr. James, has directed his attention to the state of religious parties in Scotland. He has confined himself to the practical portion of his subject, and not indulged in many extraneous sentiments on the general topic of Union. Leaving the sphere of general argument and description, where a sanctified imagination loves to indulge itself, Dr. King restricts himself to a historic view of the various parties in Scotland, with a statement of their prevailing agreement as to doctrine, discipline, and government, and then judiciously sets himself to consider the question of Union in cases where it seems to be most difficult of attainment—thus paving the way for discussing the idea of a closer union between Churches so much agreed as the Free Church, the United Secession, and the Relief. In this contribution, there are no circuitous statements—no attempts to slur over difficulties, by uttering a fine sentiment about them, or covering them up in a mass of deceitful verbiage. The cases put are openly and manfully met, without the least shadow of reserve. The topics to be discussed, and differences

to be reconciled, ere the union between several of the bodies mentioned be consummated, are calmly and fully reviewed. It will be admitted, too, that some of these questions are exceedingly delicate, especially in the present position of religious parties; and Dr. King has shewn no little tact in his management of such disputes, without at all compromising any acknowledged principles. The chief feature and excellence of this Essay are, that Dr. King, from first to last, deals with realities, not with abstractions. The Episcopalian, or rather the Reformed Catholic Church in Scotland, closes its doors to all negotiations on the subject of Union. The National Church will go the length of admitting to its pulpit ministers of other denominations, if Presbyterian consent be obtained. Congregational churches differ from the Presbyterian bodies only as to form of government. The Secession and Relief are one in all but in name, and in reference to the other great branch of the unendowed Presbyterian family in Scotland, Dr. King bears a high testimony, which we regret our limits prevent us from quoting.

The highest encomium that can be pronounced on Dr. King's essay, is, that we close it with the deep and pleasing impression that Union among us is not only desirable but practicable, not only a consummation devoutly to be wished, but one which may speedily and easily be obtained. Were the generous spirit of Dr. King's remarks to prevail in the various bodies, were they brought into frequent contact in meetings of catholic interest, and were a jealous caution exercised as to any act or word that might admit of a prejudicial misconstruction, that love which is the "fulfilling of the law,"—the entire complement of that obedience which it requires, would spring up in the midst of them, and our country would be blessed with a numerous, compacted and evangelical ministry, having one aim—to serve God in the gospel of his Son, and only one species of rivalry—that of excelling one another in reviving and extending the interests of their Master, and in promoting spiritual fellowship with "all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours."

One prominent objection to the union which we advocate is, the plea of conscientiousness. Both Christians and ecclesiastical parties stand aloof on the ground that they cannot, with an approving conscience, enter into such schemes of fraternal alliance. The objection often assumes a self-righteous aspect, as those by whom it is made, tacitly set themselves forward as the standard of perfection, to which others must conform, and be united to them during this process of assimilation. Such pride of place gives no room for the exercise of candid and patient forbearance, and would certainly prove an insurmountable barrier to univer-

sal amity and concord. This pharisaical spirit is the more absurd and unreasonable, for its peculiarities so religiously cherished and revered are generally not in doctrine or worship, but in some smaller matter of form or hereditary attachment—the rubric, according to which the “mint, anise, and cummin” are to be gathered, arranged, and tithed. The plea of conscientiousness is one, moreover, which clothes itself in peculiar sanctity, and claims singular privilege. Conscience is as the Holy of Holies in the human constitution, and into it no one can enter with impunity but the great high priest alone. Should those who hold by conscientious scruples, and refuse to join hand in hand with others equally sincere, be urged and entreated to agree, and walk in public reconciliation, their indignant response to the unionists appealing to them is, that they are trampling on sacred ground, that they are desecrating the right of private judgment, and usurping a prerogative which belongs only to the Sovereign Judge. The conscience that holds with equal tenacity the supreme divinity and proper substitution of the Son of God, and any doctrine regarding ministerial apparel for the pulpit, or the mode of conducting psalmody, or of arranging communicants at the table of the Lord, has great need to be informed of its weakness and vice. To repel such bigotry, to give conscientiousness all its claims and catholicity all its influence, to demonstrate the compatibility of their co-existence, and the harmony of their enlightened exercise, is the object of the next essay in the volume, written by Dr. Wardlaw. This eminent author, who has been so often before the Christian public, and whose writings do generally embody the principle which he so eloquently contends for, begins by defining and briefly illustrating what is meant by a Catholic spirit. He then describes the nature and enforces the necessity of conscientiousness in its relation both to truth and duty, at the same time severely reprobating the sin of indifference. Lastly, he proves the entire harmony between a catholic spirit and conscientiousness, exhorts to principles of forbearance, especially in their application to our own times, dwelling particularly on the aphorism, that mutual concession of the claim of conscientiousness is the only principle of Christian Union.

Essay VII. is the longest, and, in some respects, the most characteristic in the volume. Its theme is Party Spirit; and Dr. Struthers, the writer, has taken pains to expose it in every real or imaginary form. In his estimation it is everywhere. It possesses ubiquity in Protestant Christendom. It adheres, in his opinion, to every party, as a species of innate depravity. We cannot help thinking that Dr. Struthers has sometimes mistaken for it the exhibition of other feelings and practices. Determined to drag to light every species of it, he has sometimes, from simi-

larity of appearances, chastised other sentiments and habits which religious parties may pardonably entertain. Not only would he slay Jehoram and all the seed royal, but all who are so unfortunate as bear any resemblance of feature to the proscribed household of him who troubled Israel. Dr. Struthers does not want discrimination; and a little patient exercise of it, we think, would have prevented not a few occasional invectives against the attachment generally entertained by pious Christians to the communion of which they are members. He declares that "in no country is party spirit more prevalent than in Scotland." It is true that with us there are many parties who have strong party predilections; yet we are not sure that this feeling ought to be termed party spirit, and to be utterly proscribed. So long as we are not thoroughly agreed on all points of faith and government, there must be separate Churches—separate and yet one in love, rejoicing in the "fruit of righteousness, sown in peace of them that make peace." We cannot condemn mere denominational attachment, if joined to a Catholic spirit, as factiousness or sectarianism. Dr. Struthers passes in review the leading denominations among us, and pronounces all of them narrow and sectarian. He enters very fully into this examination, and if he does not satisfactorily establish his position, or always succeed in distinguishing party spirit from its more innocent resemblances, his long argument shows that he has industriously endeavoured to explore what he imagines the besetting sin of all religious parties, and certainly he has exhausted the vocabulary of invective and condemnatory epithets against sectarianism. That there are germs of truth in many of his averments, cannot be gainsaid. Scotland has not been alive as it ought to have been to the necessity of free and brotherly inter-communion, yet we scarce think that the majority of its sects manifest that rancorous spirit which Dr. Struthers imputes to them.

Dr. A. Symington of Paisley concludes the volume by illustrating the sacred theme of the Unity of the Heavenly Church, and the influence which the prospect of it should exercise. He enlarges upon the Scriptural view of the heavenly state, especially in reference to its unity, and deduces some practical inferences from the statement which he has advanced. Those inferences are deduced with very great caution, and the author takes special care not to commit himself to any definite plan of Catholic unity. The view of the world of glory, according to him, teaches "the imperfection of the present state." It certainly enforces that lesson with fearful significance. "The prospect of the celestial unity should also excite diligent inquiry into the steps that may and should be taken to promote an approximat-

ing unity." But those steps, however, which he recommends, amount to little more than that Christians should speak and write of union, and, to some extent, co-operate in common objects of benevolence. These steps are far, indeed, from resembling the union of Heaven, and from the impressive admonition which the oneness of the glorified Church presents. They are no advance upon the state of feeling and action which have been prevalent in the various sections of the Church, nay, they scarcely come up to our present attainment. The obstruction in Dr. Symington's path arises evidently from the scrupulous regard which he pays to minor tenets and practices which some sects venerate. He does not, we are confident, attach the same importance to denominational peculiarities as to truths essentially connected with salvation. Yet he seems very loath to assign them a secondary rank, and he shields his reluctance by the vague remarks "that these are difficulties, and that such a distinction as that of essential and non-essential is not drawn for us in the Scriptures themselves." The statement is true in so far as all revealed by Christ is of equal authority, and cannot be disregarded with impunity. But there are some things more obscurely revealed than others, —differences of opinion and of interpretation arise, and these differences do not endanger salvation. Many of those denominational distinctions to which some parties so tenaciously cling are not even named or alluded to in the Word of God, at best they are only referred by their advocates to some general principle, which is supposed to be enunciated in Scripture. If there be, as the author admits, "no inconsiderable amount of agreement in the *verities of the Gospel* in our divided Churches"—(and by the verities of the Gospel he means what other writers in this volume term "essential truths,") mere co-operation in objects of common good is a sinful shortcoming of duty. Dr. Symington approaches much nearer the mark when he declares that "Christians should confer in amicable discussion of the things in which they have not yet attained unity of views. These interviews are to be held in order to attain ultimate union, a result which must be the ruling desire of every one whose eye has caught a glimpse of the unity of the heavenly state." Dr. Symington's sanctified heart is to him a better rule of judgment than his theoretic principles, for his Catholic aspirations are at once chilled again by a reference to his views of the uniformly solemn importance of all the articles in the symbolical book which a Church may have adopted. Such only can be the meaning of the following sentence, for he has been speaking not of general latitudinarianism which all evangelical Unionists reprobate, but of things which, in some cases and circumstances, may be for-

borne in the exercise of Christian wisdom,—“the thing at which we demur, is the expedient of laying the basis of Union on the grave of any truth or institution of the Holy Scripture.” Instead of cautious and guarded expressions, we think that Dr. Symington might have boldly laid down the proposition, that if differences exist which, in the judgment of enlightened charity, do not exclude from the society of Heaven, they ought not to produce separation in visible Church fellowship on earth. Will the Church on earth pretend to be more select than the Church in Heaven? Is the table of the Lord more holy here than the sapphire throne in the skies? The prospect of unity in Heaven is not merely meant to prepare us for it *there*, but to lead to its enjoyment in the Church *below*. The bliss of enjoying it is not to be deferred till we actually share in it above. “Saints by profession,” says a venerable document, “are bound to maintain an holy fellowship and communion in the worship of God—which communion, as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto all those who, in every place, call on the name of the Lord Jesus.” No anticipation is more fraught with holy ecstasy than that of the unity and glory of Heaven—myriads of redeemed spirits encircle the throne of our common Father—our elder brethren who have arrived before us at the eternal home of the Household. Their minds are under no tendency to prejudice, and their heart under no liability to delusion. The social principle, refined and elevated, finds its full development. The family in Heaven enjoy a pure happiness in intercourse with one another, and, even now, next to communion with God is the communion of Saints. Love is the atmosphere of Heaven, and remains when faith and hope shall have changed their present forms of existence. Why might not the magnificent vision be realized, in a great measure, on the earth? Had we the spirit that animates the glorified Society, even though in a far less degree, we should soon enjoy a pledge and foretaste of their concord and bliss. The promise stands sure.—“I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me for ever, for the good of them and of their children after them.” Why not anticipate, by mutual forbearance, and the exercise of “charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned,”—the dispensation of the fulness of the times, when all things shall be gathered together IN ONE in Christ.” Unfeigned love of the brethren would bring heaven down to earth.—Though we have objected to the slowness of conclusion, hesitation of inference, and cautious and jealous guardedness of declaration, which characterize some portions of Dr. Symington’s Essay, we may add, that we have read it with great pleasure, and not the less so from our knowledge of

the holy deportment and unostentatious piety of its excellent author.

Thus have we gone through the eight Essays contained in this volume, for the purpose of shewing that pleasing variety in the midst of unity which they possess. Their authors have not consulted together so as to modify and harmonize their sentiments, and give the book the uniform tone of a single composer. The minor discrepancies which occur among them prove them to be honest independent advocates. They have their own peculiar views, yet they are one, and they write in the furtherance of a common object. Reformed Presbyterian, United Secession, Relief, Independency, English and Scotch, and Free Church, are found side by side in this volume, without conflict or hostility, but peacefully and zealously sustaining one another in the promotion of that love and harmony which Christ enjoins, and the early Church exemplified. Were the Churches which these eight authors represent imbued with this spirit, might we not refer to this joint work not only as a pledge, but as a type of coming union and power. What hinders each party from obeying the call addressed to it? Shall they palliate the sin of schism, or apologise for the guilt of separation? Almost every plea that can be urged is met in this book. Are they in ignorance of any mutual plan which shall have the effect of bringing them together, and of so warming their hearts as that they shall instinctively and simultaneously start the question, why are we not one? Let them listen to the eloquent advice of Dr. Chalmers. Do they hope for union in a better world, and will not this confident anticipation urge them to realize it on earth, as Dr. Symington has solemnly pressed the duty upon them? Do the various sects in England or Scotland stand apart and look at each other with suspicion of greater differences existing between them than are ordinarily surmised? Let them ponder the tender and stirring paragraphs of Mr. James, and the clear, pointed, and practical statements of Dr. King. If there be any dispute as to the principles on which a permanent Union may be formed, Dr. Balmer will be found a calm and sound instructor. If there be on the part of any religious body some conscientious scruple which they are loath to give up, they may be induced to a happy course of honourable consistency, by adopting the principles which Dr. Wardlaw has expounded with such elegance and effect. If they need to be warned of the insidious nature of party spirit, that it has the venom of the snake and the changing hues of the chameleon, they will meet in Dr. Struthers with an honest and vigorous monitor. And looking beyond themselves to a world lying in wickedness, and filled with anxious yearnings towards its perishing population, let them enter into

the spirit of the exciting illustration of the Church's great Commission, given in the essay by Dr. Candlish. What now hinders the emphatic currency of the old proverb—"See these Christians, how they love one another."

As we have freely spoken of these various Essays, of which this volume is composed, and the more so, because so many authors of different denominations have been employed upon it, there is less need that we say much of the book as a whole. Perhaps the arrangement of the Essays might have been better, had those of Mr. James and Dr. King been placed last—had those which develop the theory, and the means, and motives of union been put before those which treat of it as a practical measure among religious parties in present existence. Perhaps, too, an important purpose would have been gained, if a separate and definite place had been assigned to a treatise on the sources of disunion, and on the origin and guilt of schism. There is also needed now a dissertation on what may be termed the literature of the subject, embracing a historic view of the various theories of ecclesiastic unity, which have been given to the world, and an analysis of their peculiar principles, showing in what they were Scriptural, and in what they were fallacious or contradictory, comprehending at the same time a similar detail of the numerous schemes which have been devised to unite the divided Church, detecting also the causes of their failure. The knowledge of those points on which others have failed, may aid our own success. We do not despair of union, for all successive attempts to gain it are teaching us our faults, and leading us to apprehend more distinctly what must be its leading features and principles.

The great lesson now borne home to our conscience, is, that amidst our present divisions, we are to beware of cherishing a sectarian spirit. Truth must be entwined with love. Every cause of misunderstanding and alienation must be carefully and perpetually avoided. We need among us the spirit of Howe and Baxter, to circulate among us "heads of agreement," so that we feel that "zeal for orthodoxy, or for modes and forms may be only an intellectual combat, or party strife, or pride struggling to maintain consistency, or self interest claiming relationship with truth."* What need have we to beware of mixing our own passions with our advocacy of what we deem to be truth. We must have less of our own spirit, and more of God's spirit. "A mortal," says Professor Hoppus, 312, "possessing influence in the Church of Christ, has become enamoured of an idea, and has sometimes scarcely been aware that this idea has assumed no small portion

* Hoppus on Unity, p. 34.

of its importance in his view, simply because it was his own. This idea must be carried out; other Christians must receive it." When this idea is connected with some metaphysical aspect of essential religious truth, its advocate avows his readiness for martyrdom, and cares not to conceal his anxiety to form a party and rend the Church. This picture has been realized in all Churches and in every age, from the days of the first innovators, down through Novatians and Donatists to the present time.

How often have the fairest prospects of union been blasted by untoward circumstances. Though offences must come, yet the cause of them is not guiltless. What unlucky trifles have broken up promising negotiations, while promoters of union have become rancorous separatists. Stillingfleet's tergiversation was a painful instance of human imbecility. If the evil spirit of disunion be once expelled, but be allowed to return, then "taketh he seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and the latter end is worse than the beginning."

In conclusion, no union can be lasting if it is not based on holy principle. In the majority of past schemes to secure it, mere policy has been too apparent. "The fruit of the Spirit is love." A revival of religion would give new power to this sacred principle. The nearer the Churches come to Christ as their common centre, the nearer they come to one another. And when they meet "with one accord," as on the morning of Pentecost, and present their earnest supplications for the promised blessing, its effusion will develop their mutual affinities—bringing them into sympathetic contact and final unity. In the present condition of parties, love to Christ will display itself to all who bear His blessed image, and when the features of that image are more fully recognized, affection of a nobler strength will attach itself to every one begotten of God, who visibly bears on his heart the stamp of his high parentage. No mental endowments or supernatural gifts are to be compared with love to the brethren. Benevolence of a lofty order, unless inspired by it, "profiteth nothing." Prophecies and tongues, the rare gifts of the Holy Ghost, peculiar to the early age of the Church, have passed away, but love remains, nay the ordinary graces of the Spirit shall lose their present aspect, but love shall reign for ever.

ART. X.—*Lettres sur le Clergé et sur la liberté d'enseignement ;*
par M. LIBRI, Membre de l'Institut : Paris, 1844. 8vo.

THE subject of this article, to be treated as fully as it deserves, would require not a few pages but a volume, its extent being equal to its importance—not only in the abstract, but in its connexion with, and bearing on, the present and future state of France. Yet, although we feel the impossibility of making our readers as fully acquainted as we should wish, with what we consider the most momentous question which has of late agitated the French nation and its Government, we think we may be able to give a correct idea of it, even within the narrow limits to which we are forced to restrain ourselves. We are induced to make the attempt chiefly from observing how little is known in England respecting the religious movement, now taking place in France, to which the question of education in that country mainly owes its interest ; but, to prevent any misunderstanding and disappointment, we think it necessary to state explicitly what we mean not to do, as well as what we mean to do, in the following pages. We do not mean to enter into the abstract question of either freedom of instruction or freedom of education, nor to decide whether the system now pursued in France, or that which the Government proposes, or even that for which the Opposition contends, is theoretically preferable. We shall be occasionally obliged, in order to be understood, to give an account of certain political, as well as religious doctrines, which are, or have been, or seem likely to become, prevalent in France—but we shall endeavour to limit ourselves to the office of narrators : not because we have not a strong and decided opinion on the various topics which we shall have thus to touch upon, but because we do not wish to force our views and arguments on our readers at the expense of important facts which we should be otherwise obliged to omit for the sake of brevity. We, moreover, think, that when the case is before them, our readers will not be at a loss to what conclusion to come. Let them, however, take care not to argue from what is attempted or claimed by the respective parties in France to what ought to be attempted or claimed in other countries placed under different religious and political circumstances. The great majority of the French people who profess any religion at all, are Roman Catholics ; that is, belonging to a Church pretending to infallibility ; subject to a foreign independent temporal sovereign, claiming likewise infallibility in spiritual matters ; believing that theirs is the only true religion—and, therefore, necessarily intolerant, as truth is incompatible with error ; taught to submit

blindly their own reason and judgment to the judgment of their ecclesiastical superiors ; and, lastly, told that the spiritual is above the temporal power ; the theoretical distinction of the subjection of the latter to the former "in temporal matters only," being *practically* of no consequence, as, all power coming from God, is therefore subject to God's vicar on earth, (such is the style of the Pope), and to his priests, the Pope's subjects. So much for some of the most remarkable religious tenets of the French. With respect to their political constitution, although no one can deny that the French are, to a certain extent, in their own way, and possibly in the manner most suitable to their character and circumstances—free,—they have, however, an executive interfering every where, possessing an enormous patronage, and being the *centre* to which all administrative acts tend ; judges who look to the executive for promotion ; a very small body of electors ; no freedom of worship ;* a House of Peers, performing merely the office of our Star-Chamber of three centuries ago, and not the slightest notion or power of self-government. Let, therefore, our readers judge of this question of education in France as merely French—for a country and for a people circumstanced as the French are, and not for any other.

It seems to be undeniable, that under the government that preceded the Revolution education was under the direct control of the civil power.† France counted not less than twenty universities,‡ under whose superintendence, more or less immediate, the whole education of the kingdom was carried on. These great corporations, controlled by the Parliaments, were often at variance with the clergy, and more particularly with the religious orders, against which they succeeded in asserting their superiority in all matters connected with education. Although individual priests were admitted by these universities to partake of the honours and duties of education, yet, no monk, friar, or any other member of a religious congregation or association, was ever so far trusted. Often did these religious associations endeavour to share with the universities their high

* Nulle association de plus de vingt personnes, dont le but sera de se réunir tous les jours, ou à certains jours marqués pour s'occuper d'objets religieux, littéraires, politiques, ou autres, ne pourra se former qu'avec l'agrément du gouvernement.—Cod. Pén. Art. 291.

† Villemain, Exposé des motifs de la loi sur l'instruction secondaire présenté à la Chambre des Pairs le 2 Février 1844.—Thiers, Rapport sur la loi d'instruction secondaire, fait au nom de la Commission de la Chambre des Députés, le 13 Juillet, 1844.

‡ They were those of Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Angers, Poitiers, Nantes, Reims, Valence, Aix, Montpellier, Besançon, Douai, Strasbourg, Dijon, Nancy, Orange, and Avignon ; (before the Revolution Avignon was subject to the Pope.)

privileges, such as, for instance, that of conferring degrees : the resistance was invariably successful. Some religious corporations, particularly the Jesuits and the *Oratoriens*,* had many colleges in which young people were prepared for the Universities, if they intended to take a degree, whilst those who did not wish to follow any profession were satisfied with the instruction therein received. It was from these colleges that many of those came who either prepared the French Revolution, or acted a leading part in it. Voltaire, Diderot and Siéyes, had received their education from the Jesuits. Fouché was a pupil of the *Oratoire*.† We do not wish to attach more importance than we have a fair right to such coincidences ; but if it be true that the tree is known by its fruit, we think it requires considerable boldness to boast of the soundness of education that was imparted in those happy times by those reverend fathers.

The Jesuits, we need scarcely say, had disappeared before the French Revolution. That overwhelming torrent swept away all the other religious orders, and shortly after, the university itself, as well as the private schools, directed by laymen, of which not less than 384 existed in France in 1789. Among the many plans of reform projected by the Constituent Assembly, was one relating to public instruction. It was submitted to them by one of their number,—Monsieur de Talleyrand, in a report of which he was justly proud, presented to the Assembly on the 10th, 11th, and 19th September, 1791. It embraced the whole subject, and entered into minute details respecting the education of all classes. It proposed plans adapted to the then prevailing principles of government, from the schools for children of five or six years of age, to the organization of the National Institute. That Report was not acted upon. It is, however, to be remarked, that whilst much was said about freedom of education, M. de Talleyrand's plan gave, in fact, the greatest control to the government. The Convention tried, likewise, to meddle with education, adapting the rules respecting it to the principles of government then in vogue. Thus, education was free ; but all masters were to be elected by the people, the text-books were selected by a decree of the Convention, and neither priests nor noblemen were allowed to become instructors. Under the Directory, public instruction having fallen to the lowest ebb, private institutions were conducted by speculators, who sold their abominable education on the best terms they could get.

* An order, founded by S. Philip Neri, in 1564. Baronius, the great annalist of the Church of Rome, belonged to it. They were secular priests in fact, bound to live in a manner becoming their station, but not tied by special vows.

† There was a large number of *Oratoriens* who joined the conventional clergy.—See Henrion, *Hist. des Ordres Relig.* p. 377.

When Napoleon seized the reins of government, he was not long in perceiving the abuses, and in attempting to remedy them; he saw, that after what had taken place during the preceding ten years, it was more necessary than ever for a strong government to take public instruction into its own hands; he began, on the 1st May 1802, by submitting the public schools to the direct authority of the Government, whilst private institutions were brought under its superintendence, and rendered subject to the inspection of public functionaries created for the purpose. He went farther, and declared that no school for *secondary* instruction should be opened without leave from the executive. Some years afterwards, on the 10th of May 1806, a law was passed, enacting the erection of an imperial university, exclusively charged with the instruction and education of all the then French nation. In doing this, Napoleon wished to apply to education the principle of centralization which he had applied to other branches of the public service. Two decrees, 17th March 1808, and 15th November 1811, carried out the principle sanctioned by the law of 1806, which was suggested to Napoleon by the perusal of the statutes of the University of Turin, founded by Charles-Emmanuel III. in 1771.* The University of France was to have the control over all education in the empire, except the seminaries attached to the bishoprics. No establishment of education could be formed without the permission of the University, nor could any be superintended except by one of its members. The direction of the University was intrusted to a grand-master and a council, who were to prescribe and enforce discipline, and make such bye-laws as they deemed necessary, subject to the approbation of the Government. In every town, the residence of a Court of Appeal, there was to be an academy, forming part of the Imperial University. In these academies, the higher branches of instruction were to be taught, and degrees conferred, by professors elected chiefly from among the pupils of the *Ecole normale*—a college where the art of instructing was to be learnt by persons who had already completed their studies. Preparatory to the University were the *Lycées*, (at present *Collèges Royaux*, forty-six in number), in which the curriculum included moral and religious instruction, the study of ancient and modern languages, philosophy, history, geography, mathematical and physical sciences, which formed the subject of examination for candidates for the baccalaureate of letters or of sciences. This is what is included in what is technically called *instruction secondaire*. Concurrently with the Royal colleges, this

* Rendu, Code Universitaire. Introduction.

instruction could be imparted either in municipal colleges, or in private colleges or institutions, subject to the control of the University of France; and it is precisely to fix the legality, and define the limits of this control, that a law was introduced, for the third time, in February 1844, by M. Villemain.

Of this, however, we shall speak presently: now, we shall proceed with the history of the University. At the same time when he established the University, Napoleon authorized the erection of seminaries, in which young men were to be prepared for the priesthood, as high schools of theology. These schools were established in all "metropolitans," that is, in ten different cities of France. The pupils were to be taught moral theology, dogmatic theology, ecclesiastical history, sacred eloquence, and the *maxims of the Gallican Church*. The appointment of the directors and professors of these institutions, was at first vested in the head of the state, on the proposition of the episcopate; Napoleon transferred it afterwards to the archbishops and their suffragans. To be admitted in these seminaries, it was necessary to have taken the degree of bachelor of letters. Later still, *secondary ecclesiastical schools* were authorized, but subject to the University, and preparatory for the *grands séminaires*. On the 5th of October 1814, these secondary ecclesiastical schools, known also under the name of *petits séminaires*,* were taken from under the jurisdiction of the University, and made completely over to the bishops, every one of whom was authorized to have one of these schools under his entire control. It was moreover permitted, that the frequenters of these *petits séminaires* should be exempted from a tax to which all other students were subject, and be admissible to take their degree of bachelor of letters free of expense.† By these means an attempt was made to transfer to the bishops and their nominees, independent of the civil power, the whole education of the French youths. Nor was it long till the University was interfered with. On the 22d of June 1814, the laws, decrees and statutes, by which that great institution was governed, were provisionally maintained; but on the 17th of February 1815, an ordonnance made many alterations in them, the most remarkable of which was to encourage the growth of institutions opposed to it. All

* The legal denomination is *Ecoles secondaires ecclésiastiques*; that of "*petits séminaires*" was used to make them partake of the favours shewn to the *grands séminaires*.

† Even now, not only are all the heads and professors of these institutions paid by the State, but £40,000 sterling are given yearly for the support and education of persons destined to the Church.—LIBRI, p. 172. Their students continue likewise free from the *impôt universitaire*, an odious, impolitic, and barbarous tax, amounting to five per cent. of the cost of education in colleges, which goes to the treasury of the University.

this in favour of the most extravagant maxims of the Court of Rome, to support which the precaution was even taken of appointing grand-master of the University a bishop *in partibus*, Frayssinous, who wrote in favour of the liberties of the Gallican Church, to be more at ease in acting as their most determined enemy.*

It was under his administration and auspices that the Jesuits sneaked very quietly into some *petits séminaires*, and possessed themselves of the instruction there given. This, indeed, was not their first attempt to get a footing in France. On the 3d Messidor, An 12, (22d June 1804,) Portalis made a report respecting some associations or congregations, whose statutes, laws and principles, were kept secret, and which took the name of *Société du Cœur de Jésus*, of *Société des victimes de l'amour de Dieu*, and of *Société des Pères de la foi*. The last, which assumed also the denomination of *Adorateurs de Jésus*, or *Pacanaristes*, were discovered to be neither more nor less than Jesuits, and having rasher designs than the others, who probably sprung from the same root, although less could be discovered about them. Being all abolished, the whole withdrew; but in 1809, having presented themselves under the name of missionaries authorized by the bishops, they were again suppressed by a decree of the 26th September 1809. These vanished once more; but on the Bourbons possessing themselves of the French throne, they reappeared, and, what is more, their existence was acknowledged by an ordonnance of the 25th September 1816. They were still called missionaries; and as they increased in power,

* We cannot do better than transcribe from M. Libri the following sketch of the attacks made upon the University by the Bourbons:—"Sixteen faculties of literature, and three of science, were suppressed in one day: sciences were almost totally driven from the colleges. Seven *provisours*, (heads of colleges,) six censors, fifty-seven professors, eighteen principals, one hundred and four regents, and a large number of teachers, were either dismissed or suspended; as early as the beginning of 1816, more than 600 priests had invaded the University..... The Ecole normale was suppressed..... Under the administration of Bishop Frayssinous a number of excellent professors were dismissed, because they did not like the Jesuits."—Pp. 152, 154. We are sorry to have been forced to abridge this most important list of grievances. Among the professors dismissed, (or, as they used to say, whose course of lectures was suspended,) we shall mention M. Guizot, then, as now, Professor of history. In the life of Frayssinous, by Henrion, lately published, the motives of this measure are thus unblushingly avowed:—"The chair of history was filled by an eminent man, who, having since risen to the highest places, has given proofs of a rare capacity; but he was a Protestant. The Bishop of Hermopolis [that was the see to which Frayssinous had been named] did not think that a Protestant could treat impartially the most delicate questions of history before a Catholic audience, and M. Guizot's course was suspended, in October 1822," p. 388. Immediately after the fall of the Jesuitical party, in 1828, M. Guizot was reinstated, and began his course in April of that year, when he delivered his splendid lectures on the History of Civilization in Europe.

public opinion, as well as the periodical press, became stronger against them. In 1825, on a trial for sedition, against the *Constitutionnel* and the *Courrier Français*, the Royal Court of Paris, at a solemn sitting of all its chambers, declared that all religious corporations, (and this was well understood to be especially directed against the Jesuits,) were still forbidden, and that the Ultramontane doctrines, professed by a portion of the clergy, might become dangerous to the civil and religious liberty of France. This took place on the 5th of December. Soon after, a most spirited attack was made on the Jesuits, by Count Montlosier. This nobleman, a deputy from the *noblesse* to the States-General in 1789, had uniformly shown himself a sincere Catholic, and strongly attached to the monarchy, but feeling satisfied that neither religion nor constitutional monarchy could be advanced by Jesuitism, he denounced them to the tribunals of the country.* These having declared themselves incompetent, Montlosier transferred his accusation to the Chambers, and after a warm debate, the friends of the Jesuits were defeated. It was about this time, that is, on the 26th of May, 1826, that Frayssinous admitted that there were Jesuits in France,—that they had taken into their own hands the education in seven seminaries, but that, as the bishops had not interfered, the Government had nothing to do with the subject.† The elections, which took place in 1827, showed what was the opinion which the nation entertained of the Jesuits. At the beginning of 1828, a commission was appointed to inquire into the facts, as well as the laws applicable to the circumstances.‡ The Commissioners

* Montlosier died in 1838, at Clermont, and was denied burial in consecrated ground. The Council of State, by a solemn judgment, (30th December 1838,) declared this an abuse of authority on the part of the Bishop of Clermont. But his unchristian, as well as illegal conduct, shows the spirit by which the Jesuits and their supporters are animated. Montlosier, we beg to repeat, was a sincere Roman Catholic; nevertheless, his body was subjected to this shameful insult! It was he who, when the Constituent Assembly were going to forbid the bishops to wear a cross on their breast—generally of precious metals—exclaimed:—"If you forbid them to carry a cross of gold, they will take one of wood: and it was a cross of wood that converted the world to Christianity!"

† This, as M. Dupin, and the minority of the commission which we are going to mention, observed, is to pretend that a bishop can do more than a king; for the latter cannot legalize the existence of the Jesuits, or their meddling with education, without a law, which requires the consent of the Chambers, whereas, according to Frayssinous, a bishop could, of his own free will, do as much as an act of the legislature.

‡ The commission was appointed after the fall of M. de Villèle—the only man who could have saved the Bourbons from the effects of their infatuation, if that had been possible for a mortal to do. M. de Villèle felt, or rather was oppressed by, the weight of the unpopularity of the Jesuits who were forced on his back. M. de Martignac, his successor, endeavoured in vain to get rid of them, and was finally sacrificed to them. He was succeeded by M. de Polignac, who was their man, and who sacrificed to them himself, his king, the dynasty, and

(nine in number,) were unanimous on every point, except on the question of the illegal existence of the Jesuits, and of their meddling with education. On this point four members were for the affirmative—Lainé, Seguier, Mounier and Dupin;—five, the Archbishop of Paris (Quelen), that of Beauvais (Feu-trier), Labourdonnais, Alexis de Noailles and de Courville, for the negative. But time pressed, and the force of public opinion was too strong. Two ordonnances were passed on the 16th of June 1828,—by one of them the eight seminaries occupied by the Jesuits were submitted to the University,* and no Jesuit was from that day to be allowed to direct a school or give instruction in it: by the other, the pupils of the *petits séminaires* all over France were ordered not to exceed 20,000. It was also directed that no other pupils should be taught there but those who lived in the seminary.

When the revolution of 1830 took place, the people had not forgotten the efforts made by the expelled dynasty to intrust, by illegal ordonnances, the national education to the Jesuits. To guard against a like event, an article, the 69th, was introduced in the constitution, by which it was enacted that in future public instruction should be free; this freedom to be legalized and established by laws to be forthwith passed. The compilers of that article were only thinking of what had happened: their only aim was to prevent a recurrence of the same events; they, therefore, wished the executive not to have it in their power to favour religious congregations at the expense of public liberty. It is not requisite to enter into many arguments to prove that the revolution of 1830, was made not for but against the Jesuits; yet it is founding themselves on this very article of the charter, that all the opposition against the Government, and what is called “the monopoly of the University”—rests. It is argued that liberty of instruction means, that every body when he likes, where he likes, and as he likes, has the right to set up for himself and give instruction, no matter what his character, his qualifications, and his conduct may be. Now, we must not be led away by theories; it may be that this unlimited liberty is, after all, the very thing wanted; but is it so in France as at present constituted? If this was the meaning, why should it have been foreseen that laws, to regulate that liberty, were to be passed? It is remarkable, too, that whilst all parties in the

very nearly the monarchy. Henry V., as he is ludicrously called, comes to England, and by whom is he received? By Lord Shrewsbury. Whom does he honour with visits? The College at Oscott. By whom was he educated? By Bishop Frayssinous.

* These were the *petits séminaires* of Aix, Billom, Bourdeaux, Dole, Forcalquier, Mont-Morillon, Saint-Acheul, and Sainte-Anne d'Auray.

State agree that some laws should be passed on the subject, the Jesuits and their adherents only, claim unlimited freedom. Whence does it come that a party, certainly not in general in favour of liberty, should be so eager for it on this particular occasion, whilst what is commonly known as the Liberal party are against it? The answer to this question requires some investigation into the past and the present history of the Jesuits, and into that of the liberties of the Gallican Church.

The Jesuits are, and have for a long time, been spoken of as an association, fatal to all governments and civil institutions, which it either undermines or enslaves. It has been represented as propagating immoral doctrines, and as equally dangerous to friends and foes. The Jesuits boast of their saints and of their martyrs, of their sacrifices and successful exertions in the cause of religion, and of their rapid growth; that they were expelled thirty-nine times in the course of little more than two centuries from various states of Europe is, according to their friends, a proof of their great merits. How many, who talk of the Jesuits, have studied their history and their constitution? We think but few; and it is to give an idea of the latter more particularly, that we shall request the attention of our readers to the following pages.

The order of the Jesuits was founded, as is well known, by Ignatius Loyola, formerly a profligate soldier, who left in the rules which he framed for the order, marks of the principles of severe military discipline which he had imbibed in his early profession. To counteract the essence of the Reformation, as proclaimed by Luther, an attempt was made to reform, not only the regular clergy, against whom he had more particularly declared war, but the temporal clergy, whom it was necessary to bring back to their efficiency by discipline. The institutions of the Theatins and of the Bernabites in Upper Italy, were attempts in this direction, but the success of Loyola soon threw them into the shade. Although in point of fact a religious order, the Jesuits were neither to wear a peculiar dress, nor to pray in common or at unusual hours, nor prove their religion by scourging and fasting; but they were to mix with the world, and dedicate themselves to confession, as well as to the performance of other duties of priests; they were to be ready to preach, and teach, and argue, and therefore were to be instructed; they were to look upon the honour of belonging to their institute as the highest on earth, and bind themselves never to seek or accept other distinctions, or ecclesiastical dignities. To prove themselves worthy of it, they were to submit to hard and long trials, and in addition to the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, which they were to make like other members of religious orders, they were to make

a fourth vow of going at once wherever the Pope should direct them, without observation, delay, or reward. And, with respect to obedience, it was expected that they would practice it blindly, cheerfully, not only surrendering their own persons and outward acts like inanimate things, but surrendering their own will, judgment, and reason. Thus, whilst the great religious movement of the reform was directed towards restraining the tyrannical despotism of the Pope, and emancipating human reason from a degrading thralldom, Loyola instituted a Society (that was the name assumed) of professed slaves, not inaptly designated as "The Janissaries of the Pope."

The members of the Society, which was at first to consist of only sixty,* were afterwards divided into four different classes:—That is, *professed*, who are the *perfect* Jesuits, bound by *solemn* vows to poverty, chastity, obedience, and to go wherever the Pope directs them; *coadjutors*, bound by simple vows to poverty, chastity, and obedience only; *students*, who make the three simple vows, adding a promise of entering the Society, either as professed or coadjutors, as shall appear best to the General; *indifferents*, who are admitted to their trials, as it were, and who promise to enter whichever of the three foregoing classes their superior shall, at the end of two years' noviciate or trials, be pleased to direct him to join. The professed Jesuit is the highest in dignity, is always a priest, and he alone can be elected General or Provincial, or can vote at the regular assemblies of the Society. The coadjutor is understood to be ready to perform any duty which, for the spiritual or temporal advantage of the Society, the superior may think proper to impose upon him; he may or may not be in priest's orders, according as the services to which he is destined, may or may not require it.† The precise nature of the *scholars* and *indifferents* results from what has been already said. A bull of Julius III.‡ moreover authorizes the general of the Jesuits to admit others,|| according to their devotion and condition in life, to make, even privately, solemn vows; and these need not enter a house or a college, but may continue to live as before, without any one being aware that they belong to the Society.

* The bull of Paul III., dated the 7th September 1540, limited the number of the Jesuits to sixty; that of the 14th of March 1543 did away with all limitation as to numbers. On the 5th of June 1546, the Jesuits were permitted to admit twenty coadjutors, and no more; and on the 18th November 1549, the same Pope allowed them to admit as many coadjutors as they thought proper.

† If a coadjutor destined to menial offices, know how to read, he must not learn more; and if he do not, he must not learn without the permission of the General.—*Regul. Com.* n. 14.

‡ Bul. *Exposcit debitum*, July 21, 1550.

|| So it is understood in the *Examen Gen. cum declarat.* § 8. *Præter hæc quatuor genera personarum, nonnulli ad solemnnem professionem trium votorum tantum juxta literas apostolicas Julii III. admittantur.*

Before a person is admitted into it, he is to be asked whether he ever was guilty of heresy, if he committed homicide or any act by which he lost his fair name, if he ever belonged to any religious order, if he be married, or subject to any illness affecting his intellect. These questions must be put, we learn, without letting the candidate suspect that the affirmative in any case (except the case of infamy, when it happened in very distant countries) excludes at once from admission, in order that he may answer more freely and truly.* If the answers are satisfactory, the candidate is submitted to a further examination respecting his age, name, country, parents, condition in life, relations, state of affairs and of health,† his religious habits, and education. This examination being satisfactory, he is to be told that he must give up all his worldly property, in the manner that he may be advised by the superior or friends chosen by him, particularly if the property is to be given up to relations; neither write or receive letters except seldom, and when the superior will read them and deliver them or not as he pleases — Sir J. Graham has undertaken to do this by stealth and forgery of seals for all England;—have no more attachment for parents or relations, but consider them as dead, and say, speaking of them, *I had a father, a brother, &c.* but not, *I have*, though they be living; consent that all his faults, and habits, be revealed to the superior by whomsoever is aware of them, and he reveal those of others. Lastly, either before or soon after this examination, the candidate, under the seal of confession, or secrecy, or in any other way he may please, must give a general, minute, and full account of all his life and conversation, either to the superior himself, or to any one who may be deputed by him for the purpose. And during the trials, from six months to six months, a confession must be made to the superior, or the person whom he selects, starting from the point where last left off; it is recommended that even the professed or coadjutors should every year confess all their actions, beginning from the last confession. There are, besides, particular examinations for the several classes of Jesuits, according to the nature of the peculiar class to which they are to belong; these, however, to be explained, would take more room than we can spare; and, moreover, the above details, which apply to every member of the Society indiscriminately, are not insufficient for our purpose.

* Should the answers not be satisfactory, but the candidate possessed with some remarkable gifts from God, then the superior ought to be consulted by the examiner before dismissing him.

† Et hoc non solum interrogetur, sed, quoad fieri potest, inspicatur.

The Society and the General or the superiors to whom he gives the power, have the right of dismissing from their body any member of it, or of refusing to receive those who have been admitted to their trials. That power is totally uncontrolled as far as the person admitted or rejected is concerned. It is of course to be exercised more sparingly and cautiously towards the *Professed* than toward the junior novice among the *Indifferents*. On the other hand, he who has taken the vows cannot leave the Society without permission. And under any circumstance and in whatever situation of life a Professed Jesuit finds himself, he is bound by his oath to listen to the advice of his General, and to follow it if he thinks it better than his own, the whole to be understood according to the constitutions and declarations of the Society.* These are the very words of the oath, by which the Professed Jesuit promises not to accept of any church dignity, except if forced to it by virtue of obedience, and under the penalty of sin. In which case he may be placed at the head of a church as Bishop, and then he is to listen to the General as just stated.

Now, according to these Constitutions, a Jesuit must obey his superior like a dead body, (*tanquam cadaver*,) like a stick, (*tanquam baculum*,) omitting to complete a letter of the alphabet; when ordered to do something else,† looking upon his superior as the representative of God, and abiding by his orders when they are not manifestly sinful, taking for granted that they are right even when it is merely probable that they are so. In the famous letter of Loyola, “de obedientiæ virtute,” he says, that he who wishes to dedicate himself to God, must sacrifice not only his will but his understanding to his superior, so as not only to wish but to feel what the superior orders and feels. And as our will can be deceived in what interests us, so may our judgment; in the same manner, therefore, that we submit our will, we ought to submit our judgment to the superior, that it may not be wrong. In human affairs, a wise man thinks it prudent not to trust to himself in what concerns him, as his interest may blind his judgment: and if, in human affairs, we defer to the judgment of one who is not our superior, how much more in spiritual affairs ought we to defer to him who, as our superior, is our di-

* Omnia intelligendo juxta Societatis Jesu constitutiones et declarationes.

† Ad superioris vocem perinde ac si a Christo Domino egrederetur quam promptissimi simus, re quavis, atque adeo litera a nobis inchoata, necdum perfecta, relicta . . . quicquid nobis injunctum fuerit obeundo; omnia justa esse nobis persuadendo; omnem sententiam ac judicium nostrum contrarium caeca quadam obedientia abnegando . . . Qui sub obedientia vivunt se ferri ac regi a divina providentia per superiores suos sinere debent perinde ac si cadaver essent, quod quoque versus ferri et quacumque ratione tractari se sinit: vel similiter atque senis baculus, qui ubicumque et quacumque in re velit eo uti, qui cum manu tenet, ei inservit.—*Reg. Septima Congr. Gen. § 34, et seq.*

rector, being the representative of God, and the interpreter of the Divine will? * From which it is clear, that a Jesuit is always under the power of his General, and that a Jesuit Pope would be in the same predicament. Hence no Pope was ever elected from among the Jesuits by the Cardinals, to whom they are known.

The *Superior* is the General (*Præpositus Generalis*) of the Jesuits, who always resides at Rome. His power is of the most despotic kind. The General is elected FOR LIFE in about the same manner as the Pope is elected, but by a simple majority of votes. The electors are three deputies from each province—that is, the Provincial, (*Præpositus Provincialis*), (or should he be unable to attend, one chosen by him as his representative out of three Professed elected by the Provincial congregation,) and two Professed. All the Professed of the Province, the Rectors of Colleges, Heads of Houses, and Procurators, have a right of voting. When elected, the General can be deposed only for high crimes, such as heresy, stabbing, breaking his vows of chastity, or embezzling the property of the Society, in a general congregation, and by two-thirds of the votes. Should it appear that he does not deserve to be deposed, other business ought to be transacted, that it may appear that the congregation was held only for this secondary purpose; should it be found necessary to depose him, he ought to be secretly persuaded to resign, in order that his resignation might be publicly announced, so as to conceal both his crime, and the fact of his deposition for it.† In case of his being

* The above is an abridged translation of part of the letter of Ignatius *de Virtute Obedientia*, which has force of law in the Society. We beg to transcribe in original such parts of it as we have substantially translated: “Qui vero se totum penitus immolare vult Deo, intelligentiam quoque (qui tertius et summus est gradus obedientia) offerat necesse est, ut non solum idem velit, sed et etiam ut idem sentiat quod Superior, ejusque judicio submittat suum quoad potest devota voluntate intelligentiam inflectere.... Etenim negari non potest quin obedientia comprehendat non solum executionem, ut imperata quis faciat; et voluntatem, ut libenter faciat; sed etiam judicium, ut quæcumque Superior mandat ac sentit, eadem inferiori et vera et recta esse videantur, quatenus, ut dixi, vi sua potest voluntas intelligentiam flectere.

... Jam vero si finis et causa obedientia spectatur, quemadmodum voluntas, ita et judicium in eo quo nobis convenit decipi potest. Ergo sicuti ne voluntas erret cum superioris voluntate conjungitur, sic intelligentia ne fallatur, ad superioris intelligentiam conformanda est. Ne innitatis prudentia tua sacrae Literæ monent; atque in rebus etiam humanis centent sapientes, vere prudentia non esse sua, ipsius prudentia minime fidere; præsertim in rebus suis, quarum homines animo perturbato fere boni judices esse non possunt. Quod si in rebus nostris alterius etiam non Superioris judicium atque concilium nostro anteponendum est; quanto magis ipsius Superioris cui nos ut Dei vicem gerenti ac divinae voluntatis interpreti moderandos tradidimus! In causis vero personisque spiritualibus eo major etiam cautio procul dubio est necessaria, quo gravius est spiritualis viae periculum cum sine frenis concilii discretionisve in ea decurritur.

† Et cum constitutum fuerit illum officio privare, tunc etiam cum Præposito Generali secreto agendum est ut ipsemet officio se abdicet; ut hoc promulgari, et peccatum ac officii propter peccatum privatio occultari possit.

either affected by mental or other illness, or otherwise unfit for his high office, a vicar ought to be attached to the General, who should still preserve his dignity. He is aided by five assistants (*assistentes*), who have very limited powers, and no vote: the decision of all affairs rests with the General. If he should be accused of any high misconduct, these assistants, or three of them at least, may, under their hand, call together a general congregation to inquire into his conduct. The *Provincials* have the right of adding two persons of their own free will to the deputation of three elected by the provincial congregation to attend the general congregation, in all cases except when called together for the election of a General. In the case of addition, the deputation may therefore consist of five persons.

In order that an opinion may be formed of the enormous uncontrolled power of the General, we shall now enumerate some of the principal acts he can perform. He admits whom he pleases, when he pleases, and on the terms he pleases, into the Society; he can order any member of the Society to perform any duty in any part of the world, without a moment's notice; he may recall from any part of the world any Jesuit sent thither even by the Pope's orders, and transfer him to any other country or duty; he may dismiss from the Society, at will, any of its members; he may direct a number of coadjutors to be sent to a general congregation, and may name the two persons who are to act as delegates from any province, together with the Provincial, either by directing them to be elected by the provincial congregation, or electing them himself without farther trouble; he alone can summon a congregation; he appoints and dismisses at pleasure all the officers and dignitaries of the Society, of whatever rank they be, to whom he grants more or less of his own power as he deems expedient, recalling it at pleasure, no one having any power whatever but as his delegate, and he having the power of annulling any act which may have been performed even in virtue of his own authority by any of his subordinates; finally, he can inflict what penances and punishments he thinks just, or freely pardon any misconduct or misbehaviour.

We have mentioned, besides, the *Heads of Houses, the Rectors of Colleges, and Procurators*, as officers of the Society. To understand their duties it will be necessary to explain how the vow of poverty is understood by the Jesuits. Although neither the houses (*Domus Professæ*,) nor their individual members can possess any thing, but must live on charity—not begging, but waiting for Providence to help them*—although no remuneration under

* The procurator, and if necessary, some persons allowed to assist him, beg for the Society.—*Regula*, c. 4, num. 59. He has the administration of the worldly affairs of the Society. The Theatins waited likewise for alms to be brought to them :

any shape, form, or pretext, can be accepted by a Jesuit for performing any of the clerical duties which he may be directed to perform, such as confessing, administering the sacrament, instructing, preaching, &c., (a comparison not a little invidious to the parochial clergy who live partly on dues claimable on the performance of these very offices,)—although a Jesuit ordered to start for China or Canada—for Newfoundland or Polynesia—is not to ask for any *viaticum*, yet very different is the case with respect to colleges (*Collegia*,) houses for instruction, which are allowed to possess landed as well as personal property to any extent.* The colleges are under the control of the General and Provincial. They have at their head a rector, who is not often a Professed, but generally either a coadjutor or a scholar.

So is this celebrated Society constituted. We have, of course, omitted all minor points of their statutes, to some of which we may possibly have to allude in the course of this article, as we had not room to enter upon them. For the same reason we shall not attempt even a short history of the order from its foundation to its suppression, but we shall content ourselves with touching on one fact too prominent to be omitted. In the Brief of Suppression of the Jesuits, Clement XIV. states, as a matter of history, that from the very origin of this corporation, sorrows, and jealousy, and discord, arose not only among its own members but between the Society and the other religious orders,—the colleges, the universities, the secular clergy,—that complaints were made against them from all quarters, chiefly on account of their greediness for the good things of this world. This deserves to be well considered by the side of their profession of not meddling with temporal affairs, and of the simplicity with which they speak of their littleness.†

It was originally ordered to the members of the Society that they should not meddle with State affairs;‡ that they should endeavour to keep on good terms with Princes and powerful personages;§ that they should avoid being confessors of Princes.¶

it has been said, that soon an order would be founded, the members of which would expect to be fed like children, even by those who took provisions to them.

* Attached to the Colleges, and as parts of them, are the Houses of Trials, (*Domus Probationia*,) which also can hold property to any extent.

† *Hæc minima Societas*, are the words at the very beginning of the Constitutions.

‡ *Præcipitur nostris omnibus, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ. . . . Ne quisquam publicis et sæcularibus Principum negotiis quæ ad rationem status (ut vocant) pertinent ulla ratione se immiscere; nec etiam quantumvis per quoscumque requisitus aut rogatus, ejusdem res politicas tractandi curam suscipere audeat aut præsumat.*—*Congreg. Gen. v.*, Can. 12. See also, Can. 13.

§ In primis conservetur benevolentia sedis Apostolicæ; deinde Principum sæcularium et magnatum ac primariæ auctoritatis hominum.—*Declarat. in 1. part. Constitut. § A.*

¶ *Visum est Congregationi nec Principibus nec dominis aliis sæcularibus aut*

When this was allowed a confessor was ordered to limit himself to his business, speaking, however, of affairs that might be important, even not learnt in confession from the penitent,* avoiding all show of power and influence,† taking especial good care never to write himself, but when writing is requisite, inducing the Prince to write, and never to be the messenger of bad tidings to any one.‡ To these instructions of Acquaviva, the conduct of Tellier, Confessor of Louis XIV., and Daubenton, Confessor of Philip V. of Spain, may serve as illustrations.

The precept that the Jesuits should first and above all be eager to deserve the benevolence of the Apostolic See, and *afterwards* of the secular Princes, has been scrupulously observed by them. The history of France offers repeated examples of it, and the most curious of all is their recall by Henry IV. To his benevolence they had certainly preferred that of the Pope; and strange as it may seem, it was owing to this more than doubtful affection for him on their part, that that Monarch took the step of trying to make them his friends. From a passage of Sully (*Economies royales*, tom. v., p. 113, edit. of Petitot) quoted by M. Libri (p. 148,) it appears that Henry IV. thought that he was obliged either to recall them and give them a trial, boldly trusting to their fair promises and strong oaths, or else enforce the strictest laws against them, and thus reduce them to despair, and to attempt to poison or assassinate him; for these persons, he says, have great connexions and confidants every where, as well as much power in turning men's minds as they wish. When Paul V. quarrelled with the Republic of Venice, the Jesuits again proved how much they preferred the friendship of the Pope to that of the Republic, the States of which they left more easily than they

ecclesiasticis assignare debere aliquem ex nostris religionis qui aulas eorum sequeretur et in eis habitaret ut Confessarii vel theologi aut alio quovis munere fungeretur. *Dec. II. Cong. Gen. Num. 40.*

* Acquaviva, the greatest General that the Jesuits ever had, drew up the private *Ordinatio De Confessariis Principum*, in 1602, which, he says, he did, as the glory God demanded, that Jesuits should become confessors of Princes. He says, also, at the very beginning, that on the above and no other terms can a Jesuit be Confessor to a Prince. He orders the Confessor to enter even on such affairs "quæ hinc inde audiuntur remediumque postulant ad inhibendas oppressiones," &c.

† Videat etiam atque etiam ne suboriat opinio quasi ipse multum possit et Principem pro suo arbitrio regat; præterquam enim quod odiosa et omnibus ingrata res est, atque adeo Principi ipso parum honorifica, incredibile præterea Societati damnum affert.

‡ Numquam verbo necdum scripto res ulla aut negotia Principis ministris commendanda suscipiat; sed ubi pia res foret, ac Superioris judicio necessaria, curet ut Princeps ipse de illa scribat aut imperet. Multoque magis cavendum ne se ad monendos reprehendendosque principis nomine ministros et aulicos interpretem adhiberi sinat, sed aperte deprecetur, si quando id illi impositum vellet. It is observable that the judgment of the superior is here introduced as an element of the Confessor's conduct. Farther on the Confessor is expressly directed to consult his superior "in dubiis casibus."

could return to them. If ever there was an occasion in which the two powers came into collision on definite and clear ground, that was the occasion. The allegiance sworn to the Pope prevailed over that which the Jesuits owed to the sovereign to whom they were subjects.*

The greediness for temporal goods, with which Clement XIV. charged the early Jesuits, was far from having abated in those living near his own times. The failure of one of their body, Lavalette, at Martinica, brought to light some very curious facts. Lavalette was at the head of a Jesuit College in that island, and was, moreover, fond of speculating and "turning a penny." He established a bank. His bills were protested. A house at Lyons and Marseilles failed, and attributed the misfortune to the Jesuit banker and to the rest of the Company. Instead of hushing up the affair by quietly paying the money, and punishing exemplary Lavalette, *if he had acted against the law of the Society*, or against the orders and instructions of his superiors, the General delivered him and his case up to French Parliaments, thereby thinking to throw all the odium on the individual. The Courts decided that all the Jesuits were responsible as a body for Lavalette, and condemned them to pay between sixty and seventy thousand pounds sterling, principal, damages and costs.† This decision was come to after the statutes of the Jesuits had been submitted to the Courts. The Lyons and Marseilles house was never paid notwithstanding; but what the Jesuits saved in money they more than lost in reputation.

This affair contributed not a little to disgrace them in the eyes of the whole world, and to hasten their suppression. The storm was already raging against them in Portugal and Spain; their enemies, who were extremely active and powerful in France, derived new strength from this untoward discovery. The Jesuits and their friends say that the suppression of the Order was owing to the calumnies of which they were the object on the part of the bitterest enemies of Catholicism, who felt that they were the most strenuous and successful defenders of that creed. But how is it, that, from its origin, the Society has been the object of such

* Lachaise, a Jesuit, and so long confessor of Louis XIV., begged of him, when his own end was approaching, to select his confessor from among the Jesuits. He requested him to do so "for his own security," as the Society numbered among its members persons that ought not to be driven to despair, and because after all a "bad blow" was soon struck, and was not without precedents. Louis XIV., who was not a greater man than Henry IV. and, who wished to live and to live in peace, (as S. Simon says) did not forget the Jesuit's recommendation, and looked out for a confessor among the Society.—S. SIMON. *Mémoires*, chap. 217.

† At Rome the Jesuits had never lost a suit! Shortly before their suppression, the Pope appointed three Visitors to the Collegio Romano; the Visitors seized the property to pay the creditors of the Jesuits, against whom no justice was to be had heretofore in what is called the capital of the Christian world.

unanimous attacks from so many different quarters, and from men distinguished alike for learning as for piety? Take Pascal as an instance; take the whole of the Port-Royalists; take the orders of Dominicans and Franciscans, with whom they had such violent disputes; take the number of legates, bishops, and even Popes,* with whom they had more than once such fierce contests: Were all these parties, from different countries, living at different times, imbued with such different,—often opposite—principles, were they all wrong, and no one right but the Jesuits? How is it that the doctrines of the Jesuits only have been held dangerous to the civil power—to sovereigns—to public morals—that the Jesuits alone have been expelled from different countries, at different times, by different governments—mostly Catholic—between thirty and forty times in three centuries? They boast of their having been protected by Catherine of Russia, and Frederic of Prussia, as well as defended by Voltaire in France. Whilst their own co-religionists agree on their expulsion, when a Pope, who certainly wished to save them, if he could, cannot bring forward any defence of their conduct—when they themselves cannot gainsay their enemies, by whom they are, and were, for many years before, attacked openly and unflinchingly, the Jesuits' patrons and advocates, are three noted infidels! And what is still more remarkable, is what follows at a subsequent period. The Jesuits had been allowed to remain in Russia by three successive sovereigns—Catherine, Paul, and Alexander. It is notorious that the latter, particularly after his French victories, was seized with something like a fit of religious and liberal enthusiasm, for neither of which Catherine had ever shown the slightest inclination. Yet it was Alexander who, in 1817, found the existence of the Jesuits incompatible with the security of his government and of his throne, and without farther ceremony, expelled them, one and all, from his dominions. With respect to Prussia, the fact is this. After the suppression of the order, the last general of the Jesuits—Lorenzo Ricci—was arrested, and submitted to a sort of criminal inquiry, before a commission appointed by the Pope. He himself admitted having entertained a secret correspondence with the King of Prussia. Now, if it be true that that correspondence was any thing but intended to favour the House of Austria, in whose dominions the Jesuits were flourishing, and by the head of which they were not either prosecuted or persecuted, it is clear that the protection afforded to them by Frederic is rather a proof of their perfidy than of their honesty. There was, moreover, such unnecessary harshness used against

them as individuals, all over the world, including Rome itself, at the time of their suppression, that many persons, revolted and disgusted at it, looked upon them as being deserving of pity, and acted accordingly. The reason of this harshness is to be found not so much in the general hatred, but in the universal fear which they had inspired by their conduct to governments, as well as private persons. We may laugh at the terror of Charles III. of Spain or Louis XV. of France; but when we recollect the terrors of Clement XIV., and his death, we are not disposed to laugh any more. Voltaire was moved to pity for the Jesuits—regretted the triumph of the Jansenists, and, as an old pupil of the Jesuits, he gave them a character in their hour of need, when no man possessing a particle of religion had the inclination to follow the example of him who laughed equally at all creeds.

The fact that Voltaire had been a pupil of the Jesuits, shows, according to some, the skill and talents of the Jesuits in education, whilst others have pretended to derive thence evidence of their want of moral principle and religion. Both parties are wrong, in our opinion: first of all, one pupil like Voltaire proves nothing one way or the other; in the next place, Voltaire's merits as a writer are chiefly owing to his natural talents or genius: much imagination—wonderful memory, he possessed from nature: learning—deep and solid learning, in which alone instruction can have great influence—he had little. His unbelief was partly owing to this want of learning, partly to the absurdities of the Roman Catholic creed; at the same time we must not forget how early he was emancipated from the control of any master. We wish to be understood, as not at all agreeing in the extravagant praises of the system of instruction adopted by the Jesuits, with reference to its advantages to society at large; with respect to the Jesuits themselves, and to their objects, we have no doubt of its perfection. This will require a brief analysis of the *Ratio Studiorum*, which forms part of the *Institutum* of the Society.

When the Jesuits were first established, one of the primary objects of that Society was to possess themselves of public instruction: indeed, the original plan was to make it the subject of a special vow. They felt, that he who has the child and forms the youth, has a constant hold on the man in any career in life that he may follow. And as it was impossible that the same person should be ready to start at a moment's notice for any part of the world where he might be sent, and also to undertake to give instruction, the coadjutors were generally selected to teach. The spirit of inquiry that had so much favoured reform, had introduced itself into schools, from which, consistently with their maxims, the

Jesuits undertook to drive it. The members of a corporation, without family ties, provided for as to means of subsistence, and acting under the impulse of religious enthusiasm, had great advantages over private teachers, who were obliged to attend to many branches of instruction, and to make a livelihood by it. The Jesuits could easily apply the great principle of division of labour to their schools, and what is more, they taught for nothing: their object being to clip the wings of human reason, a good routine system was the means adopted to keep the teachers within the limits of what they were prescribed to teach; the unflinching application of method, system and steadiness produced, much better than talents, uniformly fair, and occasionally superior—fruits. No deviation was to be allowed, under any circumstances, from the plan laid out.

There were to be three classes of grammar; in which Greek, and still more Latin were to be taught, the latter according to Emmanuel's system* and no other. That grammar is a positive, matter-of-fact collection of precept, without the slightest attempt, to reasoning on philological principles. The two next classes were to be humanity and rhetoric. The books chiefly recommended are Cicero, and some select books of the *Æneid*, parts of Ovid, of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius; the other Latin classics are mentioned in general; but neither Horace nor Lucretius nor Plautus, neither Livy nor Sallust nor Tacitus, are at all named. Prose is recommended above poetry. The Greek authors for the Rhetorical Class are Demosthenes, Plato, Thucydides, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and others of the same sort (*et aliorum hujusmodi*) among which are Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and Chrysostom. No mention at all is made either of the tragic or comic authors, of the father of history, of Polybius, Plutarch, Anacreon, &c.† And, although in reading them, one ought not to neglect entirely erudition and art, yet the propriety and use of the language is chiefly to be kept in view. As to precepts, the *rhetorica* of Cicero and of Aristotle, as well as the *Poetica* of the latter, are especially recommended.‡ It is especially ordered, that speaking and writing should always be in Latin wherever it is possible, and on every occasion: the reason of which is clear: it is the language of the Court of Rome, and of all her adherents. Of late, however, it

* *Grammatica Linguae Latinae* ab Emmanuele Alvarez. He was a Portuguese Jesuit.

† The selection from the Greek is no doubt better than that from the Latin classics. Greek is, moreover, to be privately studied, like Hebrew, by the Jesuit scholars—that is, those destined to join the Society.

‡ Aristotle's works are generally mentioned as text-books for the philosophical classes; but we don't find his *politics* at all named.

has lost even its name with our *neo-Catholics*. It is no longer the Latin, but the *ecclesiastical* language.

The philosophical studies were to be directed to that of theology, and be preparatory to it. Aristotle is to be followed, except when generally departed from by schools; seldom, indeed, is Thomas Aquinas to be left. The course is to be of three years, and to include logic, physics, and metaphysics. In the latter, all questions which are of all others peculiar to this class, are to be omitted.* The study of mathematics is to be limited to the reading of Euclid's Elements for three quarters of an hour a-day for about two months; afterwards something may be added to it of geography and cosmography, at the discretion of the superiors. To guard against any danger of improvement, it was especially ordered that the professors of philosophy should avoid novelties of any sort or kind; and should they be inclined to depart from this rule, they are to be dismissed immediately.†

The rules of discipline for the schools are on the whole unobjectionable; occasionally, perhaps, too strict, and yet exhibiting some comfortable exceptions. For instance, day students (*auditores externi*; those belonging to the Society are designated as *scholarii nostrae societatis*;) are strictly forbidden from going to theatres—places of dissipation, at which youths have not much good to learn; they are likewise ordered not to attend public executions—it is an inhuman and revolting spectacle. If, however, for the edification of good Catholics, and for the extirpation of heresy, any heretic was going to be burnt, as it might do a young man great good, and fit him for causing the operation to be performed at some future period, as the opportunity might offer itself, then indeed an execution might be a sight worth en-

* In metaphysica questiones de Deo et intelligentiis, quæ omnino aut magnopere pendent ex veritatibus divina fide traditis, præterantur.—*Reg. Prof. Schol. Theol.*, Art. 11, § 2.

† Nulli novas introducant questiones nec opinionem, quæ idonei nullius auctoritas sit, iis qui præsent in consulti, nec aliquid contra philosophorum axiomata communemque scholarum sensum defendant. Intelligent quoque, si qui fuerint ad novitatem proni, aut ingenii nimis liberi, eos a docendi munere sine dubio removendi.—*Congr. V. dec. 41 § 4, Reg. pro Philosophia*. Their conduct towards Father André—the friend of Malebranche—whose life he wrote, and which the Jesuits succeeded in suppressing—is a specimen of what they are capable towards those whom they suppose guilty of following new opinions. André's great crime was being a follower of Descartes and Malebranche. "As soon as his opinions were known," says a distinguished philosopher, "he was surrounded with suspicions, deprived of his chair, saddled with the most insignificant offices, transferred from college to college, subject everywhere to the most annoying inquisition, and to dark persecution, which at last succeeded in having him shut up in the Bastille."—COUSIN, *Journal des Savans*. Jan. 1841. One of his letters, without address, begins:—"Discretion in answering, and secrecy as to what I write." This letter was written after his imprisonment in the Bastille, and it shows on what terms he obtained to be left quiet and be forgotten by his brethren—the suppression of whose Society he outlived.

joying for their pupils, and, therefore, the taste might be indulged.* Professors are not only to be mild and not over-strict, but must even shut their eyes, if they can do so without injury to any one; and be careful not to insult their pupils or call them names. They may, at the utmost, set them impositions: never strike them. This is the peculiar duty of the *corrector*, a dignitary who must never belong to the Society;† but if no one else can be found, one of the students or the *bedel*, (who never is one of the society,) is to perform the office. It is part of a general maxim of the Society—to avoid any and every even the slightest action that can give offence to any one. This is especially recommended and assigned as a reason why no Jesuit should ever give evidence in any criminal or civil suit without the permission of his superior, who must never give it but in certain excepted cases.‡ Among themselves, however, it is ordered that for the good of the parties, as well as for the honour and credit of the Society, a Jesuit may and ought to denounce the faults or failings of any of his brethren. When this denunciation is secret it is *denuntiatio paterna*—and this is the most general: the *denuntiatio judicialis*, which need never occur, is when the accuser's name is given up to the party accused. The first denunciation may be enough to punish with expulsion from the Society the accused,—care being taken never to reveal either the name of the accuser or the cause of the expulsion, but giving out that this is done for other reasons known by other means, which may in the opinion of others satisfactorily explain the expulsion. Even entire silence is preferable to exposing a *paternal accuser*—that is a spy.§

Such are some of the remarkable principles of this famous Society; but how few in number in comparison with the whole! The system of legislation is one of the most remarkable instances

* Neque ad publica spectacula, comœdias, ludos, neque ad supplicia reorum, nisi forte hæreticorum, eant.—*Leg. extern. audit. Societ.*, § 13.

† If no one can be found who will act the part of executioner, or if the students will not submit to him, it was decided that the case should be submitted to the General, who might, if necessary, dispense.—*Decr. I., Congreg.* 35.

‡ Nemo ex professis, vel coadjutoribus vel etiam scholasticis societatis in causis civilibus ne dum criminalibus se examinari (nisi qui ad peccatum obligare potest compelleret) sine licentia superioris permittat. Superior autem eam minime dabit nisi in causis quæ ad religionem catholicam pertinent, vel alioque in piis, quæ sic cedunt in hujus favorem ut in alterius detrimentum non cedant: quandoquidem Institutum nostrum est sine cujusquam offensione quantum fieri potest omnium in Domino commodis inservire. Si Superior alicui facultatem daret ut in causa civili examinaretur, in gratiam alicujus cui id denegari non posse videretur, limitatio tunc necessaria erit quæ prohibeat, si quis articulus criminalis vel infamatorius, occurrerit in eo examinari: ad hoc enim nullus superior facultatem dare debet.—*Constitut. cum Declarat.* Part. VI., cap. 3, § 8.

§ See among the *Ordinationes Generalium* a long chapter, the fifteenth, *De Manifestatione delicti*.

of foresight, of deep knowledge of human nature, of calculated despotism, that is to be found in any age or country. Nothing is unforeseen, nothing unprovided against, always *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, the well-known formula, and a sort of masonic pass-word of the Society,* and always for the greater advantage of the Society. To understand Jesuitism, as far as it can be understood, requires an attentive perusal of all their rules, of which what we have given is but a small portion. And even when they are all perused and studied, one feels in the dark as to many points, and what we really learn is, that there is a great deal more to learn. No wonder; when even such a man as Philip II. of Spain was wont to say, that he understood all religious orders, but that he never could understand the Jesuits. Omitting, however, to attempt to enter into more particulars, we cannot proceed farther without showing, how all tends to strengthen the absolute power of the head of the Society, and, therefore, to render the body irresistible, by concentrating all its energies.

All the rules are directed to make the members of the Company act as one man—united and uniform in everything; in dress, in opinions, in doctrines, in ceremonies. To obtain this important end, nothing is left to individual discretion; the rules enter into the smallest minutiae; a precaution the more necessary in a Society, the peculiar distinction of which is, not the use of one's judgment, but a total abnegation of it. When we say, that one has a jesuitical air or look, we may be mistaken as to the fact, but it is nevertheless true, that all the Jesuits in the world, in obedience to their rules, ought to have a peculiar look. Their legislator, wishing them to be uniform and consistent with each other, even in appearance, has most particularly detailed how they are to carry their heads, turn their eyes, twist their mouths, &c. "A Jesuit must not toss about his head with levity, but move it gravely when requisite; when not, let him hold it steady, with a slight inclination forward, turning to neither side. He must cast his eyes downwards, and not turn them right or left, still less look up boldly. Speaking to persons of authority, more especially, let him never look at them up in the face, but rather under the eyes. A Jesuit must particularly avoid wrinkles in the forehead, and still more in the nose, that the outward serenity may be indicative of that of the mind; the lips must not be either too close or too open; let the whole countenance breathe cheerfulness rather than gloominess."† There are rules for every class of persons in the Society,

* It is generally set forth thus, A. M. D. G.

† *Caput huc illuc leviter non moveatur sed cum gravitate uti opus erit; et si opus non sit, teneatur rectum cum moderata inflexione in partem anteriorem, ad neutrum latus deflectendo. Oculos demissos ut plurimum teneant, nec immoderate eos ele-*

from the Provincial to the Steward, (*Præfectus refectorii*), who is particularly directed to see that knives are often sharpened, and to the cook, who must be so good as not to use his fingers in giving out portions, and be careful of fire-wood. He who calls up the rest of the members of the same house in the morning, having to rise half an hour before them, is to go to bed half an hour earlier at night. We mention these trifles as specimens of the attention paid to the smallest points, in order to obtain uniformity all over the world wherever is a Jesuit establishment.

We have already said that the General, who always resides at Rome, is the distributor of all offices, that he can always, *ad libitum*, deprive any one of any dignity, expel whom he pleases from the Society, order any one to any country, and always without being accountable to any human being for his conduct. He has the whole uncontrolled government of the Society; for although he is, generally speaking, to consult his assistants* in grave matters, yet he is not bound to follow their opinion. For this purpose, he has before him the most minute reports of everything, and concerning every person connected with the Society. These reports are not only from the Provincials, Heads of Houses, Rectors of Colleges, but from their consultants, besides those which he receives secretly from any one to whom he chooses to write direct. The reports are generally private and confidential; nay more, they are occasionally in cipher, which the General is to give out.* He receives from various quarters not only statistics of the Society, but observations on all the facts and circumstances which have occurred in it, or which are connected with it, and the most minute account of the life, inclinations, habits, character, talents, learning, age, country, &c., of every one of its members, and of the several qualifications they seem to have for the various offices of the Society. The most detailed instructions are given as to the form of these letters; for instance, that they be written clearly, without abbreviations,

vando, nec in hanc aut illam partem circumflectendo. Inter loquendum, præsertim cum hominibus alicujus auctoritatis, non defigatur aspectus in eorum vultus, sed potius sub oculos. Rugæ in fronte ac multo magis in naso evitentur, ut serenitas exterior cernatur quæ interioris sit indicium. Labia nec minus compressa nec minus diducta. Tota facies hilaritatem potius præse ferat quam tristitiam.—*Regula Modestive.*

* On the nomination of the General, the general assembly elects the five assistants who are to advise him in all affairs. They are for Italy, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and France. The Provincials, Rectors of Colleges, Superiors of Houses, have consultants given to them, who, to a certain extent and *mutatis mutandis*, stand in the same relation to them as the assistants to the General.

* In rebus quæ secretum requirunt explicandis, his vocabulis utendum erit, ut ea intelligi nisi a superiore non possint: modum autem præscribit Generalis.—*Reg. Soc. Jesu. Formula scribendi*, § 18.

with summaries of contents, dated not from the day of a saint, (as our conceited Puseyites affect to do in our own times,) but with the day of the month,* under cover to prevent any part of them from being torn in tearing the seal open, &c. Never was there in any country a more perfect system of police, a better contrived system of despotism, or a better established ministry for getting correct information from all the parts of the world.

Let us take a retrospect glance at the laws, spirit and working of this Society, and let us compare them as we go on in some of the leading points, with the laws, spirit and aims which the French people proposes to itself. In the first place, the French nation wish to be independent of all foreign powers. The Jesuits are under a General, residing out of the kingdom, who may remove any French Jesuit from France, and place in all the houses and colleges of the Society, foreigners on whom he can fully depend. The French have long struggled to gain liberty, and to limit the power of their kings; the Jesuits are the greatest supporters of slavery and blind obedience, and their General the greatest despot in the whole world. The French are of opinion that we are not only justified in making use of the talents that God has given us, but bound to do so, and to do the best to improve the human mind, as well as all institutions: the Jesuits will admit of no free inquiry; on the contrary, it is severely condemned and banished from their schools, as well as from all their system, and are the purest specimen of *conservatism* of all that is, *because it is*, that can be found anywhere. Are the French so unjustifiable in feeling such a dread of the Jesuits, and in considering them incompatible with the system of government established in France? Either the Jesuits are what they were, or they are changed. If changed, let them say so openly, and show in what they are different from their predecessors, and the nation will judge how far they are to be trusted; but, in the meantime, let them not force themselves into a country from which they have been expelled, and into which no law has yet re-admitted them; let them set the good example of obedience to the law instead of scandalously setting all laws at defiance. If they are not changed, why should France admit into her bosom a Society essentially at war with the spirit of the institutions, laws, maxims, and feelings, by which France is now ruled: a Society bound by her principles to destroy her Church—her dynasty—her civil and religious liberty? No one is more in favour of toleration than we are; but it is absurd to invoke a great principle,

* Cum dies qua dantur literae adscribitur, non a festo tempore illius diei, sed a numero dierum mensis cujuslibet notetur.—*Instr. ix. De litt. ad Generalem.*

for the purpose of defending abuses which it never can be intended to shelter. It is not because the Jesuits put on a religious dress and assume a religious name that they have a right to toleration : if that name is used as a cloak for the propagation of unsocial principles and immoral maxims, they ought not to be tolerated any more than the Thugs, or the Orangemen, or Ribbonmen, should they pretend to religious objects, or loyalty, or liberality : all very good things in themselves and deserving of great encouragement and protection, but not in such hands.* The time may, and we hope will, come, when the Jesuits may prove as innocuous as the followers of Joanna Southcote : but at the present time, and under the present circumstances, with the National Church almost at their mercy, with a new dynasty, the prospect of a regency, and a pretender not without powerful sympathizers, with a firm hold on the mass of a people without strong religious principles or instruction, but acted upon by absurdities bewildering their intellects, and frightened by the abuse of the holiest means, unable either to hear or to discriminate the truth, and kept down by the confessional ; at the present time, we say, the French Government are quite right in not trusting the rising generation to a corporation, by whom no good or loyal subject will be formed.

Is it a fact, that the moment that the Jesuits have power in France, or as soon as they are introduced into that country, the liberties of the Gallican Church are attacked. It was with as much truth as neatness observed by M. Bourdeau, that the Bourbons attempted to restore religion in France as it was before the Revolution : "avec les Jésuites de plus, et les libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane de moins." The principal of these liberties are comprehended in four propositions drawn up by one of the fiercest champions of the Church of Rome, one of the most determined enemies of Protestantism, a man of very considerable talents, of whom all Frenchmen have reason to be proud—Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux—and approved unanimously in a national council of the French clergy. Their substance is : 1st, That the Pope has no power, either direct or indirect, in temporal affairs over the King of France, who has no superior in that respect, God excepted, from whom he derives his power ;† 2d, That the Pope's

* Nam vidimus plerumque, etiam sub sacri conventus prætextum, multa improbos adversus pudicitiam et leges moliri.—Alicat. in l. 83. ff. de Verb. sign.

† Bellarmin, *De Potestate Pontificis in Temporalibus*, edition of Cologne, 1611, 8vo, says, page 203, "Falsum est principes politicos a solo deo potestatem habere." The Parliament declared this doctrine "faulx et detestable, tendante à l'éversion des puissances souveraines ordonnées et établies de Dieu," and declared it high treason to keep the book. But the Jesuits fought so well for their brother, that they got an order in Council, which declared that the judgment of the Parliament "seroit tenu en suréance." See Labitte, *De la Démocratie chez le Prédicateurs de la Ligue*, Note U.

spiritual power is limited by the canons of the council of Constance, and therefore that he is subject to a general Council ; 3d, That the liberties of the Gallican Church cannot be invaded by the Pope ; 4th, That the Pope is not infallible, but that his decrees may be altered by the Church. These are very moderate *liberties* after all, so moderate that although the Court of Rome was of course extremely dissatisfied with them, although the dissatisfaction was again and again expressed, yet nothing could the Popes find in those four propositions which deserved condemnation. A solemn edict of Louis XIV. ordered them to be taught in the schools ; they were accepted by all bishops, and considered one of the fundamental laws of France. But Louis XIV. doting and stupefied by Madame de Maintenon, in the hands of the Jesuits, and pressed secretly by the Pope, wrote at last (14th September 1693) a private letter to Innocent XII., to tell him that he had taken proper steps in order that the Edict of 1682 should not be executed, adding that he had been forced to consent to that edict by circumstances.* This letter was known only long after the death of the King, and attempts have been made to make it pass for a good abrogation of the Edict of 1682, solemnly registered by Parliament, on the 23d of March of that year. It is superfluous to observe, that the four propositions are, so far as they go, in favour of liberty, against the despotism of the Pope, and in favour of the independence of the sovereign of France. These doctrines have been over and over again declared fundamental laws of the kingdom in later times, and under several of the various governments and constitutions by which France has been ruled. They were particularly flourishing after the expulsion of the Jesuits, and when their Society did not seem likely to come to life again. Emery—a distinguished professor of Theology, well known for his good fortune in having got into the good graces of Napoleon without losing those of the Bourbons—published in 1772, when Professor of Theology at Lyons, a volume entitled “*Esprit de Leibnitz.*” In the introduction Emery spoke with enthusiasm of the liberties of the Gallican Church, to which he professed himself devotedly attached. The Jesuits were then at a discount. In 1784, he was appointed superior of Saint Sulpice, the theological school of France, which all the others endeavour to follow, and which exercises on them a prodigious influence. The text-book for theology was, and is still in our own times, the “*Traité de théologie à l’usage de Poitiers,*” a work of which d’Agnesseau said,

* J’ai donné les ordres nécessaires afin que les affaires contenues dans mon édit du 2 Mars 1682, à quoi les conjectures d’alors m’avaient obligé, n’eussent point de suite.

that it contained maxims directly at variance with those of the Gallican Church," that is to say, with the fundamental maxims of our liberties.* In 1803, M. Emery reprinted his "*Esprit de Leibnitz*:" the Jesuits were then rather rampant as we have seen; and the great praises, admiration and attachment of the author for the liberties of the Gallican Church had disappeared from the introduction of the work. Frayssinous, of whom we have already spoken, de Quelen, late Archbishop of Paris, Affre, his successor and now filling that See, three of the greatest enemies of the university, but *per contra*, the best friends of the Jesuits, were pupils of Emery. Quelen refused even to join fourteen other bishops who signed a tame and dubious declaration in favour of the four propositions of 1682.† And among laymen, the rashest champion of the Jesuits, and the most intemperate of all the enemies of the university, Count Montalembert, says that these liberties of the Church of his fathers, of which he is so warm a partisan in every other respect, are "born of despotism and heresy, and contrary to the fundamental rules of the Roman Catholic creed."

So much for the feelings and principles of the Jesuits and their partisans towards the Gallican Church: now for their feelings towards the new dynasty. We are not going to quote from some forgotten dusty volume by some unknown author, without name or character, discussing abstract principles and dangerous theories. We shall limit ourselves to living writers of known weight and authority with their party, and applying themselves to the consideration of practical questions.

Among the most determined opponents of the French Government in the question regarding instruction now pending, is M. Bouvier, Bishop of Mans, elevated to that See by the Government of Louis Philippe in 1834. M. Bouvier received his theological education at Angiers, then visited Rome twice, and has written a variety of volumes on theology, morals and philosophy, in which the most extreme doctrines of that Church are defended, as well as those which are most puerile. His theology and philosophy are written for the use of schools, and as the latter has gone to the seventh edition (the first was of 1824) it is clear that it sells and is used. The title is given below.‡ We shall not dwell either on the merits of the book, nor on those of its Latinity:

* See Genin. *Les Jésuites et l'Université*, p. 27.

† Henrion Vie de Frayssinous, liv. ii., chap. 25.

‡ *Institutiones Philosophicæ ad usum Seminariorum et Collegiorum, Logica, Metaphysica, Moralia*. Paris, 1844. We shall, however, quote rather from the fourth edition, published in 1835, as the views of the party are more *purely* stated there. The attention of the public having been drawn to this work, alterations have been made in the last edition, which alterations we shall point out.

the former would be beside our subject, and we moreover doubt whether, except to show the incredibly low standard to which philosophical studies have descended among the party in France, the book is worth the trouble of being criticized; the latter, that is, the Latinity of the work, will be easily judged from the few passages which we shall quote in original from our author. M. Bouvier, after having divided all governments into those that are monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical,* tells us that absolute monarchy is the best, as no time is lost in deliberative assemblies,† and that, of all others, hereditary monarchy is to be preferred. Authority is something real; so, says the bishop, it is quite *natural* that it should descend, like property, to the nearest relations,‡ as any other chattel. Things being thus considered, it is admitted, that as any one may bind his successors, so a king like Louis XVIII. could grant a charter to the French people, which he or his successors could alter only by the consent of the Chambers, except in extraordinary cases, when the king could do any thing; a case foreseen by the 14th article of the charter of Louis XVIII.§, the very article, let the reader recollect, which was relied on by M. de Polignac and the other ministers of Charles X., for publishing the *ordonnances* which caused the Revolution of 1830, and ended in the expulsion of the eldest branch of the Bourbon family from France. Now, if we apply these principles to the present French constitution, and the

* As a specimen of the learning and latinity of the Lord Bishop, we transcribe what follows: "*Democratia* quæ etiam in usu vulgari *res publica* appellatur illa est societas in qua suprema auctoritas penes generalia populi comitia residet. Hac gubernii forma uti sunt Lacedæmonii, Athenienses, Romani."—*Moralis*, Diss. 2, cap. 5, art. 3, § 2, punct. 1—that is, briefly, tom. 3, p. 256 of the 4th edition. This same definition of *republic*, synonymous of democracy, illustrated by the examples of Sparta, Athens, and Rome, is preserved in the last edition.

† "Tunc enim (that is, when the monarch is absolute) in contentionibus et dissidiis tempus incassum non teritur, ut in comitiis deliberantibus sæpe contingit." Page 259. But then, in the last edition, our bishop adds: "Comitia tamen non excludimus: sed dicimus perfectius esse gubernium si vis imperandi resideat tantum in uno, qui virorum experientia et scientia commendatorum utatur."—Page 578 of the 7th edition, which is contained in one single volume.

‡ "Auctoritas quippe est quid reale sicut bona temporalia . . . sicut proprietas bonorum via naturali ad descendentes et proximos consanguineos transit, sic naturæ conformius est ut auctoritas suprema ad descendentes, vel, iis deficientibus, ad proximos consanguineos transeat."—Page 263. Of all authorities ever invoked, that of *nature*, in the case of inheritance, is exquisite in a philosopher and bishop, whose great knowledge of law is extolled by his admirers.

§ "Si quidam occurrerent casus extraordinarii, in quibus conventus adunari non posset, aut potestatem regiam usurpare vellent, nihil est quod principes facere non posset; nam juxta vetus axioma in ratione evidenter fundatum *salus populi suprema lex esto*; salus autem monarchiæ est salus populi."—Unde in Art. 14, Chartæ Ludovici xviii., legebatur, &c., p. 297. All this is omitted in the seventh edition.

dynasty of Louis Philippe, we shall easily conclude, that in M. Bouvier's eyes the government is one of the very worst that was ever contrived. Then the nice question presents itself, is Louis Philippe an usurper according to M. Bouvier? Usurper is he who seizes the throne by force or cunning. He who, in extraordinary circumstances, governs by necessity and public good, as, for instance, Napoleon, is neither a legitimate prince nor an usurper, but an emperor, king, or prince, from necessity.* What right has this sort of amphibious being in comparison with a legitimate sovereign, and what are the duties of the people whom he governs? This the Bishop does not say. He tells us, in one place, when speaking of *prescription*, that when it is impossible to restore the old dynasty to the throne, subjects must obey the prince *de facto*, (page 265,) but when he speaks of the duties of subjects towards the supreme power, he acknowledges but two sorts of power—the legitimate and the usurped—toward which very different are the duties of the subjects.† He also says, that no one can be released from his allegiance except by the concession of the legitimate prince; but he adds, that subjects must submit to a sovereign by necessity as much as if he were legitimate. Let us, however, suppose a practical case to clear up these at least doubtful and misty points. Henry V. of France, (as the Duke de Bordeaux is called by his most faithful adherents,) presents himself at the frontiers of France, with a party in his favour in the interior, and well supported by foreign governments, and is ready to mount the throne. Of course, the necessity of Louis Philippe's services then ceases, as the legitimate prince is at hand, powerful enough to put down rebels; the sooner if they will but give way; and if Louis Philippe rise to support his cause by force of arms he becomes an usurper. Then there is no more difficulty in the case; the duty of the subjects, at the voice of their legitimate prince, (Henry V., *ex hypothesi*,) is to take up arms and conquer the usurper, (Louis Philippe, or his son or grandson,) if they can; nay, they may kill him privately as a

* "Qui in circumstantiis extraordinariis constitutus ad supremam auctoritatem ex boni publici necessitate ducitur ut v. g. Napoleo, neque est legitimus neque usurpator, sed imperator, rex aut princeps ex necessitate."—P. 255. In the edition of 1844, the passage has been altered, because the example of Napoleon was too palpably meant to say, that a man is not an usurper only when he usurps a republican government. In the last edition, it reads,—"Qui vero in circumstantiis extraordinariis constituitur ad gubernandam societatem eamque solvendam, dicitur imperator, rex aut princeps ex necessitate: stricte loquendo neque legitimus est neque usurpator."—Page 575. What the meaning of *solvere societatem* is, we really do not pretend even to guess.

† "Suprema auctoritas nos regens potest esse legitima vel usurpata: in utroque casu eadem non sunt subditorum officia."—Page 301.

public malefactor, if the legitimate prince orders it,* (from which we learn that a legitimate prince, according to a Bishop, can order his opponent to be murdered.) And the soldiers of Louis Philippe, what are they to do? If they fly from the ranks they may be shot as deserters. In that case, let them join the army; but their duty is to run away as soon as they safely can. At all events, they must sham, but not really fight against Henry V.'s army.† They would be right, no doubt, to fight against foreign enemies, as one must always defend one's country; but foreigners, were they to come in support of the legitimate (Henry V.,) against the rebels, (supporting Louis Philippe,) ought to be considered protectors and friends.‡

A distinguished member of the French Institute, in a work§ in which he has undertaken to discuss all the religious questions that are now agitated, has, among other things, attempted to prove that Catholicism is not intolerant, or rather, that it is very tolerant and very far from persecuting. He, however, agrees, that the fears of those who, incredible as it may be, think Catholicism only another word for the Inquisition, deserve some attention. M. Lenormant condemns all persecution, and is sincerely, we have no doubt, for liberty of conscience; but we do not see that he is very successful in proving that such are the maxims of the Church of which he is the champion, or such the spirit of the religious corporations, which excite, what he admits to be, such just grounds for fearing that liberty of conscience would not be tolerated were they to triumph. He is not backward in defending the Inquisition, and sacrificing the government of his country to the shrine of his Church, and then he hopes that people will believe that Catholicism is the best boulevard of liberty of conscience. The more religious associations are recalled to life, the better for Catholicism, and therefore for toleration, in his opinion. On the other hand, his countrymen, *en masse*, protest against these views, and look upon the triumph of M. Lenormant's clients as destruction to liberty of conscience. Who is right?

* "Ad vocem legitimi principis subditi debent omnes contra usurpatorem surgere, illum expugnare, vincere et expellere, si possint; imo *privatim illum tanquam publicum malefactorem occidere, si legitimus princeps id expresse jubeat.*"—Page 305. The words which we have printed in italics are omitted in the last edition.

† "Qui ab usurpatore sub pœna mortis cogeretur ad militiam, non peccaret arma sumendo, vestem militarem induendo, inter agmina stando, donec tuto fugere posset: sed defensores legitimæ auctoritatis ferire non posset, nec periculo eos vulnerandi vel occidendi se exponere."—Page 307.

‡ "Verum ut patriæ hostes haberi non debent extranei exercitus qui partes legitimi principis defendentes, contra subditos ejus rebelles dimicant: potius velut amici ac protectores æstimandi sunt."—P. 307 et 308.

§ Des Associations religieuses dans le Catholicisme par Ch. Lenormant. Paris, 1845, 8vo. The date is a bookseller's trick; the author dates his preface 3d Sept. 1844.

It is incredible that in 1844 we should have to fight such battles over again; but since such attempts are made to mystify history, we must not shrink from dispelling the clouds under which doubt is enveloped. M. Lenormant's defence of Pius V., whilst he congratulates himself on not having lived in the country in which they were necessary, amounts to an apology for the Inquisition in its worst form.* Any day, when powerful enough, a Pope may attempt to enforce in France the laws that Pius V. enacted, and which are to this day unrepealed. M. Lenormant ought to know that they were not enacted for Rome or Italy only, or against such wretches as he mentions in the passage given in the note; he ought to know that the unhappy victims of Pius's cruelty were most estimable men of the purest morals; he ought to know that Cosmo, Duke of Tuscany—a very immoral man—was nevertheless created Grand Duke by that Pope, and as a Frenchman and a Christian he ought to feel ashamed of praising a man, saint though he be, who gave orders never to make prisoner a French protestant, but put to death in cold blood every one of them as soon as taken. We are, however, glad that M. Lenormant has gone so far. When a man of his learning and integrity dares so much, we are warned how little we can trust either to the assertions or to the moderation of other less scrupulous parties, who are for liberty of conscience praising Pius V.

It is the fashion now to talk of the Inquisition of Spain,† and of all the persecutions by Catholics in other countries, as acts of the civil power only, as if the world had forgotten all history. There is not a word of truth in the assertion, to begin with.‡ But supposing it were true, priests and friars would be under small obligation to friends thus attempting to rescue them from the infamy which attaches to them for their sanguinary deeds.

* "Je me sens fort heureux de n'avoir pas vécu dans le temps et dans le pays où ces rigueurs étoient jugées nécessaires; mais je remercie Dieu tout autant de m'avoir dispensé du siècle et de la contrée où un Pierre Aretin, le plus impudent et le plus méprisable des hommes, avait été, avant Pie V., la première puissance morale de la nation."—Page 57. Then follows a praise of France. Has M. Lenormant forgotten that his own French king, Francis I., was one of the greatest patrons, friends and flatterers of that same despicable and impudent Aretino? And, as he challenges comparison, will he tell us how long it is that one De Sade lived in France, and one Mirabeau was there the object of universal enthusiasm?

† De Maistre. *Lettres à un Gentilhomme Russe sur l'Inquisition Espagnole.*

‡ Torquemada was appointed Grand Inquisitor of Spain by the Pope, after the bishops' right of inquiry was taken away. He was in office about eighteen years, and during that time he caused more than 10,000 persons to be burnt; adding those exiled and imprisoned, more than 114,000 families were ruined by that one man. Yet his apologists are persons who almost faint at the very name of French Revolution. Did all the revolutionary tribunals sacrifice as many lives? We abominate Robespierre, but cannot palliate Torquemada's conduct, whatever others may have the courage to do. See Llorente, cap. viii., art. 5.

What? is it by representing all the grand inquisitors of Spain, the members of the tribunals, the theologians attached to them, as mere officers of the royal power, as lending their names, their *holy* character, to a temporal despotism under the false pretence of watching the purity of the faith—is it thus that it is hoped to rescue such infamous agents from the execration of this and of future ages? With respect to France, M. Lenormant tells us that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the persecution of the Huguenots were a sort of spontaneous atonement for his sins by Louis XIV.* who was a sincere Catholic. A man who has recourse to persecution as an atonement, and in a manner that M. Lenormant himself condemns, is nevertheless a sincere Catholic in his eyes!! We fear he was *too sincere* and *too true* a Catholic, else the Church of Rome would have disapproved of his conduct, and Pope Innocent XI., who was at open war with him, would have pointed out his unchristian behaviour. Why should not the Confessors of Louis XIV.—Lachaise and Tellier, both Jesuits—have deprecated his edicts, his dragonades, his massacres, if inconsistent with genuine, pure, and sincere Catholicism? Why not refuse him absolution if he did not listen to them? But the fact is that the Jesuits, probably then and most certainly soon after, as well as at a subsequent period, did all they could to introduce the inquisition into France.†

If the fears of persecution on the part of Protestants are really unfounded, and if toleration is so peculiar to Catholicism, why does not the Pope put an end to all uncertainty by declaring that such are the principles of Rome, as M. Lenormant says? We learn from a celebrated theologian that there are three sorts of infidelity, the worst of which *subjective* is heresy, like that of the Lutherans, Calvinists, &c.‡ Heretics, says the same divine, may be compelled, even by corporal punishments, to return to the Church,||

* "Et comme au fond Louis XIV. était sincèrement Catholique, comme il sentait sa conscience chargée de l'oubli de ses devoirs de roi très-chrétien, il ne put se laver de son alliance avec les ennemis du Christianisme, des scandales de sa vie privée et de la persécution du Saint-Siège, qu'en organisant contre les Protestants une autre persécution sans justice et sans pitié."—Page 73. We hope not to be misunderstood when we contend, that the Inquisition was not *per se* a political engine. That the inquisitors lent themselves to the civil power, is too true. The Court of Rome and her agents have always been the supporters of despotism in Spain as well as every where else.

† Saint Simon, *Mémoires*, ch. 370, relates, that in 1732, he was spoken to on the subject by Du Halde. He concludes as follows: "C'est ainsi que ces bons pères vont sondant et semant sans se rebuter jamais, jusqu'à ce que, la force à la main, ils y parviennent, par l'aveuglement du gouvernement, à quelque prix que ce soit, et par toutes sortes de voies."

‡ DENZ, *Theologia Moralis et Dogmatica*. Tractatus de virtutibus. N. 50, art. 1 et 7.

|| "Hæretici cogi possunt, etiam poenis corporalibus, ut revertantur ad fidem Catholicam."—*Ibid.*, N. 51, art. 3.

although it is not always expedient for the Church to use this right of hers.* Nor are they to be allowed the exercise of their religion, except when worse evils are likely to follow from other causes.† Instead of relying on the excellent reasons for toleration which are given by the apologist of Pius V., the lovers of liberty of conscience are too *exigeans* if they humbly beg of Rome a declaration, stating, that under no circumstance, and however expedient it may be, heretics shall not be burnt nor their freedom of worship invaded? And if this declaration be not made, why should the good intentions of M. Lenormant inspire more confidence than the assertions of a doctor of theology like Dens, writing *ex professo*, cause distrust?

But, we may be asked, is there any reason to fear so much a few priests in France? What can two hundred and six priests do in all France?‡ The two hundred and six, (or even somewhat more, as their newspaper, the *Univers*, added ironically,) according to M. de Ravignan, do not include the novices and coadjutors, and it is known that the *Professed* Jesuits are by far the smallest number in proportion to the Society at large. They are not probably one fourth of the whole. Independent of this, the question is one of principle.¶ The existence of the Jesuits in France is illegal; their number has nothing to do with the legality of their existence. Nor has the number of the *Professed* much to do with the amount of their influence. They have been received, according to M. de Ravignan, in twenty dioceses: twenty bishops, therefore, have consented to welcome and patronize against the law persons whose very existence is incompatible with the liberties of the Church of which those bishops are guardians§; liberties which are the law of the land, and which they thus infringe. If they have received and patronized them—if they have allowed them to act as priests in their dioceses, they must have known and approved of their principles and their maxims. Are the Jesuits,

* "Interim non semper expedit ut ecclesia hoc jure utatur." *Tractatus de Virtutibus*, N. 50, art 3, *sub fine*.

† "Ritus hæreticorum per se non sunt tolerandi . . . Excipe tamen nisi abinde majora mala sequerentur vel majora bona impedirentur."—*Ibid.*, N. 53, art. 2.

‡ It is one of them, a preacher highly followed at Paris, M. de Ravignan, who says so. "Deux cent six prêtres disséminés dans vingt diocèses; voilà toute la Société de Jésus en France. Les novices, les frères ne sont pas compris dans ce nombre. Il est vrai que trois cent quinze Jésuites Français sont employés dans les pays étrangers à l'enseignement et aux missions."—*De l'existence et de l'institut des Jésuites*. It is the first book in which the writer has acknowledged himself a Jesuit, setting laws and public opinion at defiance.

¶ M. Libri (page 65) says, that the Jesuits, in June 1843, amounted to about 900 in France.

§ "Les Pères de la Foi ne sont que des Jésuites déguisés; ils suivent l'institut des anciens Jésuites, ils professent les mêmes maximes; leur existence est donc incompatible avec les principes de l'Eglise Gallicane, et le droit public de la nation."—*PORTALIS Rapport sur les Congrès. et Associat. Religieuses*. Messid. an xii.

therefore, so very insignificant, when they can command such support and such allies? But this is not all. Are we informed of all the brethren they have all over France, who never once were known to have belonged to the Society, and who yet may, according to the constitution, have been received in it secretly? Then, again, if a bishop, though not belonging to their Society, though not known to have encouraged any establishment of Jesuits in his diocese, follows, nevertheless, their doctrines and principles, is he not to all intents and purposes as good as one of them? It is a mortifying thing, but it is nevertheless true, the majority of French bishops have given up the Gallican church, and are out and out supporters of the *ultramontane* principles, of which the Jesuits are the most determined and efficient champions. Louis Philippe, wishing to conciliate a party who religiously and politically hate, and will ever hate, him and his, so long, at all events, as the Duke of Bordeaux lives, has chosen for bishops persons who, after they have been instituted, have shown him how grievously he had mistaken his men. By a most deplorable oversight or weakness, instead of having the nominees examined by two French ecclesiastics appointed by the Government, as expressly provided by the law of the 15th July 1801, (26 Messidor an 9,) Art. 17, they have been of late allowed to be examined by persons appointed by the Papal Nuncio, the bitterest enemy of the Gallican liberties. The truth of M. Montalembert's boast, that the bishops most recently appointed were among those who were most opposed to those liberties, is thus explained. And, in point of fact, the majority of the bishops have taken the lead in the opposition to the Government, about the law of secondary instruction. The whole of the Episcopate in France consists of 15 Archbishops and 65 Bishops; 80 altogether. Not less than 53 of them have opposed the Government on this question, although 12 out of the 15 Archbishops, and 47 out of the 65 Bishops have been named by Louis Philippe.

But, it may be asked, why is it that the inferior clergy at least do not defend their National Church? First of all, every thing has been done of late to teach them secretly that the doctrines of that Church are almost heretical; and, moreover, the slavery of the minor clergy, and chiefly of the parish priests to the bishops, is such as to leave them not the smallest independence. Their case, which is well worth knowing in order to understand the condition of the French Church, is briefly as follows.

The French Revolution had entirely destroyed the Church as well as the clergy, and confiscated their property. In 1801, a concordat was agreed upon between Napoleon and the then Pope. One of its articles contained the most monstrous and revolutionary disposition that was ever heard of, against all princi-

ples of law, justice, equity, and precedents. It was agreed that a new partition of the dioceses should be arranged by the Pope and the Government—that the First Consul, (that was then Bonaparte's title) should have the appointment of all the new bishops, and that the Pope should institute them canonically. It was, on the one hand, a surrender of all the bishoprics and bishops created and appointed by the Revolutionary Government, on the part of the civil power, and a surrender of all the bishoprics and bishops formerly existing in France, by the Pope. But whatever right or abuse of power could allow the civil government to give up its party, the Pope had no more right to deprive legally and canonically instituted bishops of their dioceses, than he had for depriving them of their character of priests. Of course, we speak according to the canons of the Church of Rome. Even the judging a bishop is a totally unwarranted abuse of power—utterly devoid of the slightest particle of right on the part of the Pope. The Pope is not above the bishops any more than Peter, of whom he pretends to be the successor, was above the other Apostles, whom the bishops assume to succeed. He is only *primus inter pares*; not more than the president of a court, or the Speaker of the House, or the chairman of a bench of magistrates is *individually* above the other members of the body over which he presides. The despot, Napoleon, acknowledged in him this monstrous and unexampled power, in order to have an episcopate submitted to his will in France, as he was to select all its members; and the Pope was not sorry to have a solemn precedent on the part of France—of the country, whose Church boasted of special *liberties* so obnoxious to the Pope, and so strictly limiting his power—by which he might claim a hitherto unknown interference in what so deeply affected the independence of her bishops. This point having been settled, Napoleon proceeded to make a law containing what were called *articles organiques*, for the execution of the concordat, which were promulgated together with the concordat itself, and as part of a whole with it. All parishes having disappeared from the face of the French territory, it was agreed in the concordat, that the bishops, with the consent of the Government should make a new partition of parishes, (*paroisses*), and appoint, with the approbation, *ut supra*, parish-priests (*curés*) to the same. By the law, (art. 60), it was directed, that there should be at least one parish in each district of a Justice of the Peace, (*juge de paix*),* and as many chapels of ease (*succursales*) as might be requisite. The priests of these

* We cannot enter into an explanation of this authority; we can only say it is a very different one from that which is known by the same name in England.

chapels are generally called *inservients*, (*desservants*),* and some, we suppose, according to the old denomination, where they have been reinstated, vicars, (*vicaires*.) These *desservants* and *vicaires* are appointed and dismissed *ad libitum* by the bishop. All episcopal tribunals or courts, (*officialités*), are abolished by the same law, (art. 10); and no assembly of clergy or synod, can be held in France without the Government's leave, (art. 4.) Any person feeling aggrieved by the ecclesiastical dignitaries has a right of appeal to the Council of State, (art. 6.)

In the old time, and according to the canons, no *curé* (parish priest) could be deprived of his living, as it would be called in England, without a formal trial before the Episcopal Court, from which an appeal lay to the metropolitan, and thence to the Pope, as to the spiritual parts of the case. The *curé* is in the same condition now, with only this difference, that as the *officialités* have been abolished, he cannot be tried anywhere according to the canons; and should he be deprived of his living against the canons, the Council of State would have to decide on the matter. The *desservants* and the *vicaires* were also in old times revocable *ad nutum*: the principles, therefore would not seem much broken upon. But in those times, there were 36,000 *curés*, and 2,500 *vicaires*, (the *desservants* were not then known); in 1844 there are 3,301 *curés*, 28,201 *desservants*, and 6,486 *vicaires*—so that whilst the effects of episcopal despotism could formerly be made to fall on something like 7 per $\frac{1}{2}$ of the parochial clergy, there are now only about 9 per $\frac{1}{2}$ of this body that are to a certain extent safe from it.† Under a government like that of Napoleon, the whole clergy of a diocese was in his hands through the bishop, who, insulated, unsupported by his brethren, could not help himself, had he even chosen to be independent of the despotic and strong government by which he had been appointed. But under a free government the bishops can not only be independent, but are at liberty to oppose it: true they cannot *theoretically* have legal assemblies or meetings as *bishops*, but they can meet, and do meet, and correspond as *free citizens*. They have not the support of their canons and prebendaries, but on the other hand, they can admit or refuse admission to religious associations, or congregations, or orders of monks and friars, on whom they can rely as on faithful dependents, and to whom they must in turn defer: they have lost their *officialités*, but they have gained an unheard-of despotic power on the parish clergy, which is absolutely depending on them

* We cannot find a better word to give the meaning of the French *desservant*. It is properly a man who serves a church—that is, does duties in it.

† It is evident that a recourse to the Council of State is not a very safe protection to a *curé*.

for their livelihood, and which must submit without a sigh—for despotism must not only be served, but served *con amore*—: the bishops, in fact, are as much masters of the *secular clergy*—which at one time waged an incessant and not always unsuccessful war against the regular clergy—as any superior of a convent is of his monks or friars—or Jesuits. Let the bishop be for these corporations (we have seen that the French bishops are so, and we have seen why they are so,) and the whole hierarchy must be for it. Thus whilst the Revolution has given liberty and guarantees to the nation, it has reduced the mass of the clergy—those who really minister to the people and ought to be their guides—to the lowest state of slavery; whilst it has begun by abolishing religious orders, it has, at the conclusion, utterly destroyed the independent secular clergy; and substituted for it a hierarchy and discipline entirely conformable to that of the most dependent regular clergy. Let those who are acquainted with the discipline of the Catholic Church, as it existed before the Council of Trent, as it was in France even only before the French Revolution,—compare the state of things as it was then with what it is now. They will see that before the middle of the 16th century, the government of the Roman Catholic Church was still limited by precedents and the canons. The Franciscan and Dominican orders were extremely useful in restoring discipline and morals at first—just as in extreme cases the army may succeed in restoring order by extraordinary means when the civil power alone is too weak; but these auxiliaries of despotic power soon lent themselves to overthrow all legal power. The pulpit, the confessional, and, occasionally, the chairs of theology and philosophy were in their possession. The Popes, assisted by them, successively and easily invaded the rights of the bishops and of the parochial clergy; they, besides, allowed friars and monks to invade them, by granting them privileges inconsistent with canonical rights, which there was no means of resisting, just as a military despot grants illegal privileges over the civilians to his satellites. It was by the assistance of an enslaved Church, chiefly, that the civil liberties of nations were invaded and destroyed wherever her power was not successfully opposed by the Reformation.* At the Council of Trent the death-blow was given to what remained of canons. The decrees of that assembly, from which so large a part of the Christian world was excluded, were passed by a packed majority

* The whole spirit of the institutions of the Church of Rome is despotic. Occasionally, it is true, for particular and private reasons, she has taken the side of liberty against despotism; but, in general, and whenever the battle between freedom and despotism was to be fought on their own merits, the Popes took the side of despots. They cannot do otherwise without passing judgment against their own pretensions and maxims.

against the old rules of voting: it was not by *nations* but by *numbers* that the votes were reckoned: and as the Pope could throw in an enormous number of voters, as bishops in *partibus*, he could carry any thing he pleased. Then the Jesuits became powerful, purposely organized for the service of the most unrestrained despotism, and striving, successfully, to seize the whole of the education of the people, which they saw would then be entirely in their power. It is against such a power, armed with all the terrors and supported by all the consolations of religion, that the government of Louis Philippe has now to contend; it is no longer a discussion between two powers, each governed by certain acknowledged laws and principles, for defined objects. It is a strife between Papal despotism and civil liberty. The Jesuitical party in France—for this is the real name of the party opposing the University and the Government on this question—are wise in their generation when they attack so bitterly the University and its most distinguished members. That party wants—no progress in any respect, more faithful than ever to its tradition and principles—no inquiry—no right of private judgment—no independence of opinion. Lowliness of spirit, blind submission to authority, prayers mechanically uttered, attention to outward forms, an excess or affectation of meekness, of humility, are urged as the duties—the only duties of a Christian. The Puseyites in England are not very unlike Jesuits in these points, as they are not also in more important ones respecting oaths, good faith, and straightforwardness. Mr. Ward, in a book that we have had the courage to read,* gives us long regulations for Jesuitical colleges abroad (not knowing, or, at all events, eschewing to tell us from whom they are,) long prayers from the same sources, and calls upon the Church of England, (as for us poor Presbyterians he has no words to spare—he thinks us probably too far gone,) to follow such practices to save the land which, he says, is, owing to the Reformation, full of immorality and of sin.† Now, when gentlemen hazard such rash and unfounded statements, we have a right to doubt their good faith in making them. Will Mr. Ward tell us in what respect it is that moral evils flourish in England or Scotland, or any other Protestant country, “in such rank luxury,” as they do at Rome itself? Are our judges, our juries, our wives, our daughters, more corrupt than the same classes of persons are at Rome? Is the nation more addicted to lying and bearing false witness?

* The Ideal of a Christian Church.

† “Good men, and faithful followers of their Saviour, dissipate their energies with each other, instead of uniting them against the social, moral, and religious evils which flourish in such rank luxury.”—Page 588. Such passages are very common in that book.

Are our roads more infested with robbers or our streets with assassins? in other words, are life and property more insecure in Great Britain than at Rome? Is the Lord's-day more respected? And if he knows, as he must know, that in every one of these respects Great Britain is superior to those pure Catholic countries which he wishes us to imitate, let him blush for the calumnies which he wilfully and deliberately spreads against his country.

We are not ready to defend every single act, opinion, and expression of the members of the University. We will go farther, and say, that their conduct has been occasionally injudicious, their expressions too often unguarded, their opinions, on some points, objectionable, and leading much farther than they themselves intended. All the professors have not acted with discretion in adopting, as they ought, the most conciliatory tone when handling subjects which they might have prudently eschewed. This is the utmost that can be said against them. But this is no excuse for the Jesuits attacking the University as a whole, as well as every one of its members, with a virulence and coarseness of expression disgraceful to persons having any pretension to good breeding—for forging quotations with unparalleled effrontery—and for passing over, with revolting ingratitude, the great merits of those whom they have libelled with the greatest bitterness. Whatever calumnies they may heap on M. Cousin, for instance, they cannot deprive him of the great merit of having fitted the minds of the French youth for the reception of the precepts of true Christianity, by rescuing the philosophical school from materialism, and basing it on spiritualism. So long as men did not believe in the immortality of the soul, little impression could be made by the preachers of religion on the mind of their hearers.*

The Jesuits are against the University altogether, and against the efforts of the Government, for passing any law on education. They say that they will submit to no control whatever from the civil power, because of their *religious* objections to the men, and to the principles taught by them at the University. To give strength to their opposition, they affect to believe that any contact with the University must be fatal to morals and religion, and they slander all those who are in any way connected with that Institution, to render them odious, and to justify their objections.

* The following is a specimen of the treatment received by M. Cousin from the Abbé Desgarets, of whom more presently. M. Cousin has said, "Je crois n'avoir erré ni par légèreté ni par ignorance. Si cependant j'ai erré, et que ce soit par légèreté, je m'en repens : si c'est par ignorance je suis moins coupable, mais j'ai pu faire beaucoup de mal." He is made to say, "Si j'ai attaqué la religion Chrétienne le crime n'est pas grand."—GENIN, *Les Jésuites*, p. 176.

The law, as passed by the Chamber of Peers on the 24th of May 1844, was substantially as follows : The moral and religious instruction is given in Colleges by a minister of the religion to which the several pupils belong,* in the Royal or Commercial Colleges, and by other clergymen and ministers in private institutions. Any person having completed his 30th year, *declaring not to belong to any illegal association or congregation*, (this is the real cause of all the uproar and opposition,) and producing certificates of morality and capacity as the law directs, may ask to establish a school. A commission, consisting of the President of the Civil Tribunal of the department, of the *Procureur du Roi*, of a clergyman chosen by the Bishop for Catholics, or by the proper ecclesiastical authority for others, by a member of the *Conseil de département*, and by one of that of *arrondissement*, (the two latter being chosen for this purpose by their colleagues, like them elected by the people,) deliver the certificate of morality. The composition of this Commission was either expressly approved or suggested by the opposition and supporters of the Jesuits during the debates. The certificate of capacity is delivered to a man who proves to have taken certain academical degrees, according to the institution which he means to establish, by a commission composed of the Rector of the academy at which the candidate presents himself,† two Judges, the Mayor of the town, of a Clergyman chosen as before, the head of a private college, and three persons chosen by the Minister of Public Instruction. The candidates for this certificate are examined publicly in the manner and form set forth from five years to five years by the Government. Those who teach in these private colleges must have taken certain degrees, or the collegians must attend the lectures delivered at the Royal College. These colleges are under the *surveillance* of the Minister of Public Instruction, and are liable to be inspected and visited by his orders as

* The *aumônier* is the person who is to instruct the Catholics. He is, of course, a priest, subject to the bishop of the diocese, and is appointed with his consent. M. Combalot, in a libel for which he was fined and imprisoned, (*Mémoire aux Evêques de France*—Paris, 1843,) urges the bishops to take the following measures, after having calumniated the Government for having intrusted the spiritual assistance and control to the ecclesiastics, for whom that impetuous priest writes :—“ Sa haine hypocrite,” says he, speaking of the University, “ nous demande des prêtres pour patronner sa tyrannie et conserver notre honte. Frappez du glaive excommuni-cateur les chapelles des collèges universitaires. . . Éteignez la lampe du sanctuaire suspendue depuis longtemps près de ce cadavre. . . Ah ! qu’il sera grand dans la mémoire et la reconnaissance des nations Catholiques, le jour où les vibrations de votre glaive auront tué le monopole et purgé la France de ce fléau moral !” The moment the bishops, or any of them follow this advice, there is a civil war in France.

† There are twenty-six academies included in the University of France—viz., Aix, Amiens, Angers, Besançon, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Cahors, Clermont, Dijon, Douai, Grenoble, Limoges, Lyon, Metz, Montpellier, Nancy, Nismes, Orléans, Paris, Pau, Poitiers, Rennes, Rouen, Strasbourg, and Toulouse.

often as he deems it necessary.* As to the pupils of the *Ecoles secondaires ecclésiastiques*, they may be admitted to be examined for entering the University, provided they have followed a course of rhetoric and philosophy under professors qualified according to law; this disposition to be obligatory only five years from the passing of the law, by which these ecclesiastical institutions have during that time the monopoly of ignorant masters. This was granted to them at their friends' most earnest request. By this they gained this advantage, that a certain number of youths may attend their institutions under pretence of taking orders up to a certain time; but before taking them, they may ask to be admitted to the University to follow the instruction intended for civilians, and they are admissible accordingly by this special proviso of the law. The points objected to especially were (besides the exclusion of members of religious corporations) that of having to take academical degrees in order to be either professor or director of a private college, and that of being liable to be inspected by the Government. These objections came, not from the heads of private institutions themselves, who, on the contrary—some of them being ecclesiastics—universally and warmly approved of the inspection, about which they were consulted.†

The fact is, that the Jesuits wanted all the education taken from the hands of the civil power to be transferred to their own exclusively, for the benefit of Catholics, not ashamed to quote in support of their preposterous pretensions, the Gospel on the one side,‡ and that charter to which they have opposed the most strenuous resistance—so far at least as they dared in the hour of danger, and with great boldness since under the guarantees which it offers them—on the other. They talked of the monopoly of the University and of the enslavement of education in France, when the colleges under the direct control of the University contained less pupils than the seminaries under the absolute control of the bishops who had *aumonier* in the colleges, and when the great majority of persons were educated in institutions but slightly superintended by the University, and which by their number

* The clergymen are under the surveillance of their ecclesiastical superiors, and so is the religious instruction given in these private colleges.

† Rapport par M. Thiers, p. 41.

‡ Desgarets, *Monopole*, p. 670. "L'Eglise à de droit divin le pouvoir d'enseigner par voie d'autorité et indépendamment des pouvoirs temporels." Montalembert attacked the law introduced in 1844 in the name of liberty and religion. The Archbishop of Cologne understood *liberty* to mean, the denial to Protestants of participating in the benefits of public schools; and the Prussian Government having ordered a college to be called "evangelical," the archbishop withdrew the Catholic chaplain from it. That was in 1829: in 1837, his successor, the famous Droste Vischering, did the same, because the college was "mixed"—that is, because Protestants were admitted to it. Coquerel, page 13.

offered the greatest scope to competition and freedom.* The war which has since violently been carried on against the University, was opened in 1840, when a publication appeared,† by a society of ecclesiastics, but written by the Abbé Garot, *aumônier* of the Royal College of Nancy, who, by preserving his incognito thought of being able to keep his conscience and his place. Before this publication, the University was hated as much as ever, but the Revolution of 1830 was too recent, the pretender too young, the *faithful* not yet ready, the Government strong and resolute; the attacks, therefore, were neither violent nor public. The tremendous evils which M. Garot exposed, however, if true, ought to have determined him long before to leave such a place of iniquity as a Royal College, and avoided countenancing by his presence such abominations as he *honestly* exposes. No one took notice of his libel: in 1841, things went on quietly: in 1842, the Bishop of Belley—apropos of nothing—calls the Royal Colleges schools of pestilence; the Bishop of Toulouse takes upon himself to attack from his Episcopal chair and in the church a professor, (M. Gratien Arnold,) who answers him pretty sharply, the Bishop of Chartres attacks the whole University, and M. Cousin by name, for bringing up a godless generation; then the writers in the *Univers*, to prove the bad instruction given in the Royal Colleges, attack in a pamphlet and by name eighteen professors, not one of whom was professor in a Royal College. This was in March 1842. Yet the University and her members kept quiet, and despised their assailants. In May 1843, at last and after a series of provocations which need scarcely be mentioned, M. Libri took up the pen, and published in the *Revue des deux Mondes* of the 1st of that month, the first of the letters which he has since re-edited in the volume, the title of which appears at the head of this article.

We regret that, having to make the question as well the character of the parties clear to our readers, we have been compelled to put off so long speaking of this work and of its author. We regret still more that the length to which this article has extend-

* The 46 royal colleges contained only	.	.	.	19,000 pupils.
The seminaries,	.	.	.	20,000
Colleges of the communes, 312 in number,	.	.	.	26,000
Private institutions, 1016 in number,	.	.	.	36,000
Total,	.	.	.	101,000

Thiers, *Rapport*, p. 23. The violence of the attacks on the University has produced effects the very reverse of what the Jesuits expected. The pupils at the Royal Colleges, at the opening of the schools in November last, exceeded 20,400.

† “Le monopole universitaire dévoilé à la France libérale, et à la France Catholique par une société d’ecclésiastiques sous la présidence de l’Abbé Rohrbacher.”—GENIN, p. 137.

ed, as the much that remains of importance to say, will prevent us from speaking of both as fully as they deserve. M. Libri has been the object of the most scurrilous, as well as groundless attacks from the Jesuitical party, because it was more easy for persons without respect for truth, to abuse the author than to answer his letters. He is represented by them as a stupid mortal, unworthy alike of esteem as a man, and of notice as a writer. Yet his career—the high station that he fills—the reputation which he enjoys—are the best answer to the despicable calumnies which have been heaped upon him.

M. Libri, born in 1804 at Florence, of an old and highly esteemed family, settled in Paris about fourteen years ago. His talents as a mathematician attracted the attention of Lacroix—one of the most distinguished analysts of his day, and secured to him his friendship. In a few years, M. Libri was elected a member of the Institute, and is now professor at the Collège de France, as well as at the Sorbonne or University, having succeeded his early friend Lacroix. He is, moreover, one of the *rédateurs du Journal des Savans*, along with the most remarkable men of France, and to that publication he contributed, (in 1838), two excellent articles on the Italian historians—which we mention only to show the variety of his acquirements. Any one who has read those two papers will not be surprised at his having been placed foremost in a commission for cataloguing and preserving all the historical manuscripts in France. His articles in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, are among the most learned, as well as most attractive of that highly and justly esteemed publication; and probably his masterly article on Galileo, (vol. xxvii. 4^{me} sér. p. 94,)* has contributed not a little in drawing on him the *odium plusquam theologicum* of his slanderers. The work that has added still more to the reputation of M. Libri, is his history of Mathematical Sciences in Italy, from the restoration of literature to the end of the 17th century,† as it required such variety of information and of languages, (among others, Arabic,)

* It is now the fashion, by either sciolists or dishonest writers, to represent the Inquisition all mercy and meekness, and Galileo as having nothing to complain of the treatment he received. The *Dublin Review*, in this age and for this country, has not shrunk from the advocacy of that tribunal. (See *Dublin Rev.*, vol. v.) If the arguments used in that publication were to prevail, any man of genius who insists on the truth of his views might be liable to be proceeded against by the Inquisition, as Galileo was for "his extreme intemperance." Ridiculous as it may seem, the out-and-out Jesuits are still against Galileo. A certain Abbé Matalène has written what he calls the Anti-Copernic, to prove *mathematically* that the earth is immoveable, and the sun turning round it. The book has been advertised on the church-doors everywhere, and either given or sold as the poor country people came out from mass.—Génin, p. 148. See Libri, p. 26.

† *Histoire des Sciences Mathématiques en Italie*, &c. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris 1838—1841.

in addition to a thorough knowledge of the subject. Its author obtained the applause of learned Europe, and the abuse of jesuitical France, even for this work, on the publication of his "Lettres sur le Clergé."* But the very extent and utter shamelessness of the abuse, in which the writers have surpassed themselves, prove the high character of the work; it shows how they are stung, and how impossible they have found it to be, even to attempt an answer, which, however violent, might still take the form of argument, and not be so completely disgraceful to the character of Christians and of gentlemen.

M. Libri's first letter is on liberty of conscience. He rapidly sketches the progress of Jesuitism in France, shows how it is

* We transcribe some of these abuses, not so much to the honour of M. Libri, as to show of what the partisans of the Jesuits are capable. Let us first hear M. Desgarets. We quote him because the Bishop of Chartres says, that his book "est un ouvrage vraiment classique." Now here are some specimens of classicism: "Chacun de ces volumes (he speaks of the history of mathematical sciences) est de quatre à cinq cent pages. Les deux ou trois cents premières se composent par moitié de noms propres et de notes prises de toutes les côtés, et les deux ou trois cents autres sont tout simplement des manuscrits pris dans nos bibliothèques et imprimés à son profit. . . . C'est la haine qui verse sa bile, haine menteuse, ignorante, sans vie pour l'expression comme pour la pensée, mais qui veut faire quarante volumes pour gagner de l'argent. . . . Eh bien ! ce fanatique d'irreligion et de haine anti-chrétienne, anti-monarchique, anti-sociale, les grand-maitres de l'Université l'ont décoré à la première vue, gratuitement, selon toutes les apparences et sans examen, de tous les titres du bazaar universitaire . . . lui, impie furieux, lui, anti-Français, qui s'est appliqué dans plusieurs de ses écrits, à dénigrer, non pas seulement le Christianisme, mais toutes nos gloires scientifiques, pour donner la supériorité à des Italiens la plupart sans nom. Mathématicien du second ordre (dit un journal) ses premiers travaux sont indéchiffrables, et ses derniers essais ont été des graves erreurs."—Pp. 20 and 21. Pretty well for a priest! We think that no literature of any age or country furnishes a piece of absurd vituperation like this. In a letter of the *Unicvrs*, (the journal of the Jesuits, and probably the one alluded to in the above passage by Desgarets, dated the 28th of June 1843, and reprinted in a pamphlet by M. Veuillot, editor of that paper, entitled, "Liberté d'Enseignement," the following passages occur:—"Les autres universitaires se ruent à l'ennemi de leur propre mouvement: on peut croire qu'ils se soucient peu que vous (the letter is addressed to M. Villemain, Minister of Public Instruction) les récompensiez ou non. M. Libri se sert de l'arme du *bravo*, du *stylet*. (Let the reader observe, that the letters of M. Libri are published with his name, and this vile attack on him was anonymous.) . . . Or M. Libri ment et vous le savez bien. . . . Dans les luttes de la presse ou rencontrent toutes sortes d'adversaires. . . les plus embarrassants sont ceux qui répugnent par leur médiocrité noire et par la cauteleuse candeur avec laquelle ils mentent d'un bout à l'autre au public et à eux-mêmes. Je voudrais faire bien connaître à mes lecteurs cet universitaire, et je ne puis; car il faudrait copier tout son article: on verrait l'impudence la plus carrée qui se soit depuis longtemps produite au jour. Cela n'est pas furieux: c'est une belle mare bien calme et bien croupie. Point de bouillonnement, mais de la vase. Si vous n'aviez pas jeté votre pensée là dedans, Monsieur le Ministre, je n'aurais jamais eu le courage d'y plonger la main." We beg pardon of our readers for transcribing, though in a foreign language, such ribaldry; but we were forced to it, to show that we do not exaggerate. Who would have believed as in Great Britain, if we had stated that such things were written and tolerated by the leaders of a large, influential, and, above all, *religious* party at Paris!—by bishops, by high-born noblemen, by delicate ladies, by men of education, of influence, and (*proh pudor!*) of state!

incompatible with the liberties of the Gallican Church and the independence of the clergy, and particularly points out by what unblushing calumnies and insult all those who differ from them have been attacked by the party. Liberty of conscience, he thence argues, is seriously threatened by this party. But are there Jesuits in France ? he asks in his second letter. No doubt, he answers.

"We now can convince the most sceptical of the fact. Yes; the Jesuits are in France; besides that they admit it, they may be recognized from their works, the violence of their discussions, the agitation they cause in the country, the oppression which they exercise on the clergy, their moral maxims, so often branded but never changed, their probabilism, their mental restrictions, their hatred for the liberties of the Gallican Church. Yes; they are among us and about us; they are the same men, professing the same doctrines, and bringing along with them the same dangers as of old."—P. 65.

He then points out by what means they spread and support themselves, and alludes still more especially, shortly but severely, to the immoral doctrines that they profess, and the demoralizing system of inquiry into people's conscience that they pursue. It was on the publication of this letter, that the *Univers* gave a place in its columns to the anonymous letter to M. Villemain, from which we have given some extracts in the last note.

M. Libri, accused of falsehood with reference to the immorality of the maxims taught, and of the questions put by the Jesuits in the confessional, was driven to defend himself. He did so in a manner that we are sure must have made his slanderers rue the time that they ever provoked such an adversary. We shall endeavour to give some idea of a part of the proof of his charge; but there is another, by far the most important to fathers, and to society at large, that we can scarcely do more than allude to. We, of course, mean auricular confession. Those who in our own times are either so silly or so ignorant of its real nature as to press its introduction among us, are guilty of the attempt to inflict upon our society a greater curse than ever the genius of evil inflicted upon any other. We do not speak of the *abuses*. We leave them all out of sight; we speak of the legitimate use of auricular confession and its concomitant casuistry. No man or woman is any longer to follow the dictate of his conscience and of his understanding in judging of right and wrong; he must follow the dictates of a man, often unfit, on account of his ignorance, for every other office,* and instead of forming his manners and

* "Si quis in studiorum decursu inepti ad philosophiam aut ad theologiam deprehensi fuerint ad casuum studia... destinentur."—*Rat. Stud. Reg. Prov.* 19. 4.

principles according to the maxims of the Gospel, bend the rule, and elude that holy law by false interpretations, and reduce all Christian morality to doubt and problem. The innermost secrets of one's heart, not more than that of those to whom God, nature, and all human laws have united us, are to be unreservedly laid open to a stranger, who is to judge of every act, of every word, and of every thought that one has or *has not* done, uttered, or indulged in. The minutest circumstances are to be stated, and even the passing feelings which man often wishes to forget, or which he as often can scarcely account for to himself, are to be minutely analyzed.

In order to be able to value the correctness of the statements laid before him, and to ascertain the soundness of a penitent's soul or otherwise, these "spiritual doctors" have the right to put questions, and to enter into a minute investigation of every act, or word, or thought. This, applied particularly to one class of inquiries, opens the way to evils, the consequences of which cannot be exaggerated. Unfortunately, we cannot adduce the proofs of what we say, as the subject cannot bear exposure: "The faithful belonging to the Reformed Churches, have only a vague, incomplete, and, on the whole, too indulgent an opinion on auricular confession and the discretionary power of a confessor."* There are books printed *for the use of young clergymen and students*, of which we have long hesitated in giving even the titles; these are very cheap volumes, worth about eighteenpence each, and we solemnly declare, that those books contain more filth, and teach more impurities than any other book that is or ever was written in any other age or country. All the Greek and Latin classics, in their worst moments, never approached to the extravagant abuse of perverse and disordered imagination which these books reach.† This

* Coquerel. Lettre à l'Archêvêque de Lyon. Paris, 1844. The author is minister of the Reformed Church at Paris.

† "Collationes practicæ in sextum et nonum—[to understand this it is necessary to know, that the *sixth* commandment, according to the Roman Catholics, is the *seventh* according to Protestants, and that the *ninth* is part of the *tenth*].—Decalogi præceptum nec non conjugatorum officia jussu ill. et rev. F. M. E. de Gualy episcopi Sancti Flori editæ et pro seminario suo adoptatæ." Lugduni, 1838. 12mo. M. Coquerel wanted to give an idea of the book, but found it impossible, although in Latin, for "*sous cette gaze trop transparente on trouve un traité complet de tous les genres de luxure et d'impudicité possible et impossible; un traité qui ne sauve aucun détail et qui admet comme plausibles des abominations fabuleuses, des abominations inouïes et des raffinemens d'impureté dont l'horreur fait reculer les plus intrépides débauchés, dont le nom même est inconnue dans la langue des honnêtes gens.*"—P. 24. M. Coquerel has ventured to give the table of contents of the volume which he so justly characterizes—but we cannot even do that; we may, however, add, and fully approve what he says, a little farther on: "Nous l'affirmons devant Dieu . . . si ce livre avait été lu, pas une mère ne souffrirait que sa fille s'agenouillât devant un confessional; pas un mari ne permettrait à sa femme de retourner à confesse; pas un fiancé n'oublierait de mettre pour condition à son mariage que sa future n'allât point porter à ce tribunal sans appel, les pudiques prémices de sa confiance."—

was not the case with the writers and professors of the Gallican Church; they passed over this part of their subject with as great moderation, and as much delicacy as it admitted; nor did they, by so doing, fail in their duty to their Church and their ministry. Even now, we learn from M. Libri, (page 79,) in the elementary books for students, (as, for instance, in the *Compendium* by Carrière,) none of the questions are touched upon which cause such disgust in the works quoted in the foregoing note.

We hasten to leave this part of the subject, to enter upon the others, forcibly and masterly dwelt upon by M. Libri, that is, those relating to the immoral principles as to truth and honesty, inculcated by the Jesuits of our own days, just as was done by their elder brethren. To prove his case, M. Libri limits himself to quote contemporary authorities, such as are received in the French schools of divinity—for instance, Moullet.* We shall do the same in giving some instances of Jesuitical moral principles. First, as to truth:—

“A widow is judicially bound to state whether she concealed any of her late husband's property. She answers in the negative, al-

Page 25. This is a work which may probably sell for half a crown by order of a bishop, and for the instruction of youth. Another bishop, that of Mans, Bouvier before referred to, has deemed it consistent with his character to print a “*Dissertatio in sextum Decalogi præceptum, et Supplementum ad Tractatum de Matrimonio*,”—a little book which sells for fifteen pence, and has had ~~ten~~ editions already. A certain Rousselot, professor of theology at Grenoble, thinking of editing the moral theology of Saetler, a large and heavy work, publishes, as a specimen, a small pamphlet, in the cheapest form, with the title, “*J. C. Saetleri in Sextum Decalogi præceptum, in conjugum obligationes et quædam matrimonium spectantia prælectiones. Excerptis, notis et novis quæsitis amplificavit ac typis mandari curavit P. J. Rousselot in gratiam neo-confessorum et discipulorum*. 8vo. Gratianopoli, 1840, and 1844.” Another work of greater pretensions, and which we shall have occasion to refer to more frequently, is entitled, “*Examen Raisonné ou Décisions sur les Commandemens*.” 2 vols. 8vo. Lyons, 1842. (Lyons, it is to be observed, is the head-quarters of the Jesuits, and many of the most objectionable books are published there. The publisher of this “*Examen*” is also one of the publishers of Desgarets' productions.) Although written in French, there are parts of it in Latin, to prevent their being generally known. We beg to attempt one or two extracts, to show how far back to the most dark times these writers would take us:—“*Concubitus cum dæmone in forma viri, mulieris, aut alicujus bestia*,”—(tom. i., p. 296)—is treated of as a possible and grave offence; and the same is done by Rousselot and Bouvier, but in terms we cannot transcribe. And tom. ii., p. 336,—“*Quid dicendum si cognoscatur impotentiam ex maleficio provenire? Si maleficium tolli nequit intra triennium remedio humano neque oratione aut exorcismis . . . matrimonium dirimit . . . si veniat ex imaginatione, odio, verecundia, etc., (quæ sæpe demoni tribuitur) . . . de ea ratiocinandum sicut si veniret ex maleficio.*”

* The title of the work is, *Compendium Theologiæ Moralis ad usum Theologiæ Candidatorum*, 2 tom. Friburgi Helvetiorum, 1834 and 35. Friburg is well known as the stronghold of the Jesuits in Switzerland. Moullet's work has the approbation of the Roman Catholic bishop of Lausanne, who recommends it to students and to his clergy; among other reasons, because it was used in manuscript for several years previous by the Jesuits of Friburg, in their college.

though in point of fact she did; is she guilty of telling a falsehood? No; provided she means in her answer to say that she has concealed nothing *that she is bound to tell*, that is what was certainly her own, but of which she might *most probably* be deprived by the successor of her husband. And no doubt she can even make an affidavit to the truth of what she says."* "Suppose a person swears, intending to cheat and deceive, how is he bound? By virtue of religion he is *not bound at all*."† "Hence a person who gives a feigned consent to marriage, does not contract matrimony."‡ "Should a person seduce a woman under a solemn and sincere promise of marriage, I think it most probable that such a promise is null and void, because it is radically of no value as being *contra bonos mores*."§ "Many divines, chiefly *now*," (does it mean since the Revolution of 1830?) "are of opinion that it is enough to declare a little more than half the amount of the real sum either paid in a purchase or inherited, to avoid paying the whole stamp or legacy duties. . . . This opinion does not seem improbable to me."§

So much for truth. Now as to honesty,—

"The creditor who keeps secretly as much of the property of his debtor as the latter owes him, is not guilty of theft."¶ This is by virtue of what is called "*compensatio occulta*," which is admitted also in the case of a tailor, "who adopts it to pay himself off what is fairly due to him, and who, were he to insist on full payment, could not stand the competition of other tailors who have recourse to occult compensation," (that is to say, to keeping what belongs to their customers:) "in like cases grave divines acquit the tailors of sin."** The same is to be held with respect to a servant who "having, without *theological* guilt, broken a costly china vase, the master deducts the value from his salary. The servant pilfers now and then from his master, a shilling or two at a time, to make up the sum deducted from his salary. This servant acts quite lawfully in compensating himself."†† In playing there are certain frauds well known and used even among well-behaved persons; as for instance looking at the cards of their adversary, if he be not sharp in putting them out of sight."‡‡

These specimens will, we suppose, be more than enough to satisfy our readers that a Government would be guilty of a gross dereliction of their duty were they to allow persons who

* Moullet, tom. i. p. 256.

† Ibid. p. 221.

‡ Ibid. p. 621. These principles are repudiated by Dens, Theol. Mor. de Jureamento, N. 156.

§ Examen raisonné, tom. i. p. 423. This is also the opinion of Lyonnet, *Tract. de justitia et jure*, a Lyons book of 1836.

¶ Examen, tom. i. p. 381. The Jesuits of Lyons were caught acting on these principles, and fined by the office of Stamps and Taxes.

¶¶ Moullet, tom. i. p. 324.

** Ibid. p. 522.

†† Ibid. p. 523, 524.

‡‡ Examen, tom. i. p. 364.

profess, propagate, and teach such principles, to infect the rising generation, by trusting to them the unrestrained education of young persons. We think, also, that M. Libri, and those who have like him fearlessly exposed to public execration such corrupting maxims, deserve the thanks of mankind. But what will our readers think of the impudence of a party who propagate them, and yet attack the University as a seminary of immorality and vice?

We must hasten to conclude. The fourth letter of M. Libri is extremely interesting, being a history of the struggles of the University against the religious orders, who tried to invade it as early as the beginning of the 13th century; and we sincerely regret that we have no space left for doing more than to direct the attention of our readers to this part of the work. The fifth and last letter is "on the liberty of instruction according to the French laws." It contains a rapid, as well as correct, account of the origin and present state of the law on the subject, which we have already given somewhat more at length, to make it intelligible to our readers; it contains also some very just observations on the debates which were going to take place on the law which was discussed before the French Houses in May and June last. Without a more thorough knowledge of the opinions and political life of several leading persons mentioned by M. Libri, as expected to participate in the discussion, than we can expect the generality of our readers to possess, we cannot flatter ourselves that his observations would be duly appreciated, unaccompanied by explanations, for which we have no room. There is, however, a document mentioned in this letter, and added at length at the end of the volume, too interesting to be overlooked by us.

It appears, that on a circular being addressed to the Bishops at Paris, by the ministers of public worship, respecting the attacks on the University, six prelates met at Paris, and sent their observations *in the strictest confidence* to all the French bishops, requesting them, in order to secure uniformity in the substance of the answers to the Minister from *each* bishop, to vary the expressions, and thus to avoid the appearance of concert. These observations were secretly lithographed by an unknown printer. It would be too long, although extremely interesting, to analyze them; we shall therefore only allude to some of their most prominent points. First of all, these priests appear not so abusive of the University when in secret conclave, as they are when they write for public effect and to inflame the people against the Government. Next, (and Louis Philippe ought to look to this), the generality of bishops are informed, that the royal family would be glad of their assistance in case of a demise of the Crown, and that therefore the bishops need not fear being proceeded against for breaking

the law. It would be done *with the utmost reluctance*. Lastly, it is observed, that the real reason of the dislike, on the part of the new dynasty, of the education being under the control of the clergy, is the fear that the youths would be taught not to like Louis Philippe and his family; the bishops, it is suggested, *who can do it conscientiously*, ought to say something to give the Government confidence on this head. To these suggestions, others quite characteristic of the party are added: for instance,—as it is well known that the Minister of Public Instruction, (M. Villemain), is a vain man, fond of praise, and *as he goes regularly to mass*, it would be as well to modify the abuse of the *University* with praise of the *man* for this and other good actions of his.*

The alarming part of this business is the existence of a secret committee, commanding a secret press, and secretly influencing the apparently *free* unanimous opinions of the bishops, who draw their inspirations not from religion, but from unknown and irresponsible advisers. Ought a government to be over-confident of the loyalty of such men? This system of secrecy goes much farther; it begins from a secret body directing bishops, and it ends with secret societies being formed under the pretext of religion. More real dangers are to be apprehended in France from the secret, than from the known, part of Jesuitism. We have seen it can admit persons who may live utterly unknown and unsuspected by the public of belonging to it. Such persons continue to mix with all classes, and it is through them that Jesuitism attempts to penetrate now, as it did in former times, into all branches of the government, the army, the courts of law, the cabinet—without speaking of the Church, where it is already all-powerful. There is one of these societies, called “*Association Catholique*.” For the present the authorities (the *hierarchy* it is called) that are to guide it, are not determined upon; in future, it is said, “they shall be such as Providence may inspire us.”

“Meanwhile the members of the association shall never inform any one of the existence of this society, and either directly or indirectly make known to any body whatever the means, the existence, or the rules of this *work* . . . Every novice admitted to the Association, shall swear to fight to death the enemies of humanity. All his days and all his hours shall be dedicated to the development of Christian civilization.† He swears eternal hatred to the genius of evil, and promises absolute and unreserved submission to our holy Father the Pope, and

* This, however, is what has not been done. M. Villemain, worried with incessant and keen pertinacity, has been driven out of his senses, and no doubt his unscrupulous enemies will represent this as a visitation for his anti-jesuitical conduct.

† Of course for a Roman Catholic those only who belong to his creed are Christians.

to the *hierarchick* superiors of the Associations.* The director in admitting him, says: "*We have one soldier more.*"

The Association is the great support of the bishops in their polemics, and it will certainly be in the elections of deputies to the Lower House, if allowed to grow.† And Louis Philippe, on the abstract principle of *liberty*, is to allow such persons, so organized, professing such principles as obedience to a foreign potentate, hating his dynasty, sworn to support despotism, acting on human passions and interests, in the name of the Almighty and as his ministers, to have the uncontrolled education of youth given over to them?

Let no one truly religious be imposed upon by the calumnies heaped on the University and its brightest ornaments by the pseudo-religious party which we have been describing. To all their unfair and unbecoming abuse we shall be satisfied with opposing the quiet and mild opinion of M. Coquerel:—

"If the complaints of the Roman Catholics were well founded—if the University gave an atheistical instruction—if pantheism and infidelity were rampant in the colleges, the Roman clergy should not complain alone. We Protestant pastors would raise our voice as high as they do, in the name of the holy volume, the only rule of our faith.....It is a curious fact, that out of more than 800 Protestant pastors NOT ONE has joined the outcry of the Catholic clergy.....It is a fact, that whilst the Roman bishops declare that France and her rising generation are under an atheistical education, the Protestant pastors, (who have a still greater interest in the question, being fathers,) do not, in the slightest degree, partake of the uneasiness of the bishops, nor see any proofs of that deep irreligion that frightens their lordships. I am either greatly mistaken, or our tranquil silence will quiet more than the noisy censures will alarm. From the contrast, this irresistible consequence will be drawn, that Protestantism has nothing to fear from philosophy, whilst Catholicism, when *ultramontane* and Jesuitical, cannot be reconciled to live with it."†

We shall close our article with one observation. We have seen that the majority of the bishops have been of Louis Philippe's choice, and we are quite certain that they and their party have gone so far, relying, to a certain extent, on the connivance or winking of the Government at what was going on. Louis Philippe, when in this country, is known to have said, that whenever a war breaks out it will be a religious war; and there is very little

* Compare this with the Institute of the Jesuits as to obedience, and then let any one deny the common origin and present identity of the "*Society of Jesus*," and the "*Association Catholique*."

† Genings, 265 et seq.

‡ *Lettre à l'Archév. de Lyons*, p. 10 et seq.

doubt that his various governments have, under his directions, prepared themselves to lead the Catholic party in such a struggle. Those who want proofs of this have only to recall to mind the conduct of France in the East as well as in the Pacific. The missionaries sent forth by the very religious congregations and associations which the laws forbid in France, were not only tolerated, but materially assisted, by the political influence of France abroad. This is honestly confessed by M. Lenormant, and urged as an argument in support of the Jesuits. He speaks of certain schools at Smyrna, at which persons of all sects and religions are instructed, without the slightest attempt at proselytism :—

“ Thus,” says he, “ respect for Christianity, and attachment to France, penetrated everywhere. If, at a future period, political causes were to take us to those shores, we shall gather the fruit of these *evangelical seeds* (!!) and obstacles will be more easily overcome. Such are the agents that Catholicism spreads everywhere, and which it inspires in our favour. The most cunning, the most active, the most expensive diplomacy, would not arrive at such results.”*

He then proceeds to show, how all over the East, the Government of Louis Philippe has been successfully extending French influence by means of missionaries ; he expects the same effects in China and in the Pacific, and casts a wistful eye after Canada. Now these are not the speculations of a theorist, but the sober views of an eminently practical man. Louis Philippe miscalculated the effects of yielding to the Jesuitical party. In this miscalculation, however, the lamented death of the Duke of Orleans has had great part. Had that Prince lived, the chances of the Duke of Bordeaux were infinitely less, and consequently the importance of the Clergy, as either friends or foes, proportionately affected. They would have been forced to submit without a murmur to the son of Louis Philippe, governing with a firm hand, and they might then have supported a government to which they were bound by gratitude. But no gratitude does now prevent them from showing how all their wishes and inclinations are for the return of bigotry and despotism ; for the time may come when they may boast of their treachery to their benefactor as an unflinching adherence to their duty. Should the Duke of Bordeaux die, Louis Philippe and his posterity will find in the Clergy the most zealous supporters of the prerogative, no matter how far it may be carried. As long as he lives, the priesthood will be the most dangerous enemy to the present dynasty, whom it may succeed in oppressing, if the civil power do not resolutely and sternly

* *Des associations religieuses*, page 228.

crush their treacherous attempts of ultramontaniam. As Count Montalembert said, with as much boldness as truth,—“the Roman Catholic Church is not the slave, the client, or the auxiliary of any one, SHE IS SOVEREIGN, OR SHE IS NOTHING.”* She must either be kept down by the principles of the French Revolution of 1830, or she will trample upon them, and rule despotically with the old sceptre of the Bourbons.

* And her faithful sons are essentially rebels, when safe and expedient. This same M. de Montalembert said, with that mildness of expression for which his party are distinguished: “As to the University, we withdraw from it, and damn it,” (nous la maudissons.) *Déf. de l'école libre*, p. 15, edit. of 1844. In speaking of the law containing the *articles organiques* for the execution of the Concordat, he says without ceremony, that inasmuch as the Pope has not recognized them, “*We Catholics do not recognize them as law.*” It seems, therefore, that the Pope is the competent authority in the eyes of certain Catholics to enact laws, and that to him, and not to their king, these loyal subjects owe allegiance whenever he chooses to claim it.

The following passage, from a most violent diatribe of one Veldrine Curé of Lapersac, entitled “Simple coup-d’œil sur les douleurs et les espérances de l’Eglise,” which we have been able to procure only after the foregoing pages were in print, gives a correct idea of what the Jesuits really wish when they declaim about the monopoly of the University and liberty of education:—“There is no more dangerous enemy of religion in France than the University . . . one of the two must yield, either the University or Catholicism. . . . It is therefore a duty for all the determined faithful—for all lovers of their country, to form a holy alliance—to join in a glorious crusade, in order to exterminate the Hydra with a hundred heads. . . . It is a sacred duty to make the four points of the heavens echo with the exterminating cry of old Cato,—*Delenda Carthago.*”—P. 104.

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